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A  
DICTIONARY OF NAPOLEON  
AND HIS TIMES



# A DICTIONARY OF NAPOLEON and His Times

BY  
HUBERT N. B. RICHARDSON, B.A.

*With Maps, Plans, a Chronological Table  
and a Classified Bibliography*

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To  
My Esteemed Friend  
ERNEST A. BAKER, M.A., D.Lit.

## PREFACE

THE collection in dictionary form of the material, historical and personal, relating to the most significant and arresting figure of the modern world will certainly appear to those best qualified to judge to be a task of hopeless magnitude and complexity ; and, indeed, the difficulties in the way of the perfect accomplishment of such a collection are almost insurmountable in view of the unexampled mass of literature, good, bad, and indifferent, which has grown up around the figure of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Any attempt which aimed at complete inclusion of all the circumstances connected with that most marvellous life would be a failure unless it assumed the proportions of an encyclopædia of very large size. No such claim is advanced on behalf of this work, the object of which is to present in popular yet exact form for ready reference a general survey of the Napoleonic period, both as regards its central luminary and the numerous satellites, scarcely less brilliant, who circled round him. Particulars of the personality of Napoleon and all that recent research has discovered with reference to the more obscure episodes in his career have been carefully examined and collated ; the campaigns necessitated by his policy ; the commercial, political, and artistic developments of his reign ; biographical matter relating to his family from the earliest recorded member thereof down to its latest scions ; the political circumstances of the various countries with which he had warlike or pacific relations ; his habits and idiosyncrasies ; the great leaders who served or failed him ; his more private life ; his relations with his secretaries and valets ; the women he loved ; and the contemporaries, laudatory, veracious, or scurrilous, who set down their reminiscences of him—all are included in this work, which, if not encyclopædic, may at least claim to be comprehensive.

Many of the biographies are of considerable length, but the plan throughout has been to give extended treatment only to matters of interest and value, and severely to condense anything which does not approximate to that standard. The work has been written in a spirit which the author believes he is justified in claiming is absolutely without bias of any sort : but that is not to say that it is non-controversial. A work of reference should not lend itself too much to argument ; but level acquiescence in the views advanced and in the deductions drawn by standard authorities where these do not square with personal conviction is characteristic of the compiler who attempts nothing further than the mere mechanical collection of materials upon which, as is too often the case, his disabilities prevent any direct comment or illustration. Such criticism as has been

incorporated with the historical and biographical matter in this work has sedulously striven to avoid personal predilection and has, so far as the author is aware, been confined more to measures than to men and more to the spirit that actuated the various movements than to the persons who instituted them.

Beside the large amount of information concerning the Emperor himself, his personality, habits, and character, the biographies of every member of the Bonaparte family and of the great men and women who clustered around Napoleon, this *Dictionary of Napoleon* throws light on the social and political tendencies of his time, its art, literature, and industries. The military career of the Emperor is fully treated ; every battle and engagement of any importance is separately indexed, in a number of cases maps and plans being supplied ; and the great campaigns have been chronicled more exhaustively under their usual designations.

The various memoirs of Napoleon's life have been summarized and reviewed at length, many of them for the first time ; a Chronological Table dealing with every important event in the Emperor's life and time has been added, as has also a select Classified Bibliography giving all the more useful, authoritative, and accessible books on the various stages and incidents in Napoleon's career, thus furnishing the English reader with a ready key to further study.

It may be mentioned here that, in order to save space and what would have been a somewhat wearisome reiteration, Napoleon has throughout the text been referred to by his initial, " N."

In conclusion the author would express the hope that this volume, besides providing the general reader with a fairly extensive view of a great figure and a spacious period, may also yield assistance to the serious student of Napoleona as a book of reference to the salient facts of the Emperor's career.

H. N. B. R.

*Edinburgh.*

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# A DICTIONARY OF NAPOLEON AND HIS TIMES

## A

### **Abdication, N.'s First (1814).—**

Twice prior to his first abdication did the Allies endeavour to discuss terms of peace with N. (see FRANKFORT PROPOSALS and CONGRESS OF CHATILLON), but the Emperor seems to have had little faith in their sincerity, and although, in order to gain time, he pretended to consider the proposals put forward, he had no real intention of agreeing to them. Moreover, he still dreamed of ultimate triumph. During the months of February and March 1814, at the head of his forces, N. was engaged in a hopeless attempt to conquer two armies, each of which outnumbered his own. His efforts failed, Paris capitulated, and the Allies triumphantly entered the city on 31 March. Marie Louise had been left in Paris as Regent, with a council, and it was N.'s desire that she and his little son should remain there until all resistance should have become impossible. The council of the regency, however, misunderstood the Emperor's instructions, owing to stupidity on the part of Joseph Bonaparte, and decided that Marie Louise and the King of Rome must leave Paris—thereby striking a fatal blow to the Napoleonic dynasty.

After their entry into the capital of France the Tsar, the King of Prussia, Schwartzberg and Talleyrand met at the house of the last-named to consult as to future actions. The three principal suggestions put forward were: (1) peace with the Emperor; (2) a regency for the King of Rome under Marie Louise; (3) the

restoration of the Bourbons. Against the first Talleyrand contended that any peace with N. would only be temporary, and the Tsar supported him. As for the regency proposal, it was agreed that so long as N. lived this would be merely a continuation of his rule. To the third the Tsar observed that the army was still with N., and the Bourbons were not favourites; but Talleyrand replied that the soldiers had been fighting for France, and would continue to do so. A provisional government was formed, which deposed N. for having violated the constitution, and issued the following proclamation to the army: "Soldiers, you are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; the Senate and the whole of France absolve you from your oaths." Paris once again wore the white cockade.

On hearing, late in the evening of 30 March, of the surrender of Paris, N. was furious, and set out to walk to Paris, anathematizing Marmont and Mortier for giving way. He was, however, convinced that his proposed action would be useless and dangerous, and General Flahault was dispatched to ask Marmont's advice, Caulaincourt to the Tsar, while the Emperor returned to Fontainebleau. Caulaincourt had interviews both with the Tsar and Schwartzberg, and brought word to N. that peace would be considered only on the condition of his abdication. The morning following his minister's return, N. held a review of his troops, and appealed to their fidelity, which, although it was already undermined, and one of his greatest marshals had become a Judas,

## ABDICATION

stood this test. N. continued his preparations to march on Paris, but his plans were received in silence by his generals—who saw his cause was hopeless and now desired peace. With Caulaincourt he drew up the following form of abdication in favour of his son: "The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to give up his life, for the welfare of the country, inseparable from the rights of his son, of the regency of the Empress, and of the laws of the Empire." An embassy was dispatched to Paris with this document and received by the Tsar, who listened carefully and sympathetically to what Caulaincourt had to say in support of his mission. The latter based his case upon the fidelity of the army to their chief and the unpopularity of the Bourbons with the people. At one time it almost seemed as if the Tsar wavered; but he well knew that his Allies would refuse to consider a Napoleonic regency, so he temporized, saying that he must consult the other Powers. Meantime news came of the defection of Marmont's men, and with the argument of the faithfulness of the army thus set at naught, the Tsar was in a position to demand an unconditional abdication.

N., who did not believe that his offer would be accepted by the Allies, continued to make plans for an alternative course of action, so that when his emissaries returned with the information that a Napoleonic regency would not be considered, and that Louis XVIII. was to be proclaimed king, he spoke to them of his preparations, saying that war was better than such a peace. But the embassy was now royalist in sympathy, and demanded his absolute surrender. At last the Emperor gave way, and on 11 April wrote out the act of unconditional abdication, as follows: "The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the

## ABDICATION

only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, because there is no personal sacrifice, even were it of life itself, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France." That night, according to some authorities, N. tried to end his life (*see* **SUICIDE, N.'S ATTEMPT AT**), but much mystery surrounds the actual details. Thus did the great Emperor withdraw for the time being from the scenes of his triumph, forced thereto no doubt, yet retaining his dignity. As he said to Bausset, "J'abdique et ne cède rien," and it is more than likely that the thought was in his mind that one day he might return.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau (*q.v.*) was signed on 13 April, and on the 20th N. left Fontainebleau for Elba. "Continue to serve France," was the theme of his farewell address to those of the Old Guard who were faithful to him, after which he pressed the standard of the imperial eagle to his lips and entered the waiting carriage which was to take him the first stage of his journey to Elba.

The Empress and the King of Rome had left Paris on 29 March, reaching Blois on 2 April, whence they went to Orleans, by order of the Tsar Alexander, who wished to bring the Imperial couple together. But Marie Louise could not understand N.'s unwillingness to involve her in his downfall, or his instructions as to depending on her father, so she finally obeyed the latter's command to meet him at Rambouillet, thence to return to Austria.

### **Abdication, N.'s Second (1815).—**

On 21 June 1815, three days after Waterloo, N. arrived in Paris broken in body and mind, though not utterly devoid of hope. He had given orders that the remnants of his army should rally at Laon, and, perhaps from mere habit, had issued bulletins for its reorganization, with the idea that even now France might stand firm against a common danger. By the time he reached the Elysée rumour was busy regarding his defeat, and consterna-

tion prevailed in the city. Davout, Carnot, and Lucien advised N. to dismiss the Chambers and institute a dictatorship, but N. was in no condition to make such a decision, and still harboured the idea that war might be continued. He proposed to raise a *levée en masse* to defend Paris, but the ministers objected, being naturally unwilling to continue an unequal and disastrous struggle with no other object, as they realized, than to keep N. on his throne. He it was, not France, whom Europe strove against, and peace would follow his abdication. The Chambers took immediate steps to frustrate any attempt to dissolve them. Lucien advised civil war, but the Emperor saw the folly of such a course, and decided to abdicate. On 22 June N. signed an abdication in favour of his son—a mere form, as his son was in Austria—and on the 26th he quitted Paris and retired to Malmaison. His intention now seems to have been to go to the United States, and on the 23rd he had written to the Minister of Marine asking that two frigates might be placed at his disposal. Over a question of passports this request was not granted for several days, not indeed until news reached the French Government that N. was in real danger of capture by a column of Prussians who had orders to take him "dead or alive." At the eleventh hour, N. made a last attempt to gain permission to lead French troops against the Allies. He had followed the latter's advance, and perceived that an exposed position would now favour the French, so on the 29th he sent a message to the Provisional Government offering to command the army as a simple general, and promising on his honour to begin his journey to the States on the day he defeated the enemy. This appeal was, however, refused, and on the same day N. fled from Malmaison, going to Rochefort, too late, however, to escape, as British cruisers now watched the harbour. Various plans were proposed to enable N. to evade the vigilance of the British Navy, but none was actually attempted, and N. determined to throw himself upon the generosity of England, deeming sur-

render a fitter termination to his career than ignominious capture—aware, moreover, that he would get no mercy from France or Prussia. By N.'s desire, communication was opened up with Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, which resulted in the Emperor's embarkation on that vessel on 15 July, the captain having consented to take him to England. Meantime N. had dictated the following letter to the Prince Regent:

"Royal Highness,

"A victim to the factions which divide my country and to the enmity of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to place myself at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim of your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

There is little room for doubt that N. hoped to be treated as a guest by England, but the British Government decided to consider him as a prisoner of war—the man whose ambition had caused such disaster could scarcely expect to be treated with leniency in the interests of European peace. On the 24th the *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay, going thence to Plymouth, at both of which towns crowds of people tried to catch a glimpse of the ex-Emperor. On the 31st word came that N. was to be sent to St. Helena, which was considered a suitable place and sufficiently remote. He received this information on the whole calmly, but his suite were loud in their remonstrances. A convention was passed by the four Powers, declaring N. their common prisoner, with Britain as jailer, and on 7 Aug. N. set sail on the *Northumberland* for his prison on St. Helena.

**Abel, Mrs.**—See BALCOMBE FAMILY.

**Abensberg, Battle of (Wagram Campaign).**—The main French Army under Davout and the Austrians under the Archduke Charles came into collision near Abensberg on 19 April 1809,

and although the latter made a brave stand they were driven back with great slaughter. At the same time a force of Austrians on its way to attack the flank of the French left was met by a Franco-Bavarian force under Lefebvre, and was also defeated.

**Aboukir, Battle of (1).**—A battle of the French invasion of Egypt, fought on 25 July 1799, between the French Expeditionary Army under N. and Turks to the number of 18,000 under Mustapha Pasha. The French were entirely successful.

**Aboukir, Battle of (2).**—A battle of the British invasion of Egypt, fought on 8 March 1801, between 5,000 British under Sir Ralph Abercromby and 2,000 French under General Friant. A landing was effected by the British, though at a considerable cost, and the French driven from their positions.

**Aboukir, Battle of (3).**—*See* NILE, BATTLE OF THE.

**Abrantes, Duchesse d'.**—*See* JUNOT, LAURE.

**Acre, Siege of.**—An incident of the French invasion of Egypt. The city was besieged by the French under N. from 17 March to 21 May 1799, when N. was forced to raise the siege. Acre was defended by the Turks under Djezzar Pasha and a small force of British seamen under Sir Sidney Smith.

**Aix-la-Chapelle, Battle of.**—A battle of the wars of the French Revolution, fought on 3 March 1795. The opponents were the French under Miranda and the Austrians under the Prince of Saxe-Coburg. The former were totally defeated.

**Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of.**—In the autumn of 1818 the representatives of Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia, met at Aix-la-Chapelle for the purpose of coming to a decision regarding the withdrawal of the army of occupation from France, and to confer regarding the relations of the four Powers towards each other and towards France. Its first session was held on 1 Oct., and was attended by Alexander I. of Russia, Frederick William III. of Prussia, Francis I. of Austria, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh for Great Britain,

Metternich for Austria, Count Nesselrode and Count Capo d'Istria for Russia, Prince Hardenberg and Count Bernstorff for Prussia, whilst the Duc de Richelieu was present to watch proceedings on behalf of France. The evacuation of that country was agreed to, and the treaty to that effect was signed on the 9th of the month. The real business of the Allies having been so speedily dispatched, the Congress next considered the questions of the form to be taken by the European Alliance, and what military measures, if any, were to be adopted in the event of a fresh outbreak on the part of France. Great Britain strongly opposed the suggestion made by the Emperor Alexander that a "universal union of guarantee" should be established on the basis of the Holy Alliance, but after considerable discussion a secret protocol was signed confirming and renewing the quadruple alliance established by the Treaty of Paris against France. The Powers also made public a declaration of their intention to maintain an intimate union for the purpose of the preservation of peace. Some matters which had also been left over consequent upon the hurried ending of the Congress of Vienna, also came up for settlement. The most important of these was as to the methods to be adopted for the suppression of the slave trade and the Algerine pirates, but all conference broke down on these questions owing to the refusal of the other Powers to agree with the British proposal for reciprocal right of search at sea, and the objection of Great Britain to such international action as would have permitted the presence of a Russian squadron in Mediterranean waters. The treatment of N. at St. Helena was also brought up, but in a most perfunctory manner. The Congress broke up at the end of November.

**Ajaccio: N.'s Native Town.**—It lies to the west of Corsica at the northern end of the gulf of the same name, on a tongue of land at the point of which stands the castle. The situation greatly resembles that of Naples, the atmosphere, verdure, and climate intensifying the resemblance. Ajaccio

## ALBUERA

is said to be one of the oldest towns in the island, fable deriving its name from Ajax, or again from Ajazzo, the son of Corso, the Trojan prince who, wandering with Æneas to the western sea, carried off Sica, a niece of Dido, and hence gave the island the name of Corsica. The ancient town of Urcinium, mentioned by Ptolemy, was situated on the Gulf of Ajaccio, but the site of that ancient place was not that of the modern town. It stood on a hill, San Giovanni, farther north of the Gulf. The ruins disappeared long ago, but in the surrounding vineyards there are many Roman remains, among which vessels of terra-cotta and sepulchral urns, each containing a skeleton and a key, have been found.

The new town and its citadel was founded by the Bank of Genoa (*see* CORSICA) in 1492. Not being the capital of the island it was merely the seat of the governor's lieutenant, though Ajaccio played a large part in Genoese rule. In 1811, at the wish of Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch, it was constituted the capital of Corsica. At the time of N.'s birth the town possessed about 3,000 inhabitants and was enclosed within bastioned walls. It boasted of three main streets, the Strada Dritta (rechristened the Rue Napoléon), the Strada della Fontanaccia (now the Rue du Roi de Rome), and the Strada delle Monarche (now Rue Notre Dame). These again were connected by other streets, and at the corner of two of these, the Rue St. Charles, often called in those days the Rue Buonaparte, and the Rue Letizia, stands the Casa Buonaparte (*q.v.*).

Ajaccio is a beautiful spot with the blue gulf at its feet and to the north the snow-capped mountains, one of which is called Pozzo di Borgo. Avenues of elm and plane trees flourish together with orange trees, and the orchards around are full of peach, almond, cherry and plum, while everywhere glows the yellow mimosa.

**Albuera, Battle of.**—A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 16 May 1811. The opposing forces were the French under Marshal Soult and the British, Spanish, and Portuguese under Marshal Beresford. Through

## ALEXANDER I

the bravery of the 7,000 British included in the allied forces of 32,000 men, the French Army of 23,000 was defeated with a loss of 8,000. Of the British only half were left standing.

**Alessandria, Convention of (15 June 1800).**—This signalized the end of the "Campaign of Thirty Days." The day after Marengo (14 June) the Austrian General, Mélas, sent a request that his representative might confer with the First Consul. During the course of the day the following terms were negotiated and signed between the Austrians and the French: (1) Suspension of hostilities until the terms of convention were ratified at Vienna. (2) The Austrians to occupy the line extending from Peschiera, on the Mincio, to the mouth of the Po. Their garrisons in Tuscany would remain there as well as in Ancona. (3) The French would hold the territory west of the Chiessè, the ground between the Chiessè and the Mincio remaining neutral. (4) On retiring the Austrians were to evacuate all the fortresses which they occupied within these limits. The fortresses of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Arona, and Piacenza were to be delivered up between 16 and 20 June; those of Ceva, Savona, Coni, and Genoa between the 16th and 24th of the same month. (5) The Austrian Army would retire to the Mincio in three columns by way of Piacenza as the citadels were evacuated. (6) The artillery in the fortresses belonging to the Sardinian foundries was assigned to the French, the Austrian guns being restored to the Imperial Army. The stores were divided equally between both armies.

**Alexander I (1777-1825).**—Emperor of Russia; was born on 28 Dec. 1777, and ascended the throne in 1801. His was a figure which loomed large in the history of Europe during the Napoleonic period, and his actions deeply affected the fortunes of the French Emperor himself. In order to understand the part he played in affairs, national and international, it is necessary briefly to consider his character—one of singular complexity, full of contradiction and anomalies. Ambition and autocracy he combined

with a (theoretical) zeal for liberty which his weakness of purpose rendered ineffectual to raise his people from serfdom. The same quality of indecision destroyed many generous impulses of loyalty to political friends and justice to political enemies. There is no doubt that much of his fiery enthusiasm was adopted with an eye to effect, for Alexander was nothing if not a *poseur*. Add to this that he was afflicted by a melancholy which at times clouded his reason, and something will be understood of the complexity of his nature. Yet in his capacity of diplomat he was admired even by his political foes, while those who came into personal contact with him admitted his chivalrous and noble bearing, and the charm of his manners, at once simple and sociable.

On his accession the young Emperor flung himself zealously into affairs of State. A disciple of La Harpe, he attempted the betterment of his people, but succeeded only in arousing discontent. In pursuance of a revised foreign policy, he came to terms with Great Britain, joined himself with Austria, and formed an enduring alliance with Prussia, founded on a romantic friendship for the sovereigns of that country. To this coalition he adhered, despite the overtures of N. (whom he then regarded as a tyrant and an adventurer), through the campaign of Jena. But after the rout of Friedland (1807) N. was in a position to make terms. His brilliant personality fascinated the impressionable Russian Emperor, and an alliance was formed between them. Still, however, Alexander upheld the Russian and Prussian interests against the French, and when he found that N. did not intend to fulfil his engagements the situation became strained, and open hostilities followed, culminating in the campaign of 1812. Thus were Alexander's affections finally alienated from the French Emperor.

He played a conspicuous part in the partition of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, having meanwhile, through the agency of some evangelical revivalists, become possessed of a genuine but fanatical pietism, which coloured his future actions. Then, as time went

on, and he fell more and more under the influence of Metternich, his views again began to change, and he forsook to some extent his early liberalism. On 1 Dec. 1825 he died. And though Russia benefited little, if at all, by his reign, he nevertheless stands out as one of the most interesting figures in her history.

**Alexandria, Battle of.**—Was fought on 21 March 1801 near the ruins of Nicopolis. The British expeditionary force (14,000), under Sir Ralph Abercromby, lay across the isthmus, and at 3.30 on the morning of the 21st their outposts were attacked and driven back by the French (20,000) under Menou. The British troops withstood the French assaults, and about ten o'clock the French gave way and retired on Alexandria. During the heat of the battle Sir Ralph Abercromby (q.v.) was mortally wounded, but remained in command until the end of the battle. Major-General (afterwards Sir) John Moore and three other generals were also wounded on the British side, which sustained about 1,400 other casualties. The French losses numbered 1,140 killed and about 3,000 wounded.

**Algeciras Bay, Battle of.**—This battle consisted of two distinct engagements between French and British squadrons, in the second of which the French were assisted by a Spanish squadron.

(1) On 6 July 1801 Sir James Saumarez, in command of six British ships of the line and two frigates, attacked a French squadron of three ships of the line and one frigate, under Admiral Linois, lying sheltered under the formidable coast batteries of *Almirante* and *St. Iago*. Owing to the raking fire by the batteries and gunboats Saumarez was compelled to draw off, leaving the *Hannibal*, which had run ashore, in the hands of the French.

(2) On 16 July, ten days later, Saumarez again attacked the French, who were now assisted by a Spanish squadron consisting of six ships of the line and three frigates; and, though he had only five ships of the line, he succeeded in capturing the *St. Antoine*, while the Spanish ships *Real Carlos* and *Hermenegildo* were blown up,

causing the enemy a loss of nearly 2,000 men, the British loss being only 17 killed and about 100 wounded.

**America, Bonapartes in.**—The idea prevails that there are numerous scions of the House of Bonaparte in America, and certainly there are many people there who consider themselves descended from members of the great Napoleon's family. But in general the claim to such lineage is not substantiated by good, or even reasonably credible, evidence; and, in fact, the only American citizens of the present day (1920) who are really entitled to be styled kinsmen of Napoleon are Charles Joseph Bonaparte and his nephew, Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte.

**Charles Joseph Bonaparte:** contemporary politician in America, second son of Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte and grandson of Jerome, brother of N., was born at Baltimore on 9 June 1851. He graduated at Harvard University in 1871, and later was admitted to the Bar of Maryland. He has attained a distinguished position in American politics, and among other public appointments has been president of the National Municipal League. In President Roosevelt's Cabinet he held the post of Secretary to the Navy from 1 July 1905 till 17 Dec. 1906, when he became Attorney-General of the United States.

**Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte,** great grandson of the Emperor's brother, was born in Paris in Feb. 1878, and was educated at the Jesuit College of Georgetown University and Harvard, where he graduated in 1900. He is the only son of a brother of Mr. C. J. Bonaparte, by name Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, and lives chiefly at Newport, Rhode Island, but has not any regular profession. He is married, but has no family.

For deceased members of the House of Bonaparte in America, see A. Hilliard Atteridge's *Napoleon's Brothers*, Appendix I. (Methuen, 1909).

**Amstetten, Battle of.**—A battle of the campaign of the Danube, fought on 5 Nov. 1805 between the Russians and Murat's cavalry with part of Lannes' corps. The former were defeated with a loss of 1,000 killed, wounded and prisoners.

**Ancestors of Napoleon, The.**—Bonaparte is the French form of "Buonaparte," the family name of Napoleon I., Emperor of the French, the Italian spelling being discarded by him after the year 1796. The family is of Tuscan origin, and the earliest mention of the name has been traced to the year 1261, when a Florentine named William took the surname of Bonaparte or Buonaparte. This procedure seems to have taken place at the time when the Ghibellines, the party to which William belonged, had, for a while, gained the ascendancy. When, later, the Guelphs came into power the Buonapartes, together with all their party, were persecuted and proscribed; the family then seems to have scattered, the two most prominent branches, as they afterwards proved, settling at San Miniato al Tedesco, a small Tuscan town on the way to Pisa, and Sarzana. The Buonapartes had their family vault in the church of San Spirito in Florence, and a writer in 1854 mentions that there, in the cloister of the convent, he read on a gravestone the following inscription:

S. di Benedetto,  
Di Piero di Giovanni  
Buonaparte. E di sua Descendente.

The arms above it, he further states, display a star both above and below the chevron. Others of the same name, doubtless of the same family, were to be found elsewhere holding positions of eminence and responsibility. When N. entered Bologna in 1796 as general of the French army he was shown the city records, the "Golden Book," wherein were inscribed the names and arms of the Buonapartes, while again at Treviso, after the battle of Arcola, the civic dignitaries presented to him the parchments which proved that his ancestors once held high rank in that city.

The San Miniato branch furnished many distinguished bearers of the name. A Giuseppe Buonaparte, possibly of this branch, at the period of the revival of learning, wrote one of the earliest comedies of that age, entitled "The Widow." The manuscript is in the Royal Library at Paris,



where is also preserved a volume, "The History of the Sacking of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon in 1527," written by one, Jacopo Buonaparte, an eye-witness of the event. This manuscript was printed for the first time at Cologne in 1756, and, according to Las Cases, actually contains a genealogy of the Buonapartes, carried back to an early period, and describes them as one of the most illustrious houses of Tuscany. Other details given by Las Cases are of interest. "The Duke de Feltre, French ambassador in Tuscany, brought to Paris from the Gallery de Medici the portrait of a Buonaparte who had married a princess of the Grand Duke's family. The mother of Pope Nicholas V. or Paul V. of Sarzana was also a Buonaparte." Again: "It was a Buonaparte who negotiated the treaty by which Leghorn was exchanged for Sarzana." In the years from 1672 to 1762 fifteen Buonapartes of San Miniato received the degree of doctor at the university of Pisa—thirteen in law, two in philosophy and medicine. It was a member of this family who founded there the class of jurisprudence; in 1769 a Giovanni Battista Buonaparte was professor of medicine.

The branch settling in Sarzana found in its isolation and obscurity a refuge from persecution and the turmoil of political and actual warfare which convulsed Italy for so long. They carried with them their Ghibelline and aristocratic principles, and for nearly three centuries lived in accordance therewith. They exercised the profession of advocate for generations, and in this capacity were entrusted with various embassies of importance in which they showed the true racial instinct for intrigue. This line became extinct in the person of Philip Buonaparte, a canon and a man of means, who recognised his kinship with the Corsican branch, but left his estate to other relatives named Buonacorsi. It was a cadet of this sept who, leaving the mainland for either political or domestic reasons, settled in Corsica at the beginning of the sixteenth century, though, according to some accounts, various Buonapartes reached the island long before this period.

From the first the Buonapartes were looked upon as people of importance in the island, partly because of their Italian connexions, and also of their substantial acquisitions of land and the official positions they occupied in Ajaccio, in its law affairs, and in the magistracy of the town. The records give nine generations as having lived on Corsican soil "within two centuries and a half."

The following list, taken from Norwood Young's "The Growth of Napoleon," gives:

**Francesco Buonaparte** of Sarzana as the first settler at Ajaccio in 1529, dying there in 1540. He was known as "Il Moro di Sarzana," and held an appointment in the service of the Genoese Republic as "mounted mercenary," with a salary of 12 livres a month. There is a petition in existence, dated 1497, in the name of "Gabriele di Sarzana, figliolo del Moro di Sarzana," asking for an appointment as mercenary, which he afterwards obtained. There was an objection on the part of the Genoese to these appointments becoming the property of a family, their complaint being that "the mercenaries inter-marry or ally themselves with the Corsicans, to the detriment of their duty, which they execute with greater fidelity when they are new to the country."

This Francesco married Caterina, daughter of Guido da Castelletto, who had left Pietra Santa, near Sarzana, for Ajaccio to become registrar and town-clerk of that place. A son, Gabriele, was born, also a daughter, Antonia, who married and settled at Sarzana.

**Gabriele Buonaparte**, son of the above, also lived at Ajaccio as a mounted mercenary. During the Corsican rising under Sampiero in 1553 Gabriele with other Genoese had to flee to Calvi, the only town in the island remaining under Genoese rule, from thence proceeding to Lunigiana until the retaking of Ajaccio, Sampiero, the leader, being assassinated in 1567. That year Gabriele started the profitable business of raising towers, by permission of the authorities; each tower was endowed with certain revenues, this proving an investment of capital

## ANCESTORS

at very high interest. Gabriele died in 1569, leaving two sons, Geronimo, the eldest, and Agostino, who became member of Council of Ancients.

**Geronimo** (was born at Ajaccio). He became an advocate; in 1585 a notary. He was also a member of the Council of Ancients (*see* CORSICA) and was frequently re-elected; became chief of the council in 1594. In 1572 and 1577 he was sent as deputy to Genoa to report on Corsican affairs (*see* COR-SICA). He married Pelagrina, daughter of Quilico Calvari of Clia-vati, Lunegiana. Three sons were born of this marriage: Francesco (who follows), Gabriele, and Lucciano.

**Francesco** became a notary; was member of Council of Ancients in 1596, 1620, 1622, 1630, 1631. He seems to have been always in financial difficulties, partly owing to the necessity of dowering his daughters. It is recorded that he was forced to pawn a gold *Agnus Dei* for sixteen livres, leaving it to his son Sebastiano to redeem. Francesco married a widow, Camilla Cattaccioli, and had issue: Sebastiano (who follows); Maria, married a member of the Costa family; Geronimo, married D. Bozzi; Francis-chetta, married G. A. Loagalonchi; Giacometta, who married a Tavera.

**Sebastiano** (born 1603; died about 1661). He married as his first wife Angela Felice, daughter of Troilo Lubera, who died without issue; (2) in 1630, Maria Rustelli. Children: Geronimo, married on 24 April 1650 Isabella Costa; Camilla, married 24 April 1650 G. V. Costa, brother of Isabella; Carlo Maria (who follows); and Alessandro.

**Carlo Maria** was baptized at Ajaccio 1 Dec. 1637; became member of Council of Ancients, 1681; died at Ajaccio, 26 Aug. 1692. He had married on 10 June 1657 Virginia Odone, by whom he had issue: Fiordalice, who married D. Costa; and the following son:

**Giuseppe** (was born at Ajaccio, 24 March 1663; died about 1713). He became member of Council of Ancients, 1702; and married on 20 Dec. 1682 Maria Bozzi, of the feudal signors of Bozzi. By this alliance Corsican blood was introduced into the Buonaparte family, and also the name of Napo-

## ANCESTORS

leone, which the Bozzi again seem to have acquired from an alliance with the delle Vie family. A Napoleone delle Vie distinguished himself as captain in the service of Henri II. The children of this marriage were: Sebastiano Nicolo (who follows); Carlo Maria, died without issue; Francesco Maria, died young; Maria Anna Virgilia, married Federico Forcioli; Paolo Girolamo, died in infancy; Maria Saveria; Tommaso Xavier; who also died young.

**Sebastiano Nicolo** (was born at Ajaccio, 29 Sept. 1683; died at Ajaccio, 24 Nov. 1760). He became member of Council of Ancients; married Maria Anna Tusoli of Bocognano. Three sons were born of this marriage: Giuseppe (who follows); Napoleone, born at Ajaccio 1715; died at Corte 17 Aug. 1767; became Chief of Council of Ancients, 1764; married on 3 Nov. 1743, his cousin Rosa Bozzi, and had one child, Isabella, who married Ludovico Ornano. The third son was Lucciano (*q.v.*).

**Giuseppe** was baptized at Ajaccio, 13 May 1713, and died there 15 Dec. 1763. He was a member of Council of Ancients. Married on 5 March 1741 Maria Saveria Paravicini, and had issue: Gertrude (*q.v.*) baptized at Ajaccio, 25 Nov. 1741, and married on 25 June 1763, Nicolo Paravicini, her first cousin; and a son Carlo Maria (*q.v.*) the father of Napoleon.

These Buonapartes were mostly lawyers, but never seem to have acquired wealth. The sale of the produce of their country estates, grain, wine and oil, furnished their income, which was occasionally augmented by the fees for notarial or other legal work. Their membership of the Council of Ancients carried certain privileges with it. They were ardent supporters of Genoese rule, and in 1652 one of their number, Geronimo, was styled by the Republic of Genoa in a document dated 1652 "Egregius Hieronimus di Buonaparte, procurator nobilium." But this distinction was never much used; among the Corsicans such were neither highly prized nor popular; the people were never feudalized sufficiently. The Buonapartes cannot be said to have

taken part in actual Corsican history. Their sympathies were with the Genoese not the Corsicans. But with the gradual admixture of native blood their sympathies changed, and in Carlo Buonaparte this tendency reached its climax in his adherence to Paoli the patriot.

The development of characteristics in this family is not difficult to trace from its history and environment. Italy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with its incessant warfare and family strifes, developed natures in which a capacity for intrigue became predominant by force of circumstance. On the physical plane, to continue in possession of mere life for any period became a fine art; on the mental, intrigue and cynicism were necessities by the same plea; the moral condition the pages of Machiavelli will show, as indeed they comprise all. In the obscurity of Sarzana these traits fell into abeyance; in Corsica, with the virility and individuality of a hardier branch of the Italian race came the atmosphere of a social life in which the vendetta was the supreme call of honour, the first and final appeal to justice. By family ties and legal duties the Buonapartes must often have been brought into direct contact with these bloody feuds; all this adding its influence to the moulding of the race which was to produce one of the most compelling characters the world has known. The Buonapartes were thus an admixture of Tuscan intellectuality with the volcanic energy and vigour of the Corsican. The intellectual tradition was maintained in each generation; the mind was cultivated, education insisted upon and earnestly sought after—in this trait the family standing superior to the majority of Corsicans. This was especially exemplified in the case of N.'s father, Carlo Buonaparte.

The question of the Buonapartes' nobility, or the validity of their claim to such, is a vexed question on which authorities differ. They themselves based their claim on their consanguinity with the Tuscan branch of the family. That the relationship did exist, in spite of the lack of actual

documentary proof, would seem to be shown by the family tradition existing on both sides and the unfailing recognition of kinship and its ties throughout several centuries. The island branch had never failed to keep in touch with the political developments and intellectual life of the mainland, and the accustomed channel of communication was through the San Miniato family. To their care also were confided the children of the Corsican stock, whose education, according to the family tradition, must be finished at Pisa, a course followed both by the father of N. and by his son Joseph. Though it was only under the gradual dawning of French ideas and influence that the Corsican Buonapartes strove to prove their nobility, Giuseppe, the grandfather of N., had about the year 1757 obtained from the Tuscan branch a formal recognition of consanguinity. To mark this affiliation the "u" in the family name was now insisted upon, though the family up till now had spelled it "Bonaparte." Even on this point statements vary. One version states that in 1757 the Grand Duke of Tuscany actually issued formal patents attesting the Buonaparte nobility; another would have it that in 1780, when Joseph, in soliciting the honour of a Cross of St. Etienne, had submitted the statement of his pedigree obtained from the genealogists of Sarzana, together with that elicited by his personal inquiries at Pisa, the reply had been: "His Highness orders that the applicant be invited to furnish the proofs of his Tuscan origin," this inferring that those already submitted were valueless. Dr. Sloane, in stating that formal patents were issued in 1757, goes on to mention that the coat-armour of the family was also announced: "*La couronne de compte, l'écusson fendu par deux barres et deux étoiles, avec les lettres B.P. qui signifient Buona Parte, le fond des armes rougeâtres, les barres et les étoiles bleu, les ombrements et la couronne jaune!*" He further states: "Translated as literally as such doubtful language and construction can be, this signifies: A count's coronet, the escutcheon with

two bends sinister and two stars, bearing the letters B.P., for Buona Parte, the field of the arms red, the bends and stars blue, the letters and coronet yellow!' In heraldic parlance this would be: Gules, two bends sinister between two estoiles azure charged with B.P. for Buona Parte; or, surmounted by a count's coronet of the last. In 1759 the same sovereign granted further the title of patrician."

In N.'s lifetime many mythical genealogies of the family were drawn up by the army of sycophants about his Court, tracing the origin of the Bonapartes to the Roman emperors, the Greek emperors, to Charlemagne. Amongst these was one proving N. to be the legitimate heir to the French Crown through the Man in the Iron Mask and the daughter of his jailer Bompert, which properly was Bonaparte. No one ridiculed these performances so mercilessly as the Emperor himself. His criticism of such is to be found in the *Moniteur* of 15 July 1805:

"A genealogy of the Bonaparte house, as ridiculous as it is stupid, has appeared in the papers. These researches are extremely puerile. To those who ask from what period dates the Bonaparte house the answer is very simple: it dates from 18 Brumaire. Soldier, magistrate, sovereign, the Emperor owes all to his sword and his love of the people. How is it possible in the present century that any person should be so silly as to amuse the public with such absurdities?"

When N. became the son-in-law of the Austrian Emperor the latter caused investigations to be made about the Bonaparte family in Italy during the Middle Ages, and secured the documents proving that some of the family had long been Lords of Treviso. These pleased Francis greatly, and he declared that he had felt sure that N.'s family was as noble as his own, otherwise he would never have given him his daughter, Marie Louise. N. was not so pleased at these efforts; he quietly remarked that he considered himself sufficiently honoured in being the Rudolph of Habsburg of his race. To O'Meara at St. Helena he reverted

to the subject, and said that the head of his father-in-law "was crammed with ideas of high birth—he thought more of the lustre to be obtained from parchments than of victories."

Yet the matter is of great historical importance, for the recognition of the family's nobility by the French authorities had been the sesame to that wonderful career of the greatest scion of the race, Napoleon.

**Andréossy, Antoine François, Count (1761-1828).**—Was born in Languedoc on 6 March 1761, and was of Italian extraction. He passed through the school of artillery at Metz, obtained a commission in 1781, and became captain in 1788. He adopted revolutionary principles, was on active service on the Rhine in 1794, and in Italy in the following year, remaining in that country till 1797, engaged in engineering duties. He was made chief of brigade at the end of 1796 and general of brigade two years later, when he accompanied N. to Egypt. He served in the Egyptian campaign with distinction, and returned with N. to Europe, taking part in the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire. In the beginning of 1800 he was made general of division, and during the brief peace with Great Britain was ambassador to that country. His advice that N. should make every effort to keep peace with the British Government, which strongly desired to maintain it, was unheeded. When N. became Emperor he created Andréossy inspector-general of artillery, and conferred upon him the title of Count of the Empire. During the war of 1805 he joined the headquarters staff of N. In 1808 he was ambassador to Vienna, and in 1809 military governor of the same city during the French occupation. In 1812 he was ambassador to Constantinople, but in 1814 was recalled from Turkey by Louis XVIII. On N.'s return from Elba he emerged from private life and followed the fortunes of his master. In 1827 he was elected for the department of the Aude. He was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and wrote several striking works upon artillery tactics, on projectiles, and on military history. He had a strong scientific

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leaning and some diplomatic ability. He took a great interest in water-courses, canals and lakes, which perhaps he inherited from his ancestor, François Andréossy, who had assisted in the construction of the Languedoc canal in 1669. He died at Montauban in 1828.

### **Angoulême, Louis Antoine de Bourbon (1778-1844), Duc d'.**

Was the eldest son of Charles X. of France. During the Revolution he left France with his father and lived first in London, then at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, and finally at Hartwell. In 1799 he married his cousin, Marie Thérèse, daughter of Louis XVI. He returned to France towards the end of the Empire, joined Wellington's army, and was appointed Prince Regent of Bordeaux. Early in the Hundred Days the duc d'Angoulême raised an army of about 10,000 royalist volunteers at Nîmes, which he commanded, and which offered the only serious opposition, for the time being, to the restoration of the Empire. On 1 and 2 April 1815, his troops were successful against two bands of imperialists at Montélimar and Loriol, and marched to Valence, where, however, they found themselves face to face with General Grouchy. Angoulême's men began to disappear; and on the 8th he signed the Convention of La Palud, by which he and his officers were allowed to go free, and his men pardoned on giving up their arms. Later he became a member of Louis XVIII's Ministry, and he commanded a force which invaded Spain in 1823. He left France with his father after the Revolution in 1830, and lived in exile with him, dying at Goritz in 1844. He is said to have been a narrow-minded and ignorant man, yet possessed of some good sense; he was one of the ultra-royalists of his time, and was the last duc d'Angoulême.

**Angoulême, Marie Thérèse, Duchesse d' (1778-1851).**—Only daughter of Louis XVI., of whom N. said that she was "the only man in the family." She was a woman of extremely narrow-minded but masculine character, and her stern royalist creed appealed not at all to the French people. In 1799 she married her

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cousin the duc d'Angoulême, eldest son of Charles X., who at that time resided in England. With him she returned to France towards the close of the Empire, and on N.'s return from Elba she collected troops to oppose his restoration. Her endeavours to rouse her men to enthusiasm were, however, unsuccessful, and she finally dismissed them and sailed to England. After the second Restoration she became the head of the *Jacobins blancs*, or ultra-royalists party, which in 1815 endeavoured to suppress all traces of the Revolution of 1789 and of the Empire. She was accused of having instigated the execution of Marshal Ney, and in defence said that had she known what Ney had done for France she would have acted differently—a statement open to doubt, as she could scarcely have been unaware of the extent of these services.

**Antommarchi, Francesco (1789-1838).**—Physician to N. at St. Helena; was born at Morsiglia in Corsica in 1789. Antommarchi was probably one of the best-equipped anatomists of his day. He studied medicine at Pisa and then at Florence, where he became a pupil of Mascagni. Before taking up his post at St. Helena he had had a large and varied experience in the hospitals and dissecting-rooms of Italy, especially as regards the preparation of anatomical specimens, in which he was extremely expert. He was chosen to fill the post of physician to the Emperor by Cardinal Fesch and Madame Mère, and left Gravesend in the *Snipe* on 9 July 1819, reaching St. Helena on 20 Sept. of the same year. He paid a visit to N. on 23 Sept., and the Emperor put him through a most rigorous examination on the subject of chemistry, regarding which he knew little or nothing. Said the Emperor afterwards: "I would give him my horse to dissect, but I would not trust him with the cure of my own foot." So it cannot be said that he had any great confidence in his fellow Corsican. Antommarchi performed the post-mortem on the Emperor's remains, but although he expressed himself in agreement with the official report, he was not permitted by the members of

N.'s entourage to sign it. Returning to England, he shortly afterwards left it for the continent, and after visiting Italy and Poland, lived in Paris from 1834-6.

In 1825 he published his *Derniers moments de Napoléon*. The book raised a great deal of controversy, and has since been stigmatized by various authorities—Lord Rosebery among the number—as “mendacious.” He claimed to have executed a death-mask of N., of which he advertised copies for sale, but it is now known that Dr. Burton took the original mask. Antommarchi died at Santiago de Cuba on 3 April 1838, aged forty-nine.

*Memoirs.*—In his vivid sketches of the last moments of N., Antommarchi has drawn a portrait of his illustrious patient which later biographers have not hesitated to brand as “mendacious,” but which for picturesqueness and insight into the character of the great man he served will bear comparison with any other portrait. We are told that at the Corsican surgeon's first interview with N. in Sept. 1819 he was put through a very rigorous examination regarding his chemical and surgical knowledge, with which the Emperor showed considerable intimacy, and that he failed in the examination. He has a very different story to tell, for he avers that he was fortunate enough to answer the Emperor's questions in a manner that satisfied him, and that he expressed his satisfaction in very kind and highly flattering terms. On the following day he paid N. a professional visit, and as this bore a great resemblance to many others we may quote the author's account of it:

“I went to see the Emperor, and found him lying on a camp bed. The room was lighted so that I could observe the progress of the disorder. His ear was hard, his complexion unhealthy, his eyes livid, the white part of the eye of a reddish hue tinged with yellow, the whole body excessively fat, and the skin very pale. I examined the tongue, and found it slightly covered with a whitish substance. He was seized with violent and prolonged sneezing, sometimes accompanied by a dry cough, followed by a viscous ex-

pectoration, the nature of which varied from one moment to the other. The nostrils were discoloured and obstructed, the secretion of saliva abundant at intervals, and the abdomen rather hard. Pulse low but regular, giving about sixty pulsations per minute. All these symptoms appeared to me alarming. I examined more minutely, and observed that part of the left lobe of the liver, which corresponds to the epigastric region, was hard and painful on being touched. The vesicle of the bile was full, resisting pressure and projecting outwards in the right hypogastric region, near the cartilage of the third false rib. Vague pains on the right side about the regions of the loins and ribs; fixed pain, more or less acute, round the breast, and sensation of extreme uneasiness in the right shoulder: on pressing the pit of the stomach, breathing was rendered more difficult. Napoleon also complained of a pain which varied in intensity, and which had long affected the right hypochondriac region. It was internal, and he endeavoured to indicate precisely the seat of it by saying it was at the depth of two inches. For some days past he had been without appetite, with frequent nausea and vomiting, sometimes acrid, sometimes bilious.”

N. questioned his surgeon as to his chances of life, and was assured that they were fairly good. He gave him an exhaustive account of his habits and his diet, which make most interesting reading. He railed against the climate, as well he might, and constantly stated that he felt sure that it would finally kill him. His symptoms undoubtedly appear to have been those of hepatitis, the sensation of pain in the right side and the shooting pain in the right shoulder assisting Antommarchi to this view; but it is strange that the Corsican surgeon never hinted at cancer, and that, indeed, only one of N.'s medical advisers out of many correctly diagnosed his malady.

Coming as he did into the last eighteen months of N.'s existence, Antommarchi saw him only as a sick man, but it was a sick man with a wonderfully vigorous brain.



N. appears to have been almost uniformly kind and polite to Antommarchi, with whom he chatted most intimately, and in whose anatomical work he took the greatest possible interest, although the mere mention of practical anatomy was sufficient to arouse in him the greatest distaste. He said he had never been able to get over the feeling of horror at the proximity of a corpse. He greatly admired the coloured prints in connexion with Antommarchi's work. N. used to call him "Dottoraccio," and, as he did with his favourites and intimates, used to pull his hair and ears. Antommarchi seems to have been greatly struck by the wonderful fullness and variety of his imperial patient's mind. On one occasion he had been reading a magnificent passage in Racine, in which Mithridates develops his plan of attack against Rome. He read it, says Antommarchi, "with delicacy and truth of expression and inflexion of voice which would have done honour to an actor." Suddenly he grew unwell, and, uttering his mother's name, fell back in a kind of stupor. Coming to himself again, however, he said: "Doctor, I am dead: what do you think about it?" Then rising from his chair and advancing towards the surgeon, he looked at him from head to foot, took hold of him by the ears and whiskers and pushed him against the wall, exclaiming: "Ah, you rascal of a Corsican doctor! You are come to St. Helena to physic me, are you? Do you know that I will have you hanged at your own house at Cape Corsica!" And so he continued with much laughter and drollery. From day to day such scenes took place. The Emperor was rarely in fair health, but for all that took a good deal of exercise. He believed in being bled from time to time, and was impetuous and impatient, so that he often opened the scars of old wounds rather than wait to have a vein issued in the usual manner.

At one time, when N.'s health was rather better than usual, he used to read long passages of history aloud, or recall in lengthy conversations his victories and campaigns, and these

talks Antommarchi gives at length. Later, too, he used to return to the scenes of his childhood, and was wont to recount how he stole figs from his mother's garden and fought and quarrelled with Joseph. He would still take horseback exercise and ride in his calash, but he was in the habit of sleeping in a kind of lethargy for hours, a sure symptom of hepatic disease. His skin, says Antommarchi, was always excessively pale, bordering upon yellow, the complexion tinged with a greenish hue. He was almost constantly tormented with headache, and his extremities grew so cold that they had to be warmed by the application of heated linen. He almost constantly refused to take such medicines as Antommarchi prescribed for him. Whether he doubted their natural efficacy or the ability of the physician it would be difficult to say. There can be no doubt whatsoever that had he been removed from St. Helena in the early part of 1819 his life might have been spared for several years, for although the cancer had a strong hold upon him, it appears to have been of quite a local nature, and it is practically certain that the immediate cause of death was nothing more or less than hepatitis induced by the climate. The Emperor was wont to say to his surgeon and fellow-countryman that the human body was like a watch which could not be opened. Did the jeweller attempt to probe it with his clumsy tools, he did a great deal more harm than good to it, and that it was better to leave it alone. The diet he took, which according to the medical science of the day was thought the best for him, would have horrified a modern physician. For example, Antommarchi states that one day he had "only" taken "three small quantities of broth, two eggs, a little cream and a glass of claret diluted with water." Such a diet would, of course, do him much more harm than good. Occasionally there were little squabbles, and N.'s fatalism often irritated Antommarchi. "Our hour is marked," said N. on one occasion, "and it is not in the power of any of us to take a portion which nature refuses us." On the surgeon's con-

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tradicting him he grew angry and sent him to the devil with his drugs, but ere Antommarchi could reach his room N. sent for him and apologized.

From day to day, then, we encounter in these memoirs medical reports, until we come to the time when N. grew so weak that he was forced to take to his bed for the last time. All the evidence goes to show that he suffered the most intense agony and that he complained very little. The latter pages of this work make such painful reading that perhaps only the most curious will care to follow them to the end. Every single symptom is detailed. The last scene of all was one of the most terrible suffering, the dreadful nature of the tempest outside heightening the picture of woe within.

The remainder of the memoirs is occupied with an account of the autopsy (*q.v.*) and the further adventures of Antommarchi in Europe, where he saw many of those who were at one time close at N.'s side.

Antommarchi, questioned by those in authority in England when he arrived in London as to the situation of Longwood and the nature of N.'s malady, stated bluntly that the first was most unsuitable and that the second was not, as they thought, a hereditary disease. His father, he said, died of a schirrus of the pylorus and he of a chronic gastro-hepatitis. On the whole there is nothing in these memoirs to lead us to the conclusion that Antommarchi has over- or under-stated facts, and we may leave him with the statement that his book is as veracious as it is highly interesting.

**Aqua Tofana.**—After the capitulation of Mantua early in 1797, Würmsers, the general who had held the city, was so impressed by the magnanimity of N. that he wrote him a most kindly letter, warning him that a plot had been formed in Bologna to poison him with *aqua tofana*, the deadly venom so notorious in Italian history as a weapon in the hands of the Borgias. It is not known whether Würmsers's belief had any foundation in fact, and we cannot learn that N. took any special pains to safeguard himself against such an attempt.

## ARC DE TRIOMPHE

### **Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel.**—

Was erected by N. in honour of the *grande armée*. The famous bronze horses, the ancient quadriga, of St. Mark, brought from Venice during the Italian campaign, first crowned this arch, but were restored to Venice by the Allies in 1815. The present figures, intended to represent the doubtful glory of the Restoration, are by Bosio. Soldiers of the Empire are placed on the Corinthian columns between the three arches. Percier and Fontanes were the architects.

### **Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile.**—

This arch, spanning the Champs Elysées, is the largest of modern times, and was erected by N. to commemorate the deeds of the *grande armée* in 1805, its first stone being laid on the anniversary of N.'s birthday (15 Aug.), 1806. Its cost is estimated at about 10,000,000 francs (£400,000 sterling). Chalgrin was its first architect, but it was finished by his helper Goust in 1836. The foundations of the arch are 25 feet in depth; its height is 152 feet; width, 138 feet; thickness, 68 feet. The main arch is 90 feet in height, 45 feet in width; the smaller arches each measure 57 feet by 25. On each side of the central arch, facing the Champs Elysées, are two colossal groups cut in full relief, one of which is that masterpiece of Rude, the *Chant du Départ* or *Marseillaise*; the other is *Le Triomphe*, by Cortot. Above these are two bas-reliefs, that over the first group representing the honours paid to General Marceau; the second, above *Le Triomphe*, showing Murat taking Mustapha prisoner at Aboukir. On the western side of the arch, facing Neuilly, the lower groups, are *La Résistance* by Etex, with bas-relief above depicting *Arcola* and *La Paix* also by Etex, with the *Taking of Alexandria* above. On the frieze that runs all round the arch immediately underneath the cornice is a long bas-relief, the work of six artists, which represents, on the side facing Paris and half-way over the lateral arches, the return of the armies. The figures upon this frieze are 6½ feet in height. On that part of the entablature, above the cornice, are thirty bucklers, each one bearing the name of a victory,

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fifteen of which are those gained under the Republic and fifteen under the Empire. The lateral sides of the arch are adorned with bas-reliefs—on the north side Austerlitz, on the south Jemappes—whilst inside the arcades are the names of three hundred and eighty-four marshals, generals, lieutenant-generals, and generals of division, the names of those who fell on the field of battle being underlined.

**Archambault, Achille Thomas l'Union.**—Piqueur and coachman to N. at St. Helena during the whole of his captivity. In 1840 he returned to the island at the time of the exhumation of the Emperor's body. In Sept. 1818 he created a sensation by riding down the course at the Deadwood Races in an intoxicated condition. The steward expelled him from the course and gave him a horse-whipping. N. witnessed the affair from Longwood through his telescope, and reprimanded the man.

**Archambault, Joseph Olivier.**—Brother of the above and a groom at Longwood. He was deported from the island on 19 Oct. 1816, and took service with Joseph Bonaparte in the United States.

**Arcis-sur-Aube, Battle of.**—A battle of the allied invasion of France in 1814. It took place on 21 March between 23,000 French under N. and 60,000 Allies under Schwartzberg. N.'s troops were obliged to retreat, which they effected in an orderly way with a loss of about 2,000, while the losses of his opponents were considerably heavier.

**Arcola, Battle of.**—A battle of N.'s Italian campaign, fought on 15, 16 and 17 Nov. 1796 between the French under N. and the main Austrian army under Alvintzi. After a fierce struggle the Austrians were driven back, with a loss variously estimated at from 8,000 to 18,000. The victors also lost heavily. It was during this battle that N. risked his life on the bridge.

**Armed Neutrality, The.**—A confederacy entered into by Russia, Prussia, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark in order to resist the claim of Great Britain to search neutral vessels during the American War (1780). This was followed almost as a consequence

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by the Second Armed Neutrality (1800). Paul, Tsar of Russia, on his accession to the throne, extended a friendly diplomatic hand towards the Napoleonic Government, although he was animated by no spirit of liking to republicanism. On the spread of more autocratic principles in France, he leant still nearer to N., acted as intermediary between him and Great Britain, and withdrew the Russian squadron which had been co-operating with the British in the North Sea and the Channel as a sign of his regard. It cannot be said that France on her part cherished a like amity for Russia, for she refused her representative entrance to the diets of the negotiators at Rastadt, and studiously opposed all Muscovite pretensions in the Mediterranean. By his protection of Malta and the Knights of St. John, Paul ran counter to the desires of N., who, aware of the considerable strategic importance of that island, seized it in June 1798. Ere this, N. had intercepted at Ancona some letters of the Tsar which showed that he nursed the idea of securing Malta. Four months after the seizure of Malta by the French, Paul took the order of St. John under his protection. There were still further causes for dispeace between the two countries. France levied Polish troops for service in Italy, and Paul employed French *émigrés* in a military capacity. A Russian squadron joined the British Fleet in July 1798, and negotiations were opened with Austria for a coalition against France, which resulted in the Italian and Alpine campaigns (*qq.v.*). After the war, N., anxious to entice Paul from the coalition, and hard pressed in Malta, offered to make over the island to him, and, furthermore, offered to restore all Russian prisoners taken by the French in Holland and elsewhere. In Oct. 1799 Sprenporten, the Russian envoy, opened negotiations with N. in Paris, under cover of receiving the Russian prisoners, and the Second Armed Neutrality was later formed with the friendly countenance of N. It was hastened by the incident of the capture of the Danish frigate *Freya* (June 1800), which was convoying vessels which a British squadron

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desired to search. Its conditions were, briefly, as follows: (1) That neutral vessels had the right of free navigation from port to port, and on the coasts of nations at war. (2) All goods, except contraband, which belonged to subjects of the belligerent powers to be free on neutral vessels. (3) The term "blockaded ports" to mean those where hostile vessels exercised such a close investment as to make the proximity of such vessels dangerous to the entrance of neutral ships: no vessel navigating towards a blockaded port after having been warned off by the commander of the investing squadron. (4) Neutral vessels to be arrested only for just cause plainly proved; to be adjudicated upon without delay; uniformity of procedure to be ensured; compensation to be afforded those who had suffered loss through no fault of their own, and satisfaction to be given for insult to a neutral flag. (5) Declaration by the officer commanding neutral war-vessels conveying merchant ships that the vessels under his charge contained no contraband to suffice to prevent those vessels being searched.

In Dec. 1800 N. announced to the neutral powers his determination not to treat for peace with Great Britain until she had recognised the principles of the convention. In Jan. 1801 negotiations for peace, which had not yet been cemented, were entered into between N. and Paul. It was N.'s aim to establish a system which would exclude Great Britain from the commerce of the continent, and cut her off from all business communication with it. Britain demanded an explanation from Denmark of the trend events were taking, and was met with a determined reply. A British fleet under Parker and Nelson was dispatched to Danish waters. Embargoes were placed upon neutral vessels in British ports, and the same policy was carried out as regards British ships in neutral ports. In March 1801 the Elbe was closed to British ships by Danish troops. Prussian troops occupied Hanover and Bremen, and the Weser

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and Ems were likewise blocked to British commerce. "The Powers of the North," wrote N., "unjustly attacked, may rightly count on France." On 2 April the British Fleet attacked that of the Danes, and the Battle of Copenhagen (*q.v.*) was fought. The arch-conspirators did not suffer. In March Paul was assassinated, and Alexander, his son, succeeded him. The Second Armed Neutrality was set at naught. Good relations were restored between Britain and Russia, and several of the provisions of the convention were accepted by the former. But she reserved to herself the right to search neutral convoys, to seize hostile ships under the neutral flag, and to maintain blockades by vessels of war. The embargoes against British ships on the continent were withdrawn; and, in the event, Great Britain reaped the fruits of victory from one of the most acute naval controversies of modern times.

**Arnott, Dr. Archibald.**—Was sent to N. by Sir Hudson Lowe in consequence of a special request. He believed N.'s malady to arise from mental causes, and found no evidence of liver disease. He suggested cancer. He was not in any way influenced by Lowe, to whom he immediately announced N.'s death on its occurrence. He signed the first report of the dissection and the final report, and was present at the funeral.

**Artillery.**—N. usually depended for success in his battles upon an elaborate scheme of attack by artillery. "When once the *mêlée* has begun," he said, "the man who is clever enough to bring up an unexpected force of artillery without the enemy knowing it is sure to carry the day." His method was, in fact, not to prepare the advance of infantry by slowly demoralising the enemy, but to annihilate a portion of their line so effectively as to create a gap in which the cavalry and infantry might operate. Practically every one of his later battles exhibits these tactics. At Wagram he massed a hundred guns before launching his final attack. N. took an immense personal interest in this arm of the service in which he had been

bred and was jealous of its efficiency, which was very high, especially in manœuvre, as the batteries had to be placed well in front of the infantry line. He frequently massed his artillery on the wings, particularly in his Italian campaigns. N. employed his artillery at Waterloo with immense effect; he gathered seventy-four guns, mostly 12-pounders, at a ridge near La Haye Sainte on the French right, and this was known as the "great battery."

It was at Toulon that N. first won his spurs as an artillery leader. The guns he had to work were few and old in type, but he set to, erecting buttresses, mounting guns and invigorating the whole service with his zeal, so that by the end of Sept. fourteen guns and four mortars had been mounted, materials gathered, and the situation entirely changed. The batteries under N.'s command forced the enemy's frigates to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the inner bay. He established forges to keep his apparatus in order, and entirely reorganised his personnel. He was, however, much hampered by the legates of the government, and ended by bluntly disobeying them. So sure was he that artillery alone would end the siege that the general in command nicknamed him "Captain Cannon." On 30 Oct. 1793 a formidable sally was directed from the town against N.'s batteries, which was routed with the capture of the English general, O'Hara. On 17 Dec. the enemy was driven within the interior works, the entire peninsula fell, and the neighbouring heights were captured. In a few hours the city was completely evacuated, the foreign war vessels set sail, and Toulon was taken. Duteil, in a report written to the Minister of War, says of N.: "A great deal of science, as much intelligence, and too much bravery; such is a faint sketch of the virtues of this rare officer."

**Aspern-Essling, Battle of.**—After the occupation of Vienna on 12 May 1809, N. proceeded to arrange for the crossing of the river; and on the 19th the passage began. The Austrians (95,000) allowed about 25,000 French under Bessières to land

on the left bank, and then fell upon them. Round the villages of Aspern and Essling, which were reduced to heaps of ruins, very sanguinary fighting took place, continuing till the night of the 22nd, during which the French were reinforced by about 30,000 men under Lannes and Oudinot, and the Austrians were then forced to retreat. Both sides lost heavily—the Austrians 25,000 and the French 19,000, including Marshal Lannes (*q.v.*) who was killed.

**Auerstadt, Battle of.**—An action of the Jena campaign. While N. was successfully accounting for a portion of the Prussian army at Jena, Davout's corps (27,000) came in contact with the main body of the Prussians, including their best troops (14 Oct. 1806). Owing to the French rapidity of movement they succeeded in withstanding the Prussian onslaughts. Meanwhile the Duke of Brunswick fell mortally wounded, and news of the defeat at Jena came to hand. Kalckreuth's reserves (which might have saved the day) were held back to cover the retreat, and thus the Prussian defeat was secured. Scharnhorst, who had taken over the command from the Duke, ordered the retreat, which was accomplished without molestation from Davout's exhausted army. Much honour is due to Davout for this crushing victory, won against an adversary in every way his superior.

**Augereau, Pierre François Charles (1757-1816).**—Was born in Paris on 14 Nov. 1757, the son of a small shopkeeper. At the age of seventeen he joined the carabineers, and soon became famous as a duellist. One day, however, an officer insulted him, and Augereau drew his sword. This necessitated flight, and he roamed about the Levant for some time. He next enlisted in the Russian Army and saw service against the Turks, but again he fled from his regiment for some reason, and in Prussia enlisted in the guards. He soon tired of this employment, however, and with other comrades deserted and escaped to the Saxon frontier. He next entered the Neapolitan service, and a little later was wandering about Portugal, when the French Revolution broke out and

he returned to France. He enlisted in the Republican army, and served against the Vendéans with such marked ability that he was made brigadier-general in the army of the Pyrenees, and there in the Spanish campaign was promoted general of division (23 Dec. 1793). Augereau and his division were next transferred to the Army of Italy under N., where general and men distinguished themselves. After a forced march of two days, he seized the passes of Montebotte on 10 April 1796, and having by this movement effected a junction with Generals Mesnard and Joubert, he drew the enemy from all the circumjacent posts, and by the promptitude and daring of his measures surrounded a division commanded by the Austrian general, Preréa. On the 15th of the same month he took possession of the redoubts of Millesimo at the sight of Dego, and facilitated the junction of the army with General Serrurier. The next day he quitted his position, attacked and took the entrenched camp of Ceva defended by the Piedmontese; on the 26th he seized Alba, and on 7 May he made himself master of Casale. At the battle of Lodi (10 May 1796) his turning movement did a great deal to decide the day. At Bologna he took prisoner 400 of the Pope's soldiers together with the cardinal-legate and all the staff. At Castiglione he rendered the most signal services. To rescue Masséna (*q.v.*) from a perilous position, Augereau maintained an obstinate fight throughout the whole day, at last gaining possession of the place in spite of the superior numbers of the enemy. N. never ceased to praise this victory, and in later campaigns used to spur Augereau on by the mention of Castiglione, whilst the dual title N. conferred on him was derived from the place. At the memorable action of Arcola, Augereau, seeing the ranks disordered and almost on the point of giving way, seized a standard and, waving it above his head, rushed on the enemy, and thus by his example and intrepidity animated the troops to a charge which decided the victory. After the fall of Mantua in 1797 N. despatched Augereau to Paris to pre-

sent to the Directory the sixty banners captured from the Austrians.

Augereau had now developed political ambition, and from this time may be dated his rivalry and dislike of N., which afterwards made his actions open to suspicion.

When the plot for the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor (4 Sept. 1797) was sufficiently advanced, Barras, knowing that Augereau had openly declared for the majority of the Directory, recalled him to Paris and gave him the military command of the capital.

On the appointed day, at the head of an armed force, Augereau entered the hall of the legislative body, tore the epaulets from the shoulders of Colonel Ramel and arrested Pichegru and about one hundred and fifty of the other deputies. The place of one of the expelled directors had been promised him, but the vacancies were otherwise filled up. Augereau stormed, remonstrated and even threatened, but at length was prevailed upon to accept the command of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, vacant now by the death of Hoche. But even here the Directory feared the man who had threatened them. He was therefore appointed commander of the division at Perpignan upon pretence of an expedition against Portugal. Thus was the "Fructidor General," as he was designated, duped by the men whose instrument he had been.

The department of the Upper Garonne returned him to the Council of Five Hundred in 1799, and he hastened to Paris to exercise his new functions. When N. returned from Egypt, Augereau absented himself from the dinner given to the conqueror of Italy in the church of St. Sulpice, and later took no part in the events of Brumaire (Nov. 1799). When, however, he perceived the trend of affairs and that all the famous generals were rallying round N., he at once presented himself before his former chief. Now First Consul, N. appointed him to command the army of Holland, and he arrived at the Hague on 26 Jan. 1800, where he was received with honour by the Batavian Directory and entrusted with the command of the forces in the approaching campaign.

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The same year he proceeded to the Lower Rhine at the head of the Gallo-Batavian Army to second the operations of Moreau, but he did not distinguish himself in that campaign. On the establishment of the Empire, he was created Duc de Castiglione and given a marshal's baton (19 May 1804). In 1805 Augereau rendered good service against Austria at Constance and Bregenz, and again in 1806 against Prussia. At Jena (14 Oct. 1806) he exhibited a skill in his strategical operations for which those best fitted to judge had not previously given him credit. Early in 1807 he was attacked by a fever, and at the battle of Eylau he was supported by his servants in his saddle as well as being bound to it, and thus directed the movements of his corps, which was almost annihilated, he himself receiving a wound from which he never quite recovered. N. was enraged at the disaster to his troops, and Augereau fell from favour. He was transferred to Catalonia and gained some successes, but was guilty of cruelty towards the inhabitants. During the Russian campaign of 1812 and the Saxon one of 1813, Augereau's services were undistinguished. In 1814 he was entrusted with the defence of Lyons, a post of the highest importance, and despite N.'s adjurations his slackness was sufficiently suspicious of his being in touch with the Austrians. After the Emperor's downfall Augereau posted to Paris, and was presented by Louis XVIII. with the Cross of St. Louis and appointed commandant of the division in Normandy. He lost no opportunity of reviling N. On the return from Elba, two of N.'s proclamations openly designated Augereau as a traitor. The general remained silent till things developed, but when N. arrived at Paris he addressed his troops as follows: "The Emperor is in his capital! That name so long the pledge of victory has alone sufficed to disperse his enemies. March once more under the victorious wings of those immortal eagles, which have so often conducted you to glory." N., however, repulsed him as a traitor to France, and one who in a few short months could betray two

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masters. Obtaining neither a command in the army nor a seat in the Chamber of Peers, Augereau retired to his estate of La Houssaye and remained there until the second Restoration of Louis, to whom he once more announced himself the partisan, but the King this time had no ear for his protestations, and deprived him of his military titles and pensions. He died at La Houssaye on 12 June 1816.

**Augusta Amelia of Bavaria (1788-1851).**—Eldest daughter of Max Joseph, King of Bavaria, was born on 21 June 1788. First engaged to the Prince of Baden, she was at N.'s command, for political purposes, married to Eugène de Beauharnais (*q.v.*) on 15 Jan. 1806 at Munich.

The decision of N. regarding this match surprised all concerned.

The marriage proved one of the happiest, love and devotion on the part of both soon transforming a political alliance into one of real and deep attachment. In the memoirs of Eugène the following letter, dated 14 Jan. 1814 and addressed to his wife, is to be found:

"I need only think of to-day, my dear Augusta, to feel sure that Providence watches over me. What happiness and what charms do I owe this 14 Jan., which united my destiny to that of the loveliest, the best and most virtuous of women."

Extracts from various letters of the Princess Augusta amply demonstrate her feelings. In one written from Milan to her husband at the time of Josephine's divorce she says: "Blotted out from the list of the great, we shall be inscribed upon that of the happy. Is not that better?"

**Austerlitz.**—The battle of Austerlitz took place in the country to the west of the town of that name. 65,000 French under N. were confronted by about 82,000 Russians and Austrians under Buxhowden, Kutusov and Bagration. The fight commenced early on the morning of 2 Dec. 1805, and lasted practically till nightfall, when the Allies were decisively defeated, losing about 12,000 killed and wounded, 15,000 prisoners and 133 guns. The French

losses numbered about 7,000. See AUSTERLITZ, CAMPAIGN OF.

**Austerlitz, Campaign of 1805.**—Napoleon's fear that Great Britain might form an alliance with Russia and Austria was fulfilled in 1805. He immediately took steps to counteract any activities the Coalition might decide upon. The army which he had mustered for the invasion of England was transferred to the Rhine in eight corps, which included the troops in Hanover and Holland. Its commanders were among the most brilliant at his disposal, and included Marmont, Davout, Soult, Bernadotte, Lannes, Ney, Augereau and Bessières. But N. was entirely in the dark as to the intentions of the Allies, although he was, of course, well aware that they were far from pacific. At length on 26 Aug. the news arrived that 100,000 Russians were about to form a junction with 80,000 Austrians on the Danube, and this compelled N. to direct the course of his advance through the Black Forest region. The chief difficulty he had to contend with was the lack of provisions and supply generally, the Allies having carefully removed all alimentary resources from his line of march. These had been collected by the Austrians under Mack at an entrenched camp at Ulm, and it became evident that the Austrian commander-in-chief regarded the probability of the investment of this depôt with some anxiety. He trusted, however, to Russian support to relieve him at a later date. The weaknesses of the French commissariat were obvious from the outset: the clothing supply of the troops was poor, transport was lacking and food was scarce. N.'s hope was to beat the Austrians and Russians in detail before they could effect a junction. To keep the Austrians under observation he detached the V. and VI. corps under Murat and directed his march eastwards to strike at the Russians; but when he became aware that this would grant too long a respite to the Austrians he resolved to attack Mack's army, for he was convinced that were the communications of the coalition threatened, he would be forced to retreat in a southerly direction. Berna-

dotte was detailed to check the Russian advance, while N. joined Murat and effected a series of forced marches in a westerly direction.

The Austrian outlook was none too bright. There were indications of insubordination, and its leader was unpopular. Moreover, the Russian Army was delayed. Therefore, early in Oct. Mack resolved to attempt to make the best of his way through the French lines of communication and take refuge in Saxony. He masked his purpose by informing his troops that the French were in retreat—and he was not incorrect in adding that they were suffering greatly for want of supplies; indeed, desertion was not uncommon, and discontent was rife in the French ranks. Under the original scheme of campaign, Ney's corps were to have remained on the left bank of the Danube to repulse the Austrians at this point, but as only a division had been stationed there it proved quite inadequate to the task. In spite of heavy rains and bad roads, Mack had pushed forward so far, but after forcing the French division under Dupont to retire, bad weather rendered a further advance impossible, and the Austrians had to fall back upon Ulm to renew supplies. On 14 Oct. both armies advanced, and came into collision at Elchingen. The bridge here had been destroyed, but was quickly repaired, and the VI. corps advanced across it with great élan. The Austrians, badly hampered by the nature of the roads, were repulsed, and their right column was severely handled. The left under Werneck and the Archduke Ferdinand managed to get away, but left their supplies. They were, however, stopped by a mere handful of dismounted dragoons and stragglers, which they mistook for a superior force, to which 8,000 of them surrendered with the exception of the Archduke, who escaped with some of his cavalry. This disaster practically put the Austrian army out of action. Mack was gradually surrounded by the French columns, and withdrew once more towards Ulm. By the 18th of the month he was entirely closed in. He still cherished the belief that the Russians were at hand, and agreed to an

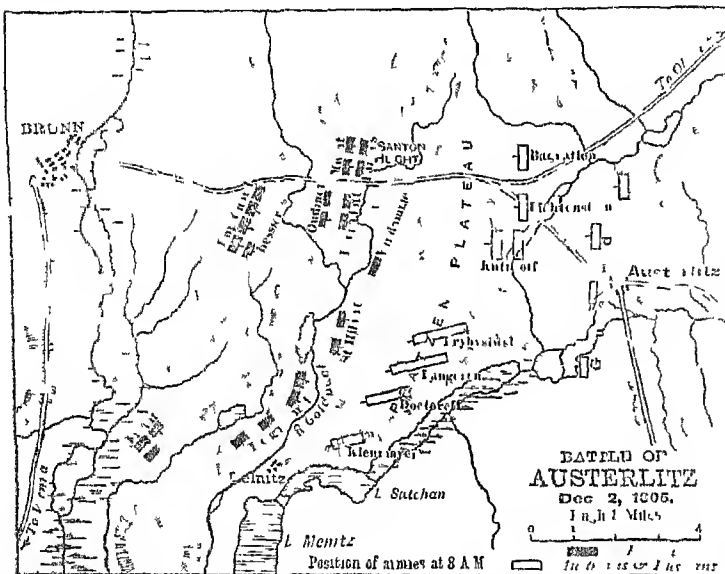


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armistice, undertaking to lay down his arms if relief should not arrive within the next twenty-one days. N consented to this, but managed to send a number of French soldiers into the fortress; these commenced to quarrel with the Austrian troops, and under pretence of restoring order and protecting the inhabitants of Ulm, N had the guards at the gates overpowered and the unfortunate Mack was forced to surrender unconditionally. On 22 Oct. 23,000 Austrians laid down their arms, others had escaped to the Tyrol and Bohemia; and Werneck with 10,000 men had surrendered at Heiden-

where once more he was compelled to call a halt. He was now faced by 86,000 Russians and Austrians, who on the 20th of the month commenced to advance. N concentrated some 80,000 men in opposition to these, beside some 17,000 Bavarians. The Allies attempted to turn his right flank with the object of cutting him off from Vienna, upon which N, observing their error of judgment, moved his troops into position and issued his famous proclamation divulging to the army his plans for inflicting a severe defeat upon the Allies.

The great battle of Austerlitz was fought in the country to the west of that Moravian town N's left wing was situated at almost equal distance from Brunn and Austerlitz. To the north are wooded hills, ending in low valleys irrigated by small rivers and brooks. Some three miles to the south-west of Austerlitz is the plateau of Pratzen, the scene of some



heim—another 30,000 had deserted and escaped. N. then rejoined the corps under Bernadotte, whom he left to observe the Russians, who retreated before his advance along the right bank of the Danube, which they crossed and withdrew to an entrenched camp at Olmutz to effect a junction with some fresh Austrian troops. Actions were fought at Durienstein on 11 Nov. and Hollabrunn on the 16th, in which the French were apprised of the metal of their new antagonists. N. continued his course down the right bank of the Danube to Vienna, where he found it necessary to rest his troops for some little time. Again he advanced to Brunn with 55,000 men,

of the most sanguinary struggles in the action, and to the south lay certain lakes, long since drained. The French right and centre were first of all situated on a low ridge to the west side of the little river Goldbach. N. fell back before the advance of the Allies from Olmutz and bivouacked west of the Goldbach, while the Austrians and Russians placed themselves in the valleys east of the Pratzen plateau. They had planned to attack N's right and cut him off from Vienna, and to this end commenced skirmishing on 1 Dec. just as evening was drawing into night. N. at this moment was receiving the homage of thousands of his men, who to the

straw from their pallets to form torches for an illumination in his honour. The Austro-Russian plan, which was probably not apprehended by more than a few members of the allied staff, arranged that the I. and II. divisions of Russians were to move behind the Pratzen ridge; the III. Russian division to cross the southern end of the plateau and join the I. and II. corps; and the IV., composed of both Austrians and Russians, to advance on the right of the III. towards Kobelnitz. A column of cavalry under the Prince of Liechtenstein was to hold the northern part of the plateau. Prince Bagration was to throw his force across the Brünn-Olmütz road, and the reserves were to be drawn up behind Liechtenstein. The whole plan was wretchedly conceived.

N. placed Legrand's division of Soult's corps in line and supported it by Davout. Although this line was obviously slender, it was flanked by marshy country, and was composed of the best men in the *grande armée*. The remainder of the French Army formed in the centre and left. N. saw that if the Allies attempted to turn his right they would present their flank to him, and he resolved to strike at this with his centre when the Allies occupied the heights of Pratzen.

The first three columns of the Allies engaged at daybreak on 2 Dec., and attacked the French in the village of Telnitz. The front under Legrand found itself withstanding the whole weight of the allied attack, and was gradually driven back by the Russians. Both sides were amply reinforced, but about 10 a.m. the Allies were in possession of the villages on the Goldbach south of Sokolnitz, and Davout's line of battle had been driven more than a mile to the rear. He had not lost touch with the French centre, and with not more than 13,000 men Davout had successfully held over 40,000 of the enemy, the IV. column of which, through mismanagement, had not yet arrived to reinforce the main bodies. The two emperors and Kutusov accompanied this column, the delay of which had opened a gap between it and the III. column on its left, towards which N. sent forward St. Hilaire's division

of Soult's corps. Kutusov, who had slept during the council of war on the preceding evening, now awoke from his lethargy, changed front to his right, called up his reserves, and made a vigorous defence. A fierce struggle for the Pratzen plateau ensued. The rear of the Russian II. column was flung against St. Hilaire's right flank, but was repulsed. Soult now came to the rescue of Davout at Sokolnitz, the Russians in which surrendered. A timely cavalry charge threw the allied left into confusion, and the Pratzen plateau was now in possession of the French. Courageous attacks by the Russian Guard failed to dispossess Vandamme. During this time Murat and Lannes had been defending the little River Santon, at which spot the Allies displayed great vigour. They were, however, unable to drive back the French. Furious cavalry charges on both sides ensued, Kellermann making great havoc amongst Liechtenstein's mounted troops. The French advanced steadily, forcing back the Allies on Austerlitz, thus barring their retreat on Olmütz. A last grand attempt was made by the Allies in the centre, on which desperate fighting ensued—a sanguinary struggle taking place between the Russian Imperial Guard under the Grand Duke Constantine and St. Hilaire and Vandamme on the plateau, but when the Grenadiers and Guard came to the aid of the French, the Allies were broken, cut in two, and though they continued fighting, especially in Telnitz where the struggle was furious, the retreat commenced at dreadful cost of life. Soult had placed himself between Austerlitz and those of the Allies who remained in the field, and the latter, in order to avoid him, turned southward, incautiously attempting to walk over the ice on the Lake of Satschan. This was broken up by shots from the French artillery, and many of the fugitives were drowned. 6,800 Frenchmen and over 12,000 of the Allies perished in the course of the day's fighting, and the latter lost also 15,000 prisoners and 133 guns.

**Austria.**—With the rise of N. a complete and final revolution in the relations of Austria to the German

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states took place. In the year that N. was proclaimed emperor, Francis II. assumed the title of Francis I., hereditary Emperor of Austria, and two years later, when the defeat of Austerlitz led to the treaty of Pressburg, by which Austria lost Venice and the Tyrol, and N.'s confederation had broken the unity of Germany, Francis formally abdicated the title and functions of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Further losses and humiliations, particularly those inflicted by the treaty of Vienna (1809), followed, but with N.'s Russian campaign came Austria's opportunity for recuperation and revenge. In order to regain and, if possible, increase her possessions, Austria declined to join the alliance between Russia and Prussia, and hastened to equip herself for any contingency. The defeat of the Allies at Lutzen and Bautzen and the conclusion of the armistice at Pleswitz afforded Austria the chance for which she was on the outlook. Accordingly she assumed the rôle of mediator and resolved to throw in her lot with whichever side proved the most amenable to her claims. N., however, was very reluctant to entertain demands involving the overthrow of his political system in central Europe, and this following on the battle of Vittoria decided Austria in favour of the Allies, a decision which assured N.'s fall. By the treaty of Trachenberg (12 July 1813), the grand alliance was completed, and in Oct. the Leipsic campaign was fought. The victorious advance into France was then begun, an advance which ended on 11 April 1814 in N.'s abdication.

The attitude of Austria to N. after his marriage with Marie Louise was not, of course, so benevolent as he had hoped. Talleyrand had for a long time urged an alliance with Austria, but N., instead of hearkening to his counsels, forced her to accede to the continental system. She was also stripped of her remaining Illyrian provinces, and lost Dalmatia. Her quarrel with Russia was a mere keeping-up of appearances. She slowly but surely hoarded her forces to strike a blow at N. when she found him sufficiently weak. There is very little doubt that her emperor felt

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very deeply what he considered the disgrace of having to surrender his daughter to one whom he looked upon as an upstart among monarchs. The entire attitude was in fact one of revenge, in which the personal element bulked very largely indeed. *See* FRANCIS II. and MARIE LOUISE.

**Autopsy.**—N. died at 5.49 p.m. 5 May 1821. It had been his wish that an autopsy should be performed, as he suspected that he suffered from cancer of the pylorus like his father, and he desired that his son might be saved from the malady. The post-mortem was arranged for 2 p.m. of Sunday, 6 May, and took place in the entrance-room of Longwood. Sir Hudson Lowe sent Sir Thomas Reade to represent him, and Antommarchi was to perform the operation. The great question was: Had N. suffered from liver disease or not? This question bulked largely as a political one, as if it were found that he had not, then the British Government were free from all blame in the matter. Dr. Shortt presided. Surgeon Rutledge assisted Antommarchi in removing the organs from the body, and Surgeon Henry took notes. Reade's report is as follows:

"St. Helena,

"6 May 1821.

"Sir,—Agreeable to your request, I proceeded to Longwood this morning, in order to attend at the opening of the body of General Bonaparte. Upon my arrival there I mentioned to Count Montholon that it was your desire that I should be present on the occasion, and also that I should be accompanied by Brigade-Major Harrison and the orderly officer. Count Montholon offered no objection whatever, but on the contrary said he thought it highly expedient and proper that some officer on the part of the Governor should attend. I accordingly proceeded with Brigade-Major Harrison and the orderly officer to the room where the body lay. There was present on the occasion Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, Signor Vignali, Marchand, Pierron and Ali (St. Denis), Dr. Shortt, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Arnott, 20th Regiment,

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Dr. Burton, 66th Regiment, Mr. Henry, assistant-surgeon 66th Regiment, Mr. Rutledge, assistant-surgeon 20th Regiment, and (a part of the time) Mr. Livingstone, surgeon in the East India Company's service. Professor Antommarchi was the operator.

"During the first part of the operation nothing appeared to arrest the attention of the medical gentlemen except the extraordinary quantity of fat which covered almost every part of the interior, under the chest, but particularly about the heart, which was literally enveloped in fat.

"Upon opening the lower part of the body, where the liver lay, they found the stomach had adhered to the left side of the liver, in consequence of the stomach being very much diseased. The medical gentlemen immediately and unanimously expressed their conviction 'that the diseased state of the stomach was the sole cause of his death.' The stomach was taken out and exhibited to me. Two-thirds of it appeared in a horrible state, covered with cancerous substances, and at a short distance from the pylorus there was a hole sufficient to admit a little finger through it.

"The liver was afterwards examined. The moment the operator took it out Dr. Shortt instantly observed 'it was enlarged.' All the other medical gentlemen differed with him in this opinion, particularly Dr. Burton, who combated Dr. Shortt's opinion very earnestly. Mr. Henry was equally divided with Dr. Burton. Dr. Arnott said there was nothing extraordinary in the appearance of the liver; it might be a large one, but certainly not larger than the liver of any man of the same age as General Bonaparte. Dr. Mitchell said he saw nothing extraordinary, and Mr. Rutledge said it certainly was not enlarged. Notwithstanding all these observations, Dr. Shortt still persisted in saying 'it was enlarged.' This struck me so forcibly that I stepped forward and observed to the medical officers generally that it appeared to me very important that they should all be prepared to give

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a decided and prompt opinion as to the real state of the liver, and I recommended a very careful re-examination of it. Dr. Shortt made no more observations, but all the other gentlemen reiterated their first opinion to me. At this moment the liver was in the hand of the operator, and upon my appearing desirous to see it close he immediately took his knife and cut it open from one end to the other, observing to me, 'It is good, perfectly sound, and nothing extraordinary in it.' He observed at the same time that he thought it was a large liver. This opinion, however, did not appear to have been made in the manner as Dr. Shortt had expressed, viz. 'that the liver was enlarged.' There is a large difference between 'a large liver' and 'a liver being enlarged.' I made this observation to Dr. Burton and Dr. Arnott, who coincided.

"After this I desired Dr. Shortt would give directions for the body being sewed up, and I requested it might be done previous to my leaving the room. Dr. Shortt desired Professor Antommarchi to do so. The Professor turned to Count Montholon and said something which I did not hear. The Count, however, came to me and took me aside. He said that it was the particular wish of General Bonaparte that his heart should be preserved in order to its being sent to his wife, Marie Louise. I informed Count Montholon that I had not received any particular directions upon the subject, and consequently I conceived it would be proper to return the heart again into the body. He was, however, so exceedingly earnest in his request, and pressed me so very hard, that I consented to leave the heart separate from the body until a reference could be made to you. It was accordingly put in a small silver cup and given in charge to Assistant-Surgeon Rutledge, of the 20th Regiment, to whom I gave the most pointed orders that he was not to allow it out of sight until your directions should be received as to the disposal of it.

"Counts Bertrand and Montholon made no observation whatever upon the liver. The whole of the stomach

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was described and shown to them, and the medical gentlemen having told them 'that the diseased part of the stomach was the sole cause,' they expressed themselves perfectly satisfied.—I have the honour, etc.,

"T. READE.

"His Excellency,

"Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe,  
"etc., etc., etc."

Shortt's report confirmed the above, save for a clause concerning the liver :

"Report of appearances on dissection of the body of Napoleon Bonaparte.

"On a superficial view the body appeared very fat, which state was confirmed by the first incision down its centre, where the fat was upwards of one inch thick over the sternum, and one inch and a half over the abdomen. On cutting through the cartilages of the thorax a trifling adhesion of the left pleura was found to the pleura costalis. About three ounces of reddish fluid were contained in the left cavity, and nearly eight ounces in the right.

"The lungs were quite sound.

"The pericardium was natural, and contained about an ounce of fluid.

"The heart was of natural size, but thickly covered with fat. The auricles and ventricles exhibited nothing extraordinary, except that the muscular parts appeared rather paler than natural.

"Upon opening the abdomen the omentum was found remarkably fat, and on exposing the stomach that viscus was found the seat of extensive disease; strong adhesions connected the whole superior surface, particularly about the pyloric extremity, to the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver, and on separating these an ulcer which penetrated the coats of the stomach was discovered one inch from the pylorus, sufficient to allow the passage of the little finger. The internal surface of the stomach to nearly its whole extent was a mass of cancerous disease or scirrhous portions advancing to cancer; this was particularly noticed near the pylorus. The cardiac

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extremity for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus was the only part appearing in a healthy state; the stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid resembling coffee grounds.

"The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm, and the liver was perhaps a little larger than natural. With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach, no unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver. The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state. A slight peculiarity in the formation of the left kidney was observed.

"Thomas Shortt, M.D., Physician  
and P.M.O.

"Arch. Arnott, M.D., Surgeon  
20th Regiment.

"Charles Mitchell, M.D., Surgeon  
of H.M.S. *Vigo*.

"Francis Burton, M.D., Surgeon  
66th Regiment."

Antommarchi did not sign this report. He agreed with its medical terms, but as N. was not alluded to in it as "Emperor" he declined to set his sign-manual to it. Even Bertrand, writing to Fesch, admitted that the disease was the hereditary one of cancer of the pylorus. But Antommarchi, under stress from the remaining Bonapartes, once more advanced the "liver theory" in what Lord Rosebery has called "his mendacious book." The report, however, stands.

But the controversy did not end with 1825. Professor Keith, the conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in his Hunterian lecture (8 Jan. 1913) drew attention to certain specimens in the museum which were said to have been taken from N.'s body by Antommarchi. With this view the Professor agreed. Mr. Norwood Young, in his recent book, "Napoleon in Exile: St. Helena," controverts this theory. He says:

"The post-mortem lasted for less than two hours, in the continued presence of six doctors and a number of other persons. Antommarchi could not have cut anything from the body

unperceived during the dissection. The eyes of all were upon him the whole time. Then, as the report of Sir Thomas Reade shows, the body was sewn up in Reade's presence—"previous to my leaving the room," says Reade. No doubt others remained also, as the meeting would not be terminated before the departure of the chief British official.

"The body having been sewn up and dressed, Reade placed Assistant-Surgeon Rutledge in charge of the corpse, and of the heart, with 'the most pointed orders' that he was not to allow them out of his sight. Rutledge remained in the room all night. His report says: 'The heart and stomach, which had been taken out of the body, were put in a silver vase by me, and I was directed by Sir Thomas Reade, according to the orders of the Governor, not to lose sight of either the body or the vase, *to take care and not to admit of the cavities being opened a second time for the purpose of removal of any part of the body*, and not to allow the contents of the vase to be disturbed without an order from him to that effect. This was in consequence of the pressing solicitations of Madame Bertrand to be allowed to keep the heart, and to take it away with her when leaving the island.'

"The words italicized place it beyond doubt that special and effectual precautions were taken, which would have prevented Antommarchi from opening the body, even if he had desired to do so. This evidence is by itself decisive, for it is to be presumed that the same spirit of jealous watching and close observation of all who approached the corpse was evinced during the next day, the 7th, when the body was seen by a constant succession of visitors, and until it was placed in the coffin on the evening of that day.

"The specimens in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons have clearly nothing to do with Napoleon. They would have no interest for us were it not for the theories with regard to Napoleon's health which had been built upon them. The specimens were, in 1930, subjected to modern methods

of examination by Mr. Shattock, who obtained evidence of the existence of the enlargements of lymphoid tissue which are often found in cases of Mediterranean or undulant fever. This discovery led Professor Keith to examine the records left by the doctors who attended Napoleon at St. Helena, with the result that he came to the conclusion that Napoleon suffered from undulant fever. The opinion is shared by Sir William Leishman. Keith says:

"No one who has tabulated from the records left by O'Meara, Stokoe, and Antommarchi the symptoms manifested month after month by Napoleon during the first three years of his illness can doubt the recurrent febrile nature of his original disease. The symptoms are neither those of gastric ulcer nor gastric cancer, but of a nature which shows he suffered from a form of Malta fever, or of an infection nearly akin to Malta fever."

Mr. Young shows that N. suffered severely in youth from the Corsican form of undulant fever, and that, as Dr. Chaplin suggests, it is quite possible "that the seeds thus sown may have flourished again when N. went to reside in the sub-tropics of St. Helena"; that, in fact, "if Napoleon suffered from undulant fever at Longwood, he must have brought the disease with him."

**Autun, N. at (1 Jan. 1779 to 20 April 1779).**—The college of Autun was one of the best public schools in France, and it was here that Charles Buonaparte brought his two sons, Joseph and N., aged respectively ten and nine, the latter destined for the army, to pass on to a military school, that of Brienne (*q.v.*) as it happened. The Abbé de Chardon, under whose care they were placed, writing his impressions in 1823, said: "Napoleon arrived at Autun with his brother Joseph at the beginning of the year 1779 under the care of their father, who . . . was a superb man. . . ." He proceeds to say that N. was pensive and melancholy, but in three months learned enough French to converse fluently. It was also at Autun that N. first learned to face the jeers meted out by the French to a Corsican, for the Abbé recounts that

he himself said to the proud and passionate boy: "How did it come about that you Corsicans were defeated, seeing that you were led by Paoli? Was he not a capable general?" To this unkind taunt the child had replied with fire, saying: "Yes, he was, and it is my desire to resemble him." Joseph records in his memoirs that when the time came for N. to proceed to Brienne he himself wept abundantly, but N., pale and calm, shed only one tear which he endeavoured to hide. Afterwards Joseph was told by the Abbé Simon, who had been present, that N.'s one tear showed as much feeling as all his own.

**Azores.**—Upon the surrender of N. after the Waterloo campaign, many islands were canvassed as being suitable places for his incarceration. Among others, Lord Castlereagh specially favoured the Azores, but he was succeeded in office by Wellington before he could carry out his proposition.

## B

**Bacciocchi, Frédéric (1814-1834).**

—The third son of Elisa Bonaparte and Pasquale Bacciocchi; was born at Bologna after his mother's abdication "at the moment when she had ceased to have need of an heir to her power." He died at Rome in 1834 from injuries received by a fall from his horse.

**Bacciocchi, Jérôme Charles (1810-1811).**—The second son of Elisa Bonaparte and Pasquale Bacciocchi; was born at the Hôtel Marbeuf, Paris, while his mother, then Hereditary Princess of Lucca and Piombino and Hereditary Grand Duchess of Tuscany, was on her state visit on the occasion of the Emperor's wedding to Marie Louise. This son bore all the titles as heir while his mother's reign lasted. His birth was announced at Lucca by the salute of one hundred and one guns. The infant suffered from water on the brain, and died in 1811.

**Bacciocchi, Pasquale (1762-1841).**

—The husband of Elisa Bonaparte (q.v.); came of an old Genoese family,

a branch of which had, about the middle of the sixteenth century, emigrated to Corsica, settling at Ajaccio. The two families were already connected, for about 1580 a Tomaso Bacciocchi had married a Caterina Buonaparte; also, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Laura, the great-granddaughter of the founder of the Corsican Buonapartes, had become the wife of a Giovanni Maria Bacciocchi. The family was also related to the Pozzo di Borgos.

At an early age Bacciocchi had entered the service, becoming in Nov. 1778 a sub-lieutenant in the *Régiment du Royale Corse*. He does not seem to have distinguished himself in his profession, for it was only after fourteen years' service, that is on 16 April 1793, that he was promoted to a captaincy, while in 1794, suspected of royalist leanings, he was cashiered and saved his life by emigration. He returned to France after Thermidor, and met his relatives, the Buonapartes, at Marseilles. With the consent of Madame Buonaparte he married Elisa on 1 May 1797, but against N.'s wish, whose reasons against the suitor were his dislike of the family and Bacciocchi in particular (he having been a supporter of Pozzo di Borgo (q.v.) in Corsica), and also his slender means. Besides which N. was already planning advantageous marriages for his sisters, and this did not coincide with his ideas. Metternich (q.v.) relates that N. would have preferred a brother-in-law with greater character and mental power.

Under the Consulate Bacciocchi received an appointment as adjutant-general to the 16th division quartered near Paris, where he and his wife arrived from Marseilles about the end of 1799 or early in 1800. Again in 1803 he was given the command of the 26th demi-brigade of light infantry, but not only did he neglect his military duties but his incapacity was notorious. Elisa desired of N. to promote her husband to the rank of general. This absurdity, however, he refused to perpetrate, but made him a senator with a salary of 25,000 francs, and Bacciocchi consequently retired from the army. In 1805 he

became Prince of Piombino, by virtue of being Elisa's husband, and was also placed in command of the troops defending the coast and communications between Elba and Corsica. In administrative affairs, even if he had wished otherwise, he had perforce to follow his wife's will in all matters: at public ceremonies he took the second place, while at reviews he lowered his sword in salute as she passed. In 1809 he became Grand Duke of Tuscany on the same terms. After the fall of the empire he lived separated from his wife, but was with her, however, when she died. After that event he sold her villa at Trieste, and, obtaining permission to settle at Bologna, resided in the Palazzo Ranuzzi, where he continued the indolent and sensual life in which he had always indulged. The Pope bestowed upon him the title of a Roman prince. Bacciochi further distinguished himself by writing a begging letter to Pozzo di Borgo, who, though his relative, was N.'s greatest enemy. He purchased a chapel in the church of San Petronio, Bologna, where he erected elaborate monuments to his wife and children. He died in 1841.

**Bacciochi, Pasquale Napoleone (1798-1799).**—Eldest son of Elisa Bonaparte and Pasquale Bacciochi.

**Badajos, Siege of.**—The town was besieged by the British during the Peninsular War from 17 March 1812, and was taken by assault on 7 April at a great cost of life to the assailants. The garrison consisted of French, Hessians and Spaniards. The British, who were under Wellington, lost 5,000 men during the siege and assault.

**Badajos, Treaty of (6 June 1801).**—Towards the beginning of 1801 N. decided that the time was ripe for the abasement of Britain, which he hoped to bring about with the aid of neutral countries—his plan being to close the western and southern ports of Europe to British commerce. Holland, Belgium, Spain, Tuscany, Liguria and Naples were with him, but he wished Portugal to be so also. The latter country, however, depended upon its export trade with England, whom she supplied with

corn and wine, and therefore declined to comply with N.'s decree. Annoyed, N. brought influence to bear upon Charles IV. of Spain to force him to invade Portugal with the idea of annexing her; but it was with great reluctance that Charles agreed—his daughter being the wife of the Prince Regent—and he hastened to come to terms with his son-in-law. Relieved to have escaped invasion by the French, Portugal became party to a treaty which was signed at Badajos on 6 June 1801, the terms of which were: (1) the closure of her ports to Britain; (2) the cession to Spain of the province of Olivença; and (3) the payment to France of an indemnity of twenty millions of francs. N. was far from pleased with this treaty, and refused to ratify it, although already signed in the presence of Lucien Bonaparte, who had been invested with power to do so if the closing of Portugal's ports to Britain were secured. Spain, naturally angered, declared the treaty irrevocable, and N. proceeded to threats, which, however, he was prevented from carrying out owing to outside events. On 20 Sept. of the same year he was forced to sign a treaty with Portugal at Madrid which was practically a confirmation of the Treaty of Badajos.

**Balcombe Family, The.**—Resided at the Briars, St. Helena. N. occupied a pavilion near their house while Longwood was being got in readiness. The family consisted of the father and mother, two daughters aged sixteen and fourteen, and two boys aged seven and five. Of the daughters, the younger, Betsy, published in 1844, when she was Mrs. Abel, an account of N.'s life at the Briars. She tells how she used to be terrified of the "Corsican ogre," and how when another little girl came to the Briars for a visit, and learned that this very ogre was in the garden, she became very frightened. Betsy ran off and told N., who, coming up to the poor child, brushed up his hair with his hands, shook his head, made alarming faces and emitted savage howls. She was carried away screaming. At their first meeting N. put Betsy through her capitals of



Europe: What is the capital of France? Paris. Of Russia? St. Petersburg now, Moscow formerly. "On my saying this he turned abruptly round and, fixing his piercing eyes full on my face, he demanded sternly: 'Qui l'a brûlé?'" The girl replied: "I do not know, sir." Whereupon he said, laughing violently: "You know very well that it was I who burned it." He used to play cards with the family, and when they discovered him cheating, laughed until the tears ran down his face. When one of the young ladies persisted that he was cheating he seized her ball dress which she was to wear on the following evening, and running with it to the pavilion locked himself in, keeping it there all night in spite of her entreaties. Later Mr. Balcombe was charged with accepting a bribe from N., and left St. Helena with his family.

**Barbary, Pirates of.** — During N.'s captivity at Elba news reached the island from time to time that the Barbary pirates were eager to seize him and win a great ransom. They never seem to have attempted to carry out their object, however, possibly because of the proximity of British warships to the island.

**Barras, Paul François Nicolas, Comte de (1755-1829).** — Member of the French Directory 1795-99. He was born at Fox-Amphoux of an ancient and noble family of Provence. He began his military career in the regiment of Languedoc as "gentleman cadet" at the age of sixteen. In 1775 he made a visit to the Isle of France, which was under the governorship of a relative, and there joined the regiment for Pondicherry. Shipwrecked on his voyage out to India, he at last reached Pondicherry in time to take part in the defence of that city, which capitulated to the British in Oct. 1778. The garrison was released, and Barras then served in the squadron of De Suffren and at the Cape of Good Hope. He returned to France and became notorious for his gambling and amorous adventures. The Revolution broke out in 1789, and Barras became a devoted adherent of the democratic cause. He was one of

the administrators of the department of the Var, for which he sat as deputy in the Convention in 1792 and where he voted for the death of the King. He also took his seat in the high national court of Orleans: in the same year he became commissioner to the French Army in Italy on the outbreak of war with Sardinia. He was sent on various missions into the south and east of France; with Fréron to Marseilles and again to Toulon, where, at the time of the siege, he first met Bonaparte. In 1794 Barras joined forces with others to procure the overthrow of Robespierre, being one of the principal actors in the dramatic 9 Thermidor (27 July). In the spring of 1795 the Convention was surrounded and threatened by the people of the suburbs. Barras instituted vigorous measures; he caused Paris to be decreed in a state of siege, gave the command of the available forces to Pichegru (*q.v.*), and thus soon restored order. In May of the same year he completed the defeat of the Montagnard party by the use of the armed force; whilst in Oct., when the Convention was threatened by the disaffected National Guards, he called Bonaparte to his aid in quelling a disturbance that promised serious trouble. This led to the famous "whiff of grape-shot" incident, and both royalists and malcontents were routed and dispersed in the streets about the Tuileries — 13 Vendémiaire (5 Oct. 1795).

These important services caused his appointment to the Directory. It has been said that to Barras France owed the appointment of Bonaparte to the command of the army of Italy, as the dowry of Josephine de Beauharnais. But this assertion is disproved by the evidence of Carnot (*q.v.*) and others. However, Barras had discernment enough to perceive the gain in power to be derived from the abilities of one like Bonaparte, and certain it is that the latter's achievements were placed to the credit of the Directory and prolonged its life. When in 1797 the royal and constitutional opposition threatened to assume menacing proportions, Barras and Bonaparte

again joined forces, and the latter sent General Augereau (*q.v.*) to crush the rising in the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor (4 Sept.). Though the behaviour of Barras at this time contributed more than anything else to the odium in which the Directory came to be regarded, he himself affected to see these faults and the need of a change. He therefore joined with Bonaparte, Sieyès and others in the plot which brought about the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire (9 Nov.) 1799. But, not having realized to the full the strength or ambitions of Bonaparte, he afterwards found himself thrust aside and his political career at an end. He had during the Revolution amassed a large fortune, and with this he now retired to enjoy the life of a voluptuary. His notorious immorality did much to degrade the causes he espoused, and this, together with other phases of his character, was a not inconsiderable factor in the downfall of the first French Republic, as it had been in that of the Directory. As a member of a noble house, he professed, in 1815, royalist sympathies, but he remained suspect to the Bourbons notwithstanding his protestations. He died on 29 Jan. 1820. There was an attempt on the part of the authorities to seize his private papers and memoirs after his death, but this was unsuccessful. His memoirs are notoriously incorrect in historical fact, which invalidates his evidence in regard to other affairs.

*Memoirs.*—The weapon Barras forged in his memoirs for the purpose of striking a blow at the Napoleonic reputation has proved his own undoing. In attempting to blacken the Emperor he has so foully besmirched himself that he must be regarded as more fool than knave—for knave he unquestionably was. The one thing that redeems him is that he was great in his knavery, for Barras just missed being a genius. This man, who was instrumental in sending Robespierre to his death, was perhaps the most corrupt thing bred among the slime of the Revolution, a practised speculator, a *roué* of the

*roués*, a schemer and monarch of a type peculiar to the days of the Terror.

The first part of these terrible memoirs deals with the guillotine days in a manner unsurpassed for interest. These tragic and bloody times are drawn with brushes of sable and red and in the boldest outline. Who can forget the interview (if such it can be called) between Barras and Robespierre in which the latter maintained such a dread silence—the silence of doom? Or what imagination could fail to be impressed by the frightful picture of the sanguinary Robespierre following his victims to the scaffold and licking his lips in tigerish glee as he witnessed their last throes? It must surely be accounted for righteousness to the rogue Barras that he plotted the assassination of the fiend Robespierre.

The pages that Barras devotes to the unfortunate Josephine are surely the foulest things in the literature of squalidity. An unwritten law of chivalry demands that if a man has received the favours of a woman that he shall keep silence regarding the circumstance. The abominable picture which he paints of Josephine as a soulless courtesan can only be alluded to in these pages, and then but with the most consummate disgust and distaste. "Her libertinism," says this apostle of morality, "sprang merely from the mind, while the heart played no part in the pleasures of her body; in a word, never loving except from motives of interest, the lewd Creole never lost sight of business." The description is a glaring contradiction in terms. She was lewd and yet not lewd in that she sold herself for gold, "which she would have drunk out of the skull of her lover." And this of the mother of Eugene and Hortense; this of a woman who could not tolerate the slightest act of gallantry on the part of her emperor-husband!

From Josephine Barras passes to Napoleon. He states that he warned the young general not to waste his substance upon "an old woman." N. stated his intention of marrying Josephine, whereupon Barras said that the idea seemed to him less ridiculous than at first sight. Her daughter,

Hortense, was apprenticed to a dress-maker, continues Barras, and her son to a carpenter. Later Josephine called upon the memoirist and told him that she would not object to a union with the "Little Puss in Boots," who seemed enterprising, and whom she had not told of her straitened circumstances, which Barras was to refrain from alluding to. She expressed her unalterable affection for Barras. "Come now," said that gallant, "you have loved many another." He then rang the bell and had her shown out. Barras goes on to relate how Josephine told N. that Barras had attempted her virtue but had signally failed. The pair resolved to use Barras in order to obtain for N. the command of the Army of Italy. They then returned to Barras, and penetrating to his cabinet together, jointly offered to dispose of the honour of the woman in order that the man might have the command he desired.

The imagination sickens at the recitation of such a palpable and disgusting falsehood. If N. was ever in love with anyone in his life it was with Josephine at that moment. Here let us take leave of this viper who has dipped his pen in venom and who has uselessly attempted to besmire laurels which shall shine when the abominations he has fathered are, like the villainess that was his body, dishonoured dust!

**Bartenstein, Convention of (26 April 1807).**—After his defeat at Eylau, N., whose resources were greatly impoverished, opened negotiations with Prussia for a separate peace, but his overtures were not accepted.—Prussia and Russia, on Hardenberg's advice, deciding to hold together. Feeling convinced that N.'s further wish for an armistice showed his weakness, the Tsar brought influence to bear on his ally, and secured Hardenberg's appointment to the foreign ministry, and the latter set on foot plans for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Towards the beginning of April, the Tsar and the King of Prussia went to their joint headquarters, and the Russo-Prussian Convention of Bartenstein was signed on 26 April at Schippenbeil. This Convention was in

effect a solemn engagement entered into for the purpose of raising the yoke of France from the shoulders of Europe. Its more important provisions were: (1) that Germany should be rid of the French, and a confederation of her states formed; she was to have her old domains restored or receive compensation; (2) neither Russia nor Prussia was to fight for herself alone, but for the common cause; (3) Austria, Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark were to be asked to join in a general war of liberation; (4) the Italian controversy was to be settled later on, but her rights were to be reinstated; (5) in answer to N.'s proposals, a congress at Copenhagen was suggested. Austria did not join, and although Great Britain did, agreeing to pay £1,000,000 to Prussia and promising men and transports, the latter were not forthcoming when the time arrived. Denmark remained friendly to N.

**Basel, Treaty of.**—On 5 April 1795 a treaty of peace was concluded at Basel between France, Prussia, Spain, Holland and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. By its terms the whole of northern Germany was neutralized, and France confirmed in her possession of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine and St. Domingo. The treaty of Basel was one of the numerous short-lived pacifications which occurred from time to time in the course of the French Revolutionary Wars.

**Bassano, Battle of.**—A battle of the Italian campaigns, fought on 8 Sept. 1796 between the French under N. and the Austrians under Würmser. The latter were utterly routed, and when Würmser collected his scattered troops he had only 16,000 left out of the 60,000 with which he had commenced the campaign.

**Bassein, Treaty of.**—The treaty by which the head of the Mahratta Confederation, fleeing from his domains during the period of internecine strife, placed himself under the protection of Britain (31 Dec. 1802). The Confederation resented British interference, and the treaty of Bassein resulted in the Mahratta war of 1803.

**Batavia.**—The British captured this town by assault from a French

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and Dutch garrison on 26 Aug. 1811. The British were under Sir Samuel Auchmuty.

**Bautzen, Battle of (Leipzig Campaign).**—After the defeat at Lützen (2 May 1813), the Allies retreated as far as the Spree, where they took up a good position near Bautzen. N. attacked them on 20 May, and after two days' fighting succeeded in making them withdraw, which they did in good order with all their guns. The losses were about 20,000 on both sides.

**Baylen, Battle of.**—A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 19 July 1808, in which 20,000 French troops under Dupont, who were encumbered by baggage-waggons loaded with spoil from Cordova, were surrounded by a greatly superior number of Spaniards (30,000) under Castaños and compelled to surrender. This disaster created a widespread feeling of depression in France and especially enraged N., who was at Bordeaux when news of the capitulation reached him.

**Beauharnais, Alexandre, Vicomte de (1760-1794).**—The first husband of Josephine; was born in Martinique, the second son of the Marquis de Beauharnais, governor of that island. The vicomte entered the army, and later fought in the American War of Independence. On 13 Dec. 1779 at Noisy-le-Grand he married Josephine. The bridegroom was nineteen, and the bride, brought from Martinique to France by her father, just sixteen.

In 1789 Beauharnais eagerly embraced the cause of the Revolution, being one of the first of the noblesse to join the *tiers-état*, whilst his brother was a staunch royalist. The vicomte, who was elected a member of the National Assembly, became its secretary and its president.

In 1790, when his wife and daughter returned from Martinique where they had lived for the past two years, Beauharnais was a man of political importance in Republican Paris. Husband and wife met amicably, residing in the same house, but Josephine, fearing for the safety of her children in troubled Paris, sent them away with friends. Her husband, however, trust-

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ing fully in the Republic, and also perhaps from a politic motive, had them brought back, and Eugène was placed at the Collège National of Paris. At the close of the session (1791) he obtained a military command, and set out to join the army of the Rhine under General Custines, whom he afterwards replaced. His conduct as commander-in-chief was excellent, but he was faced by overpowering odds. His failure in the relief of Mainz led to criticism in the Convention, added to which the fact that he was of noble birth was an increasing danger. Beauharnais was recalled, to his great grief. Though a supporter of the Republic, he regarded the Jacobins with loathing, and quite realised the danger that awaited him on his return. He resigned his command, the army remaining without a commander in presence of the enemy, and retired to one of his estates; but his name was too prominent to escape the attentions of his enemies, and he was arrested and thrown into the prison of the Carmelites, where shortly afterwards his wife was also immured.

On the charge of having been for a fortnight inactive at the head of his army and thus contributing to the loss of Mainz he was condemned to death. He wrote an affectionate letter to his wife, commending *mes enfants* to her care, speaking of his regrets, and expressing an earnest hope that justice might be done to his memory. On 23 July 1794 he died by the guillotine, meeting his end with great fortitude and courage. See JOSEPHINE.

**Beauharnais, Claude de, Comte des Roches-Baritand.**—Was uncle to Alexandre, the Marquis and Vicomte de Beauharnais (q.v.), and served in the navy, becoming a vice-admiral. He married Marie Anne Françoise Mouchard, better known as Fanny de Beauharnais (q.v.), whose *salon* was so celebrated. Stephanie de Beauharnais (q.v.), who became Grand Duchess of Baden, was his granddaughter.

**Beauharnais, Eugène de (1781-1824).**—The step-son of N.; was born at Paris on 3 Sept. 1781. He was the son of General Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais (q.v.) and Josephine

Tascher de la Pagerie (*q.v.*), afterwards the wife of N.

Eugène de Beauharnais was educated at a boarding-school at St. Germain-en-Laye, but when his father was executed and his mother thrown into prison the circumstances of the family were so reduced that the boy was bound apprentice to a joiner, and actually worked at that trade for some little time. There is no doubt that this humble calling was also a protection and safeguard to one of aristocratic birth. The marriage of his mother to General Bonaparte was at first resented by Eugène and his sister Hortense (*q.v.*), but the kindness of their step-father soon disarmed them, while their interests were undoubtedly advanced by him. By his influence Eugène in 1796 joined the Guides and, being too young as yet to accompany his step-father, was placed under the direction of Marshal Bessières (*q.v.*). After Leoben, however, Eugène joined N.'s staff, and in the Italian campaigns of 1796-1797 served as his aide-de-camp. In the same capacity he accompanied N. to Egypt in the following year, and there "Cherubin," as he was nicknamed from his boyish looks, displayed undoubted courage, and in the siege of Acre received his first wound.

On the establishment of the consular government Eugène, though not in his twentieth year, was entrusted with a brigade of the guards, and gained distinction at Marengo (1800). In 1804, when N. was proclaimed Emperor of the French, Eugène was created a prince of the Empire, with yearly allowances amounting to 200,000 francs, and also became general of the *chasseurs à cheval* of the guard. Later he was made arch-chancellor of France, the wording of N.'s proclamation containing a warm eulogy of his step-son.

On N.'s own testimony it is known that neither Eugène nor his mother and sister ever proffered one request for place or advancement, and the contrast thus offered to the Bonapartes, who gathered round clamouring for all and everything, must have been gratefully appreciated by the Emperor. In one outburst of irritation

at his family's venomous attacks on the Beauharnais, N., after speaking kindly of his wife and step-daughter, said of the son: "If there is a cannon-shot, it is Eugène who goes to see what it is; if I have to cross a trench, it is he who gives me his hand." The frank unselfish affection and yet fearlessness of the young Beauharnais appealed to N., though he himself had been reproved by Eugène when indulging in a *liaison* with Mme. Fourès in Egypt, after his bitter disillusionment over Josephine.

In 1805 Eugène was appointed Viceroy of Italy, with great powers of administration. In 1806 he was declared the adopted son of the Emperor, and a marriage was arranged between him and Princess Augusta Amelia (*q.v.*), the eldest daughter of the new King of Bavaria. The ceremony took place at Munich (15 Jan. 1806) in the presence of the Emperor and Empress. The same year the Venetian States had been annexed to the Italian kingdom, and Eugène was created Prince of Venice and declared successor of N. to the iron crown of Lombardy. The Italy over which he ruled included the districts between the Simplon Pass and Rimini, and after Pressburg (Dec. 1805) Dalmatia and Istria, whilst on the partition of the papal States in 1808 the kingdom extended southwards, in the region known as the Abruzzi, to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples.

In the administration of Italian affairs Eugène's government must be said to have given general satisfaction, and he showed undoubted capabilities in this field, whilst he commenced works of public utility and embellished Milan with some fine buildings. Drawbacks there were, for unfortunately many of those associated in the government with the viceroy were needy and unprincipled, using his name in their oppressive measures and further by their influence making Eugène inaccessible to the people.

In 1809 the renewal of hostilities by the Emperor Francis and the irruption of the Austrian troops under the Archduke John placed the Viceroy in a difficult situation, for he had at his command a force of only 16,000 men,

therefore, not daring to risk a general action, he retreated with considerable loss on Verona, and would have been compelled to capitulate but for the timely arrival of General Macdonald (*q.v.*). When, however, the Austrians retreated to their own territory, owing to the disasters to the main army on the Danube, Eugène, together with Macdonald, pressed them vigorously, one seizing on Trieste, the other on Clagenfurth; and again in the month of June, while dispersing the levies which the imperial princes were raising, he gained a notable victory at Raab in the heart of the Austrian Empire. After this he rejoined N. and the main army in the Island of Lobau in the Danube, and won further laurels at Wagram (July 1809).

In Dec. of 1809 Eugène was summoned to Paris to a sufficiently difficult task—the question of a divorce between N. and his mother. There is no doubt that both Eugène and Hortense thought, and rightly, that Josephine would be happier once the step was taken, for she lived in a constant atmosphere of jealousy and surrounded by the intrigue of the Bonaparte family. His feeling of duty to the Emperor, his step-father, and loyalty to his interests must also have weighed with Eugène; but that the negotiation of a treaty of marriage between N. and the Archduchess Marie Louise and the consequent announcement of his success in the matter to the Senate were agreeable tasks to Josephine's son cannot be believed. He, however, carried them out, and that same year received the title of Grand Duke of Frankfurt.

During the campaign of 1812 Eugène commanded the fourth corps of the French Army, a large Italian contingent, and especially distinguished himself at Borodino. His conduct during the fearful retreat from Moscow was praised by N. and all about him. His military arrangements were well conceived and judicious, and the part which he played in the saving of many, besides his own corps, was deserving of the highest encomiums.

Having returned to Italy, the Viceroy, well informed of Austria's disposition towards France, made pre-

parations for raising an army for the defence of Italy, and in April 1813 when N. led his forces into Saxony Eugène joined him and at Lutzen commanded the left wing of the French Army, but with the growing menace of Austria towards Italy the Viceroy was dispatched with all haste to his kingdom.

The same year (1813) Eugène took the field with the Franco-Italian Army, and issued a proclamation to the people of Italy, exhorting them to present a united front to an enemy who had for long triumphed through their disunion alone. To this there was practically no response; his Italian troops began to desert in considerable numbers, whilst his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, ranged himself among the hostile forces. Again, in Jan. 1814, Murat, who had hitherto professed neutrality, concluded a provisional convention with England and a treaty of peace with Austria, though he did not ratify the treaties he had made by entering the field with the Allies. Therefore the Viceroy, falling back on the Mincio, inflicted some severe defeats on the Austrians, and was able to hold in check their further plans. On the abdication of N. Eugène received instructions from the new war minister, General Dupont, directing him to conclude an armistice with the Austrian Marshal Bellegarde, hostilities being now suspended. Further instructions came a month later to fall back upon Lyons, and with this event his Italian career may be said to end.

Many have accused Eugène of having deserted N. at the last moment—when there was nothing further to be gained by remaining loyal. There does not seem to be adequate ground for this assumption. The fact seems rather to be that he stood unflinchingly steadfast though he received brilliant and seductive offers from almost every quarter. The intense hostility of the Austrian faction to the Bourbons had caused the Allies to consider Prince Eugène as a possible successor to N., and that this was known to Beauharnais is indubitable, for N. himself declared that in 1814 his step-son had been assailed by the Allies with the

most tempting and ambitious offers in the hopes of winning him over to their side, but all to no purpose.

Though the Congress of Vienna would have amply compensated him for the loss of his viceroyalty, Eugène contented himself with retiring to Bavaria, residing at Munich, where he was created Duc de Leuchtenberg and later Prince of Eichstadt. On Josephine's death he revisited France, and the Bourbons endeavoured to induce him to take service under them. This he refused to do, but thought it right to pay his respects to Louis XVIII. for various acts of courtesy towards his mother and himself. The monarch addressed him as "Prince," not as General Beauharnais, the name announced.

During the Hundred Days Eugène stood aloof, though it was strongly suspected that it was he who had conveyed to N. the supposed intention of the allied sovereigns to transfer him from Elba to St. Helena, and certainly N., though his step-son had taken no active part in affairs, enrolled him among the new peers of France and conferred upon him other honours. Yet it is also true that the returned Emperor had said on the night of his arrival at the Tuileries: "I count upon Eugène, I think he will come back." But Beauharnais considered himself bound by his pledged word to the Tsar not to throw his sword into the scale, and from various evidence it may be gathered that on the slightest movement of his Eugène would have been arrested. It is certain that N. himself never censured the conduct of Eugène; instead, he had nothing but praise and constant affection for his adopted son. After Waterloo he used all his influence on behalf of his step-father, and further, when hearing of the ill-treatment of N. at St. Helena, he made many appeals to Alexander in order to mitigate the sufferings of N.

During his viceroyalty Eugène had amassed an ample fortune, so that in his retirement he enjoyed an income of 240,000 lire a year, though this included Josephine's bequests and his wife's dowry.

Eugène survived N. by only three

years, dying at Munich on 21 Feb. 1824, struck down by apoplexy. His children were: Josephine Maximilienne, born 12 March 1807, created Princess of Bologna by N., and in May 1823 married Oscar Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden; Hortense Eugénie Napoléonne, born 28 Dec. 1808, and married on 22 May 1826 Prince Frederick, Hereditary Prince of Hohenzollern; Auguste Charles Eugène Napoleon, born 9 Dec. 1810, Colonel of Chasseurs, and on his father's death Duke of Leuchtenberg, married the Grand Duchess Maria, daughter of the Tsar of Russia; Auguste Emilie Eugénie Napoléonne, born 31 July, 1812, and married in 1829 Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil; Louise Theodeline, born at Mantua 13 April 1814, and married to the Count of Württemberg; Maximilian Joseph, born 7 Oct. 1817, and married in 1835 the Queen Maria II. of Portugal, the eldest daughter of his brother-in-law, Dom Pedro, who had abdicated in her favour. But for the opposition of France, this son of Eugène Beauharnais would have reigned in Belgium.

**Beauharnais, Fanny de (1738-1813).**—*Née* Marie Anne Françoise Mouchard, was the wife of Claude de Beauharnais, uncle of Alexandre, the first husband of Josephine. She became well known in literary circles, gaining some repute by her writings, which were mostly verse. She corresponded with Voltaire, and her *salon* was one of the most brilliant of the time, frequented as it was by the literary celebrities and wits of the day. Her merits as an author, however, were much disputed and in some quarters ridiculed, as is evidenced in the well-known distich of Lebrun, translated by Byron as follows:

Eglé, beauty and poet, has two little crimes;

She makes her own face and does not make her rhymes.

It was said that M. Cubières, who saved her from the guillotine during the Terror, composed her verses and was also the cause of her separation from her husband.

**Beauharnais, François de, Marquis de la Ferté-Beauharnais (1756-1823).**— Brother-in-law to Josephine by her first marriage to Alexandre de Beauharnais (*q.v.*). He sat in the Assembly at Versailles as deputy for the noblesse and opposed a motion brought forward by his brother Alexandre (who had joined the Revolutionary party) designed to deprive the King of the command of the army. A phrase he used in his opposing speech "that no amendment could be voted with honour" gave him his nickname *Féul Beauharnais sans amendement*. As an émigré he served in the army of Condé, and when N. became First Consul demanded that he should give place to Louis XVIII. Later, however, he became a member of N.'s diplomatic corps and was French ambassador at Madrid. He displeased N. and was banished to Pologne (Poland), but reading this as Sologne, one of his country estates, the marquis retired there. N. was so amused that the error was not corrected. In 1814 Beauharnais returned to Paris to renew his allegiance to the Bourbons, and was made a peer of France. By his first marriage to his cousin, a daughter of Fanny de Beauharnais (*q.v.*), he was the father of Emilie (*q.v.*), Mme. Lavalette. By his second marriage he had another daughter, who married first the Comte de Querelles and secondly M. Laity, who was attached to the household of Napoleon III.

**Beauharnais, Hortense Eugénie de (1783-1837).**— Queen of Holland, Duchesse de Saint-Leu, daughter of Josephine by her first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais (*q.v.*), wife of Louis Bonaparte (*q.v.*), N.'s younger brother, created by him King of Holland, mother of Napoleon III., was born on 10 April 1783 at Paris. She was born when her father was living in the West Indies meditating a separation between himself and his wife, who at last in self-defence retired to the convent of Pantemont and lodged a legal complaint against her husband. In these proceedings Josephine was vindicated, and in 1785 a separation was arranged, Hortense remaining in the custody of her

mother. During these negotiations the child had been placed out to nurse for nearly two years under the care of the Mère Rousseau at Chelles. In the summer of 1788 she went to Martinique with her mother, living there for two years. On their return Beauharnais, a Revolutionist, was President of the Assembly, and his wife and children were, therefore, people of importance.

But danger signals were not wanting, and Josephine, concerned for the safety of her children, confided them to the care of her friends, the Prince de Salen-Kirbourg and his sister the Princesse de Hohenzollern, who were leaving France. Beauharnais, however, thinking this impolitic as implying suspicion of the revolutionary government, caused them to be brought back. So Hortense returned to live with her mother, and friends made at this period, among them Mme. de Rémusat, have left descriptions of the delicate and wistful girl. With the growing distrust and suspicion working the ruin of so many around him, Beauharnais thought it well to comply with the decree of the Convention that the children of nobles should be instructed in a trade. Accordingly Eugène was apprenticed to a carpenter and Hortense to a dressmaker. In the spring of 1794 Beauharnais was arrested and flung into prison, the fateful Carmelites, where shortly afterwards Josephine, also a prisoner, was lodged. Thus Hortense and her brother were left forlorn little figures in the Paris of the Terror. They visited their parents in prison when permitted, convoyed by Marie Launay, the nurse or *gouvernante*, also by Fortuné (*q.v.*), Josephine's lapdog, who carried secret news to the prisoners by means of papers attached to his collar. Some of the petitions presented to the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety on the Beauharnais' behalf were signed by these two children aged respectively eleven and twelve years of age. On 23 July 1794 their father perished by the guillotine, on the 27th Robespierre fell. Ten days later and Josephine was free.

Hortense now was placed under the



care of Madame Campan at her school at Saint-Germain, and it was from here in Jan. 1796 that she was taken to meet General Bonaparte. Both she and her brother were averse to the re-marriage of Josephine, but they were reconciled by the kindness of their step-father, who spared no trouble in regard to them, even making time in the few days between his wedding and his departure for Italy to visit Hortense at Saint-Germain. In N.'s letters to Josephine mention is often made of Hortense and of gifts that he is sending her. When Bonaparte returned from Egypt, angered and disillusioned by the tales of his wife's unfaithfulness and determined to seek divorce, it was Hortense and her brother who brought about a reconciliation. After the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire her school life ended, and at the Petit Luxembourg she took her place beside her mother and began her social career. Not strictly beautiful, but possessing great charm and accomplishments, she made many friends, while N. himself always pointed to her as a model of femininity and grace. She possessed a romantic temperament, and had Royalist sympathies, as did her mother, at which her step-father smiled and called her his "little Chouanne" or "Vendéenne." She was slightly wounded in the affair of Nivôse, entering the theatre afterwards with her hand bound by a handkerchief. In the private theatricals, which N. enjoyed so much, Hortense was one of the most gifted among the performers, and was more often the recipient of her step-father's rare compliments than any other—another item in the score which the jealous Caroline Murat cherished against the Beauharnais—daughter as well as mother.

Concerning the love affairs and marriage of Hortense many diverse views are held. According to Bourrienne she loved Duroc, who when the match was proposed to him with difficult conditions attached refused to consider it. This again is contradicted, and the opposing version is that Josephine, in her efforts to stave off the divorce which her husband's family were always prompting him to,

opposed Duroc's suit, desiring that her daughter should marry a Bonaparte. It is further stated that Duroc, madly in love with Hortense, never forgave Josephine, and later refused her help and friendship. N. himself has left it on record that Josephine desired the Bonaparte connexion. Louis, his brother, also states this, and as to his feelings there are conflicting accounts—that he struggled hard against the arrangement; again, that he loved Hortense but that she repelled his love. The marriage proved a disaster, for Louis' disposition was embittered by his persistent ill-health, and his jealousy was worked upon by the Bonapartes, especially the sisters, to whom can be traced the infamous and unjustifiable scandal that Hortense's first child was the son of N. himself. By a study of dates and events, if by no other circumstances, this story is seen to be without foundation. The little Napoleon Charles was adored by N., and was also regarded by Josephine as he who would save her from the ignominy of divorce. But this was not to be, for Louis refused to consider any idea of his brother's adoption of the child, giving the paltriest reasons as excuse. Hortense was made the most miserable of women by these disputes, further by her husband's command that she should not visit her mother.

In 1804 Hortense became an Imperial princess, and on 11 Oct. of that year her second son Napoleon Louis was born. Domestic unhappiness increased, and was not mitigated by the royal dignity when Louis became King and she Queen of Holland. In manner and dignity she was calm and unruffled, accepting all with a remarkable composure. Both Hortense and her brother present a striking contrast to the Bonapartes. In 1807 came the terrible blow of the death of the well-loved Napoleon Charles. The mother's grief was so intense that it affected her health, and several letters from N. to her on the subject are extant. This sorrow led to a reconciliation between husband and wife, which, however, did not last long. Hortense after some time returned to Paris, and in the spring of 1808 her third son,

afterwards Napoleon III., was born, and scandal again attacked the unfortunate queen, attributing the paternity of the child to the Dutch admiral Verhuell. This also has been proved to be a baseless fabrication. On her recovery she pleaded with her step-father not to be sent back to the morbid and fretful Louis. Then came her husband's abdication, and while he lived in exile, indeed from this time onwards, a virtual separation between husband and wife was an accepted fact. At this time the intimacy with Charles de Flahault (*q.v.*) is said to have begun, and seems to have been regarded by Hortense as a morganatic union. In the matter of Josephine's divorce Hortense was of the opinion that her mother would be happier once it was settled than living on in the midst of intrigue and worry.

She was always a devoted and attentive mother, the care and education of her sons being her first consideration. Her deepest sorrow was caused by Louis' repeated attempts to obtain possession of them.

After the first abdication Hortense, like her mother, was treated with the greatest consideration and honour by the Allies. The Tsar extorted from the Bourbons the recognition of her title of Duchesse de Saint-Leu, and succeeded in retaining her property for her. To her Wellington unbent from his usual grimness, and when she went before Louis XVIII. to seek his intervention in the dispute with her husband over the custody of her children, he also was impressed by her distinction and charm. During this time her house was said to be a rendezvous for plotting Imperialists, and certainly her admiration for and devotion to the Napoleonic cause never waned, as her sons' careers testify. Josephine's death at this time was a severe trial to Hortense, who, despite their diverse characters, bore a strong affection for her mother.

During the Hundred Days she took her place beside N., occupying with her sons at the palace the place of Marie Louise and the King of Rome. Hortense, though not long cognisant of the scandal circulated regarding the paternity of her first son, refused to

listen to those who said that in so doing she would revive it. As his daughter, she was beside him in that troublous time. In her company N. paid a pathetic visit to Malmaison, so desolate without Josephine.

After the second abdication the ex-queen, exiled from France, settled at Arenenberg with Louis Napoleon, the elder son being claimed by his father. Misfortune dogged her footsteps. Her dearly loved brother Eugène died in 1824; her second son also, after taking part in the Romagna rising in 1831. She was greatly interested in the political ambitions of Louis Napoleon, but also exceedingly apprehensive concerning them. After the failure of the Strasburg enterprise and his arrest her health visibly declined, and a year after (1837) she died, cheered, however, by the presence of her son. At her grave, the only member of the Bonaparte family present was her inveterate enemy, Caroline Murat. Hortense was the author of some romances and the composer of several well-known songs, among them the famous *Partant pour la Syrie*, the words of which were translated by Sir Walter Scott.

**Beauharnais, Louise Emilie de, Comtesse de Lavalette.**—Was the daughter of the Marquis de Beauharnais and granddaughter of the celebrated Fanny de Beauharnais. In 1792 her father joined the princes at Coblenz, while she and her mother remained in Paris. The latter was thrown into prison, where she remained for two years, while Emilie was left to the care and mercy of some servants. After 9 Thermidor her mother was released, and she immediately sent her daughter to Madame Campan's establishment. In 1796 she married the Comte de Lavalette (*q.v.*) at N.'s wish, and the union proved a very happy one. In 1815 her husband was sentenced to death, and in her anxiety and trouble over his fate and consequent escape she lost her reason, which later, however, she recovered under the devoted care of her husband. A daughter, Josephine, was born of this union, who was married at the early age of fifteen (in consideration of her father's misfortunes) to M. de Forget,

of an Auvergne family. A son born at the time of Lavalette's imprisonment died almost immediately owing to the distraught condition of the mother.

**Beauharnais, Stephanie Louise Adriennede (1789-1860).**— Was the daughter of the Comte Claude de Beauharnais and Mdle. de Lesay-Marnesia, whom he had married early in life. On her mother's death a rich Englishwoman adopted her and sent her to a convent, her father practically deserting her. N., however, hearing of the girl through Josephine, ordered that she be brought to Paris; she was then sent to Madame Campan to complete her education. At the age of seventeen (1806) she became a member of the Imperial family. The hereditary Prince of Baden fell in love with the young girl and asked her hand in marriage. N. favoured the match, but Stephanie, it is said, objected. Madame de Rémusat (*q.v.*) makes the circumstance an opportunity for innuendoes against N., which have been extensively quoted, though of evidence there is practically none. On 7 April 1806 the marriage took place at the Tuileries with great pomp and splendour, especially in the gowns and jewels worn by Josephine and the members of the family. The bride received magnificent presents and trousseau. Her father was present at the ceremony, though playing a very small part in the marriage of his daughter.

At first the union seemed to promise anything but happiness owing to Stephanie's dislike of her husband. After a while, however, she proved an admirable wife, and on N.'s downfall her husband indignantly refused the solicitations of his family to repudiate his wife, who when a long and painful illness overtook him nursed him with exemplary care and affection. Two daughters and a son were born of the union. The former were Josephine, who married Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, and Marie, who became the wife of the Duke of Hamilton in 1843. The son died in infancy—or is supposed to have done so—though the case of Kaspar Hauser (*q.v.*) showed that many

thought otherwise, or that if the child did die it was by the designs of his uncle, Louis Augustus William. The Princess Stephanie was warmly welcomed at the court of Napoleon III. She died in 1860.

**Beauregard, Fourreau de.**— N.'s physician-in-chief at Elba, had formerly been veterinary surgeon to the imperial stables. He paid N. daily visits, frequently when he was in his bath, and brought the gossip of the place. To his suggestion as to the probable results of drinking some hot soup N. replied tartly: "In spite of Aristotle and his cabal, at my age I know how to drink, and do not need to be taught by you."

**Belgium.**— Belgium, conquered by Pichegru in the campaign of 1794, was formally ceded to France by the Treaty of Lunéville on 9 Feb. 1801. Throughout the Consulate and the Empire it remained practically a part of France, receiving the *Code Napoléon*, and sharing in the fortunes of the greater country. At the same time it is evident that Bonaparte regarded it as a valuable possession, for he held to it tenaciously during the whole of his career. In 1805, after the Battle of Trafalgar, when the Emperor was anxious to treat with the Tsar of Russia, the latter sent his aide-de-camp, Dolgorouki, to ask that French troops be withdrawn from Belgium, but N. refused to comply. Again in 1814 he resolved that Belgium must not be ceded. Much of the interest of the famous Hundred Days centred in Belgium. The French and Prussian Armies were there, and there N. concentrated with all his available forces. And on its historic soil the Empire received its death-blow at Waterloo. On the downfall of N. Belgium was united with Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands, ruled over by Prince William Frederick of Nassau, representing the restored house of Orange. An attempt made by Talleyrand to reserve the grand duchy of Luxembourg and the see of Liège to France was frustrated. The union of Belgium and Holland (agreed upon at the Congress of Vienna, 31 May 1815) was not altogether a happy arrangement. The Belgians were Catholics, the Dutch

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Protestants; and to religious differences were added those of race and temperament. Some fifteen years later the countries were once more separate.

**Beresina, Battle of the.**—During the terrible retreat from Moscow Oudinot was ordered by N. to construct bridges for the passage of the French troops across the Beresina at Studienka. The majority of the men had accomplished the crossing, when at 8 a.m. on 28 Nov. 1812 the Russians, under Tschitschagov and Wittgenstein, attacked. Ney, Oudinot and Victor, with the remaining French troops, bravely held the Russians while the rest of the *grande armée* passed over. The Russian actual offensive was repulsed, but the losses of the French were disastrous, and probably amounted to about 25,000 men, numbers of whom were drowned in the river.

**Berg, Grand Duchy of.**—A small Napoleonic state formed from the Prussian duchy of Cleves and the Bavarian appanage of Berg, ceded by Bavaria in 1806 in exchange for Ansbach and the eastern part of Cleves. It was valued by N. as a military outpost of considerable importance, but was not actually annexed. Nevertheless, it received French codes, taxes, coinage, and was under French government from 1808 onwards for about five years, while at the same time its manufactures (the fruit of considerable industrial activity) were prevented by a tariff from entering France. Its position was thus anomalous and not too advantageous. In 1806 the Emperor entrusted the government of the grand duchy to Prince Joachim Murat, a brilliant soldier and the husband of Caroline Bonaparte, who so constantly complained of the narrow confines of the principality that N., to appease his ambitious sister, from time to time enlarged it by additions of territory taken from Prussia, till in 1808 it numbered 900,000 inhabitants. In that year Murat, who had carried out and contemplated many works of public improvement, was called away and made King of Naples, and was followed as ruler of Berg by an Imperial Commissioner, Count Beugnot,

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whose period of office was attended by excellent results, though N.'s huge levies of taxes and demand for conscripts partially destroyed the fruits of good government. Shortly after the appointment of Count Beugnot the grand-ducal title was given to Prince Napoleon Louis, a child of four, and the son of King Louis of Holland. On the fall of N. the grand duchy of Berg was governed, together with Saxony and certain other territories, by the "Central Administration of Reconquered Territories," a body established by the Allied Powers; and at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 it was transferred to Prussia.

**Bergen-op-Zoom, Battle of.**—Fought on 19 Sept. 1799 between 35,000 British and Russians under the Duke of York, and the French under Vandamme. The British were successful in the centre and left, forcing back in confusion the whole line of the French, who lost 2,000 killed and wounded in this part of the field, besides 1,000 prisoners; but on the right the Russians were utterly routed, and owing to this disaster the Duke of York was obliged to withdraw his troops to his original position. The Russian losses were over 3,500 killed and wounded and 26 guns.

**Bernadotte, Jean Baptiste Jules (1763-1844).**—French marshal, who became Charles XIV., King of Sweden and Norway (1818) and founder of the present royal house of Sweden, was born at Pau in the Lower Pyrenees on 26 Jan. 1763, son of Henri Bernadotte, procurator at Pau, and Jeanne St. Jean. Originally the family name was De Poney, but at the beginning of the seventeenth century was changed to Bernadotte. At an early age he enlisted in the French Army, his first experiences being gained in Corsica. On the outbreak of the Revolution his outstanding military qualities advanced him rapidly, and he became a commander, when Kléber, noticing his capabilities, obtained for him an appointment as general of brigade in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and in that capacity he fought in the Battle of Fleurus, when he was appointed general of division. In 1797 he

in motion a force to defend Antwerp, and it was in this connexion that Fouché delivered the proclamation sufficiently menacing and insolent to the absent Emperor, while the same minister in urging the sulking Bernadotte to accept the command told him not to afford N. an occasion to stigmatize him as one who declined to serve his country. But already N. had relented towards Bernadotte, and had himself given permission to General Clarke to send the marshal to defend Antwerp. He undertook the command and forced the invaders to evacuate all the points they had invested, including the island of Walcheren.

In 1810 he was appointed governor of Rome, and was about to proceed to his post when he received the news that he was elected successor to the Swedish throne, there being no heir of Charles XIII. Two reasons were responsible for this choice—firstly, that Sweden, always in fear of Russia and a possible war with that power, favoured the election of a soldier, a choice which had the support of the Swedish Army; secondly, the kindness and moderation with which, as has been stated, he treated not only the Danes but the many Swedish prisoners falling into his hands told largely in his favour. Another reason was that the country hoped to secure the protection of N. by their choice.

On 2 Nov. 1810 Bernadotte made his entry into Stockholm; on the 5th he received the homage of the estates and was adopted by Charles XIII. under the name of Charles John. As the monarch was too old and infirm to discharge the duties of royalty and the dissensions of the council of state were many and troublesome, the government of the country, and especially the control of foreign affairs, passed into the hands of the new Crown Prince. His ambition, only inflamed by his accession of rank and power, sought further aggrandizement, this time in the matter of territory. At once he conceived the plan of adding Norway to Sweden. His plan was to treat with the anti-Napoleonic powers and persuade them to punish Denmark for her loyalty to France by wresting Norway from her. By the secret treaty with

Russia (5 April 1812) Bernadotte undertook to send 30,000 men to take the field against N. in Germany in return for a promise from Alexander guaranteeing to Sweden the possession of Norway. On the outbreak of the Franco-Russian war a conference was arranged between the Tsar and Bernadotte at Abo on 30 Aug. 1812, and the result was that Alexander undertook to place an army corps of 35,000 men at his disposal for the conquest of Norway. He took part in the Leipsic campaign, and although the Allies had to point out to him that his first obligation was to themselves, properly objecting to the use of subsidies in his plot for Norwegian subjugation before their common enemy was overcome, he held the approaches to Berlin in a skilful manner against Oudinot in Aug. and Ney in Sept. After Leipsic he put aside any further obligation to the Allies, and proceeded on his way to cripple Denmark and seize Norway. This he accomplished, and on 14 Nov. 1814 Norway was united to Sweden. On 5 Feb. 1818 Charles XIII. died, and Bernadotte succeeded as Charles XIV. of Sweden and Norway. He died at Stockholm on 8 March 1844. He was succeeded by his son Oscar (1799-1859), to whom N. had stood godfather, giving him the name Oscar when, as he himself said, "he was raving mad with Ossian." On 19 June 1823 this prince married Princess Josephine Maximilienne, the daughter of Eugène de Beauharnais, and granddaughter of the Empress Josephine.

**Berthier, Louis Alexandre (1753-1815).**—Prince of Neuchâtel and Wagram, marshal of France and chief of staff under N.; was born at Versailles on 20 Feb. 1753. His father, an officer of the *corps de génie*, gave his son an excellent education in mathematics and the military art generally, and this contributed materially to his later success. He enlisted at the age of seventeen and served on the staff, in the engineers and the Prince de Lambesq's dragoons. Next he went with Rochambeau to North America, in 1780, as lieutenant, returning with a colonelcy. Various staff posts and a military mission to Prussia occupied his energies up to the out-

break of the Revolution, when he was chief of staff of the National Guard of Versailles, and in this capacity he protected the aunts of Louis XVI., assisting in their escape (1791). He joined the Republican cause and became chief of staff to Marshal Luckner, and in the Argonne campaign played a notable part under Dumouriez and Kellermann. In the Vendéan war of 1793-5 he again served with distinction, and in 1796 became general of division and chief of staff to the army of Italy under Bonaparte. Berthier's peculiar gifts soon appealed to the commander-in-chief, who knew well how to appreciate the thorough grasp and mastery of detail, the capacity for work, the comprehension and accuracy which Berthier possessed to such a remarkable degree. Henceforth to the end of N.'s career he was beside him, and his life may be said to be bound up in the history of the Napoleonic wars. "During the space of eighteen years and throughout sixteen campaigns — in Italy, Egypt, Germany, Poland, Russia, France—he rarely quitted his master's side; for, during that long period, he had no command in the field. As N.'s *major-général* he was occupied in receiving his instructions and transmitting them to the respective armies. He accompanied him in his carriage, and as they rode along Bonaparte would examine the order-book and the report of the positions: Berthier noted down his directions, and, at the first station they came to, made out the orders and individual details with admirable decision and dispatch." After the brilliant campaign of 1796 and the peace of Campo Formio, he was left in charge of the army, and in this capacity organized the Roman Republic (1798). He served with N. in Egypt, and on the return to Paris assisted in the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire (Nov. 1799), after which he held the position of minister of war for a while. Throughout the Marengo campaign Berthier was nominal head of the army of reserve, but as the First Consul was with the army he was, of course, simply filling his old position of chief of staff to N., while he was subsequently employed in civil and diplo-

matic negotiations. On the proclamation of the Empire, Berthier was made a marshal of France, and in 1806, after Austerlitz and Jena, was first created Duc de Valengin and next Prince de Neuchâtel. In the following year he was made vice-constable of the Empire. He served in the Peninsula (1808), and after the Austrian campaign (1809) became Prince of Wagram. N. also gave him large gifts of money and property, thus amply rewarding his services. A passion of Berthier's for Madame Visconti was carried to a ridiculous point, and at last N. insisted on the Prince of Wagram marrying a niece of the King of Bavaria. He was in his old post in the Russian campaign (1812), Germany (1813), and France (1814). N. undoubtedly placed his faith in Berthier when all the others were deserting him, but when he saw beyond a doubt that the one upon whom he had depended most and whom he had favoured beyond all was also a traitor, the blow was truly a severe one. Savary in his memoirs even asserts that Berthier was engaged in a plot to assassinate N., a statement which was also supported by the Duchesse d'Abrantes. He accepted a peerage from Louis XVIII. with alacrity, and was one of the King's companions on his entry into Paris. While N. was at Elba he kept in touch with Berthier, even going so far as to acquaint him with his projects. The position was difficult, too much so for Berthier, who, in trying to steer a middle course, was suspected by both N. and Louis. During the Hundred Days he withdrew to Bamberg, where his death occurred on 1 June 1815. His death was strange and the mystery of it is unfathomed. Some say that he committed suicide from remorse on hearing and seeing Russian troops marching to invade France. This he did by flinging himself from a balcony. But another version states that he was pushed therefrom by masked members of a secret society. In an estimate of Berthier's career it cannot be said that he was a great commander, for in 1809, when he was in temporary command of the French Army in Bavaria, an unlooked-for series of reverses was

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**Blücher, Gebhard Leberecht, Prince von (1742-1819).**—Prussian field-marshal; was born at Rostock in Mecklenburg on 16 Dec. 1742. When he first entered the military service, at the age of fourteen, he was fighting against the Prussians; but having been made prisoner by them in the Pomeranian campaign (1760), he was in-

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duced to enter the Prussian Army, where he became an officer in the Red Hussars, showing early evidence of the fiery and intrepid spirit which distinguished him in later years. But a wild and dissipated character in private life proved a bar to promotion; in high dudgeon at having been passed over, he retired from the army in 1773, turned his attention to farming, and only resumed his military career after the lapse of fifteen years. Thereafter he took part in several campaigns against the French, and was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1801 and in 1806 to general. A dashing cavalry leader, he made a brilliant display at Auerstädt, charging the French again and again; but he was forced to withdraw and finally to surrender at Ratkau. Having been exchanged for another prisoner, General Victor, he became military governor of Pomerania, a post of which he was deprived in 1812, when a too free expression of opinion brought him into temporary disgrace with the authorities. However, when the War of Liberation (1813-1814) broke out Blücher was given the command of the army of Silesia, with Scharnhorst and Gneisenau on his staff, and 90,000 men—Russians and Prussians—under him. Blücher's most notable performance in the campaign of 1813 was his defeat of Macdonald at the Katzbach, in Silesia. He also played a considerable part at the battle of Leipsic. Early in 1814 he crossed into France, where he was several times vanquished; but his wonted courage and energy suffered no diminution, and at length he defeated the French at Laon in such wise that the fate of the French cause was sealed. With his Silesian troops he marched on Paris, which he entered on 31 March. He showed a violent desire to wreak vengeance on the French capital for the hardships the Prussians had suffered, and was only restrained with difficulty by his allies. On 3 June he was made Prince of Wahlstadt, after which he retired to Silesia.

The return of N. from Elba called the hot-headed veteran once more to the field. At the outset of the Waterloo campaign he sustained a severe

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defeat at Ligny, but this was more than obliterated by his subsequent action at Waterloo. At great inconvenience to himself he brought his troops to Wellington's aid, assisted in crushing the enemy, and relentlessly pursued the scattered remnants of their army. For the second time he marched into Paris at the head of his troops. It is an open question whether Blücher's timely arrival at Waterloo was or was not a preconcerted move. Some authorities hold that the idea originated with Gneisenau, the tactical genius of the Prussian army; others, again, attribute it to Blücher himself. There is a rather wild story that Wellington rode to Wavre under cover of night to ask for reinforcements, and this during the progress of the battle! However this may be, the opportune interference of the Prussians was undoubtedly one of the most important factors in the battle. After the second taking of Paris Blücher retired from active life. He died at Kriebitz, in Silesia, on 12 Sept. 1819.

Notwithstanding the success of his arms, Blücher is by no means the most attractive of historical characters. It is true that he possessed certain qualities of value to a soldier—courage, daring, energy and indomitable perseverance. N. said of him once: "Le vieux diable m'a toujours attaqué avec la même vigueur; s'il était battu, un instant après il se rencontrait prêt pour le combat." And that fitly summarizes Blücher's military capacity. Of tactical skill he had none; he was obliged to depend for strategy on Gneisenau and other officers of his staff. His patriotism so-called was nothing more nor less than an intense hatred for N. and for the French generally—a feeling which likewise actuated his army as a driving power, taking the place of more lofty and noble sentiments. A story is told illustrative of Blücher's hate. While taking his sword exercises, it is said, he used to lunge at an imaginary foe, saying with each vicious thrust, "Napoleon!" Again, when the French asked for an armistice during his march on Paris he

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consented to grant it only on condition that N. was delivered up to him alive or dead. Needless to say that the French did not give up their *Père Violette* to the hot-headed Prussian! Then, too, Blücher was unscrupulous in war, without respect for neutralities; while only the combined dissuasion of the Allied commanders sufficed to prevent him from blowing up the bridge of Jena and terrorizing Paris. Add to this that in private life he was much given to self-indulgence, a man of unbridled temper and passions, and we have a none too pleasing portrait of this hero of Waterloo.

**Bolissy d'Anglas, François Antoine de (1756-1828).**—French statesman; was born in 1756, and after being well educated took up literature. In 1789 he began his public life as deputy to the States-General, and during the Revolutionary period played a prominent part, showing himself possessed of much firmness, disinterestedness and courage, besides being extremely level-headed. His desire for moderation caused suspicions of royalism to gather around him, and he was accused of disloyalty to the republic. On 18 Fructidor he was banished, and settled in England until the formation of the Consulate. He became a member of the Tribunal in 1801, and N. made him a senator in 1805. He was in favour of the Emperor's abdication in 1814, but returned to his allegiance to N. during the Hundred Days, being proscribed on the second Restoration for a short time. He worked hard for the liberty of the press, and amongst his literary works perhaps the best known is his *Essai sur la vie et les opinions de M. de Malesherbes*. He died in 1828.

**Bonaparte, Carlo Maria.**—See BUONAPARTE, CARLO MARIA.

**Bonaparte, Charles Louis Napoleon (1808 - 1873).**—Became Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III.; was the third son of Louis Bonaparte, brother of the first Emperor, and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine. Brought up and educated in Switzerland, he became head of the Napoleonic dynasty upon the death of the King of Rome. For some years



he resided in exile in America and England, from time to time making abortive attempts to have himself proclaimed Emperor of the French, the last of which resulted in his imprisonment in the fortress of Ham, where he passed his time in literary work. After a confinement of nearly five years he succeeded in making his escape to England. The revolution of Feb. 1848 gave him his opportunity, and, hastening to France, he was elected to represent no fewer than four departments in the Constituent Assembly. In the same year he was elected president of the French Republic by a majority of more than four million votes. Almost immediately he commenced to combat the measures of the Assembly, and on 2 Dec. 1851, with the assistance of the army, he dissolved the constitution, was elected president for ten years, and shortly afterwards was proclaimed Emperor. His policy was a mixture of callous opportunism and repression, and in foreign affairs he assumed the airs of a dictator. No extended sketch of his tortuous career can be afforded in this place, in which he is only noticed in virtue of his family connexion with his great namesake. In 1853 he married Eugénie de Montijo, a Spanish countess, who, it was whispered, urged him forward in his schemes of annexation. In July 1870 he declared war upon Prussia, with results that are too widely known to necessitate their rehearsal. On the conclusion of hostilities he joined his wife at Chislehurst, in Kent, where he died, a broken man, on 9 Jan. 1873.

**Bonaparte, Charles Lucien Jules Laurent (1803-1857).**—Prince of Canino, eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte, brother of N. In 1822 he married his cousin, Zénaïde Bonaparte, the daughter of Joseph. With the exception of the years 1846-49, when he took part in the revolution in Italy, his career was that of a scientist rather than a politician. At the age of twenty-two he began the publication of an *American Ornithology* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1825-33), which fully established his reputation. Many other works in zoology followed, including the three volumes of the *Iconographia*

*della fauna Italica* (Rome, 1832-41). When forced to take refuge in Holland, after the political troubles in Italy, he again turned his attention to science, and published further works on his researches. His family consisted of eight children, who survived him: Joseph Lucien Charles Napoleon, Prince of Canino (1824-65), who died leaving no heir; Lucien Louis Joseph Napoleon, born in 1828, took holy orders in 1853, and became cardinal in 1868; Julie Charlotte Zénaïde Pauline Lastilia Désirée Bartholomé, who married the Marquis of Roccagiovine; Charlotte Honorine Josephine, who married Count Primoli; Marie Désirée Eugénie Josephine Philomène Jacqueline, married to the Count Campello; Auguste Amélie Maximilienne Jacqueline, married to Count Gabrielli; Napoleon Charles Grégoire Jacques Philippe, born 1839, married the Princess Ruspoli, by whom he had two daughters; and Bathilde Aloyse Léonie, married to the Comte de Cambacérès. This branch is now extinct.

**Bonaparte, Christine Elenore, née Boyer (1773-1800).**—The first wife of Lucien Bonaparte (*q.v.*), was the daughter of an innkeeper of St. Maximin, where Lucien met her when stationed at that town as commissary to the army. They were married in 1794, the bride being two years older than her husband, who was then no more than nineteen.

She was a beautiful woman, and of a lovable disposition, and deservedly beloved by Lucien. After the marriage she was received by Joseph and his wife, also by that old friend of the Bonapartes, Mme. Permon, a fact which is mentioned by Laurette Permon (Duchesse d'Abrantes) in her *Memoirs*: ". . . when Lucien made his strange match with Mlle. Boyer my mother received her like a daughter, and was the first to discover an angel under the form of a woman."

She bore two daughters to Lucien, Charlotte in 1796, and Christine Egypta (so named because her birth took place at the time of N.'s Egyptian expedition) in 1798. She died in 1800, deeply mourned by her husband, who had her buried at his château of

Plessis-Chamant, raising a beautiful monument to her memory.

**Bonaparte, Jerome (1784-1860).**—Brother of N.; born at Ajaccio 15 Nov. 1784. When political developments compelled the family to leave Corsica in 1793 Jerome accompanied them; was then educated at Juilly, where he remained until the revolution of 1799 made N. head of the consular government. He then left college, and in his fifteenth year entered the navy. Affectionate but headstrong and impetuous by nature, a more than usual number of indiscretions and extravagances were indulged in by Jerome. N., fond of his youngest brother, remonstrated frequently and sharply, but with little avail; he called him a "*petit polisson*" with some truth, for in later years the hopes placed in Jerome were disappointed. About this time his ship, with others, was ordered to the West Indies, and there, blockaded by the British, Jerome left his ship and travelled through the United States. At Baltimore he met a Miss Elizabeth Patterson, with whom he fell violently in love and married, though still a minor (1803). This proceeding, a direct breach of discipline and French law, angered N., and when Jerome, returning to France, brought his wife with him, she was forbidden to land on French soil. In an interview at Alessandria, Jerome tried in vain to prevail upon his brother to revoke his decision. His wife proceeded to England, living for a while at Camberwell, where she gave birth to a son, Jerome Napoleon (1805).

In the spring of 1805 Jerome was placed in command of a small squadron in the Mediterranean, and in Nov. sailed again for the West Indies with a small fleet under Admiral Willaumez, the object being to ravage and devastate those islands. The ships were, however, scattered by severe storms, but on the return voyage Jerome succeeded in inflicting damage on British commerce, landing in France Aug. 1806. On his arrival in Paris he was decorated with the cordon of the Legion of Honour, made a rear-admiral and created a prince of France. In the campaign of 1806 he commanded a division of South

Germans, Bavarians and Württembergers; while, after Jena, several Prussian towns surrendered to him. The question of his marriage was still unsettled. A divorce was commanded by the Emperor, and Jerome, fickle and venal, now showed no opposition. This divorce, however, the Pope refused to sanction, but N. annulled the marriage by an imperial decree, and Jerome, in accordance with the political designs of the Emperor, married the Princess Catherine of Württemberg (1807). By the Treaty of Tilsit (7 July, 1807) he became King of the new kingdom of Westphalia. But it needed a man of vastly superior calibre to Jerome to carry out the system devised by N. for the subjugation of the German peoples, in essence a system of denationalization. His words of advice to Jerome sufficiently indicated his wishes, "that the sight of just laws and good administration would do more than the greatest victories to consolidate the Napoleonic system in Germany." Jerome certainly had good intentions, like all amiable and easy natures, and to agreeable manners he united sympathy and a facile quickness of mind. But any good qualities were rendered nugatory by his lack of restraint, his boundless self-esteem and self-will, above all by his love of vulgar display and base pleasures. All the efforts of his ambitious brother to inspire him with some measure of his own limitless ambition, to awake within him a desire to accomplish great things, were fruitless. To Jerome kingship merely represented a wider field for luxury and display. In the words of an eminent authority: "The scanty revenues of the kingdom were wasted on worthless favourites. The pay of the troops was in arrears, and in the spring of 1809 a serious mutiny broke out." Before this the King was helpless. His unpopularity was apparent on all sides, even though the connexion with France had in many ways benefited the people. Feudalism was swept away; Jews had been emancipated from all repression; the Code Napoléon was introduced and education given an impetus. To balance this, however, the financial conditions were deplor-

able; despite heavy taxation the state debt increased enormously, and when the country was commanded to supply a contingent for the Russian campaign of 1812 bankruptcy stared them in the face. Before this, however, different risings took place, and the kingdom was torn by dissensions. N., bitterly disappointed, spared his brother no reproach for his weakness, if not cowardice. "Your kingdom," so ran his letter, "has no police, no finances and no organisation. It is not with display that the foundation of monarchies are laid. What is happening to you now I fully expected. I hope it will teach you a lesson. Adopt ways and habits suited to those of the country which you govern." As one writer expresses it: "The failure of N. in Germany was largely due to the follies of Jerome."

In the famous campaign of 1812 Jerome again failed his brother. To him had been entrusted a strategic movement that, if successful, would have been of inestimable advantage to the French, but, either from indolence or ignorance, he failed ignominiously, whereupon N. disgraced him on the instant by subjecting him to the control of Marshal Davout. He returned to Cassel, and to conceal his mortification resumed his usual round of *amours* and pleasures. In the following year, when Germany was evacuated by the French, his subjects, aided by Russian and Saxon troops, forced Jerome to abandon his capital. In great haste he put himself at the head of a regiment of French hussars, which he had taken into his service, and fled with his ministers and generals to Coblenz. From an intercepted letter of his an idea may be gained of the inefficient condition of all about him. He complains of losing a great number of his hussars because, as he says, "they tumbled off their horses when they attempted to charge the enemy." He retired to France, but in 1814 spent some time in Switzerland and later at Trieste. He was at the latter place when N. returned from Elba. Though closely watched by the Austrian government, he contrived to embark in a frigate and reached Paris, where he assisted at the meeting of the Champ

de Mai and took his seat in the Chamber of Peers. He soon after set off with the Emperor and the army. N., at St. Helena, acknowledged that he had found Jerome greatly improved, and that at the Battle of Waterloo he had discovered considerable military talent. In that famous campaign he had commanded a division on the French left wing, and attacked Hougomont with considerable vigour and obstinacy. After N.'s second abdication Jerome went to Württemberg, but was threatened with arrest unless he relinquished his wife and child. Living at Goppingen, he was subjected to strict surveillance, but was permitted at last to retire to Augsburg. From thence he proceeded to Trieste, where he resided, with intervals spent in Italy and Switzerland. In 1835 his wife died. He at last returned to France in 1847, and under Louis Napoleon was made governor of the Invalides, and subsequently marshal of France and president of the Senate. His children were Jerome Napoleon (1805-70) (*q.v.*) by his American marriage; and three by his union with Catharine of Württemberg, namely, Jerome Napoleon Charles, who died young, Mathilde Laetitia Wilhelmina (*q.v.*), and Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul (1822-91) (*q.v.*), afterwards known as Prince Napoleon. This son became heir to the fortunes of the Napoleonic dynasty. Jerome died on 24 June 1860.

**Bonaparte, Jerome Napoleon (1805-70).**—Was the son of Jerome Bonaparte, brother of N., by his marriage with Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore. His birth took place at Camberwell in 1805, but he returned with his mother to America soon afterwards, and there he spent his life, residing chiefly at Baltimore. In appearance he is said to have borne a marked resemblance to his famous uncle, the Emperor Napoleon. In later years he occasionally met his father, with whom he was on amicable terms, and who for some time made him a large allowance.

**Bonaparte, Jerome Napoleon (1832-83).**—Son of the above; grandson of Jerome Bonaparte, brother of N. He was educated in America, but afterwards entered the French Army

with which he served in the Crimea and in Italy.

**Bonaparte, Joseph (1768-1844).—**The eldest of N.'s brothers; was born at Corte, in Corsica, on 7 Jan. 1768. He was educated at the college of Autun in France, returning to Corsica in 1784 after the death of his father. He had been intended for the church, and his education was undertaken with this end in view, but when the moment arrived for his own decision he refused to embrace the ecclesiastical profession and desired to enter upon a military career. This his younger brother N. opposed, pointing out, with worldly wisdom, the superior prospects offered by the Church, also the suitability of Joseph's character for that calling. His affairs thus remained undetermined for a time, but after some unsuccessful attempts to engage in business he studied law at Pisa, becoming a barrister at Bastia in 1788, and a briefless one for some little while. About this time he was elected a councillor of the municipality of Ajaccio.

Like his brothers Napoleon and Lucien, Joseph had espoused the democratic and French cause, and when the Paolists gained the ascendancy in Corsica he, with the rest of the family, fled to France. The excesses of the Jacobins at Paris revolted him, and he went to Marseilles where the others had settled. There, in 1794, he married Mlle. Julie Clary, the daughter of one of the richest merchants of the city. Together with the rest of the Bonapartes he was concerned in the various measures for the recovery of Corsica, and in connexion with these went to Genoa in 1795. Later, through the influence of Salicetti, he became commissary-general, and in that capacity accompanied N. in the early part of the Italian campaign in 1796; taking part in the negotiations with Sardinia and carrying the news of the armistice of Cherasse to the French Government. He again turned to Corsican affairs, and proceeding to Leghorn took part in the French expedition to the island, and afterwards, with Miot de Melito, the commissioner appointed by the French Republic, did much to-

wards the reorganization of the country. In the same year he secured a diplomatic appointment under the Directory, and was sent as ambassador to the Court of Parma and soon after to Rome. It is stated that he received revolutionary instructions from N. and the Directory, and acted accordingly. He protested against the nomination of the Austrian general Provera to the command of the Roman troops, and in this as well as in other matters discussed during the early part of his embassy he was successful. Among other things he obtained the diminution of the Pope's military force, the expulsion of the French emigrants from the papal dominions, and the release of all persons imprisoned on account of their religious opinions. In Dec. 1797 the republican faction in Rome sought to obtain the assistance of the French ambassador, but he refused all approbation. A rising took place outside the French embassy in which the French general Léonard Duphot was killed. Joseph Bonaparte immediately demanded his passports, and left Rome, which soon after became a republic. On his return to Paris he entered upon a parliamentary life and took his seat in the Council of Five Hundred as one of the members for Corsica. Together with his brother Lucien he had some share in the plots and negotiations with Sieyès and Moreau which brought about the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire (9 Nov. 1799) and placed N. at the head of the consular government. Joseph refused to enter the Ministry, but was made a member of the Council of State and the *Corps Législatif*. In the negotiations for the Concordat he also had a share, but is said to have criticized the measure as "ill-advised and retrograde." As minister plenipotentiary he concluded a convention with the United States at Mortfontaine (1800), his country house, which gives its name to the treaty. His success as a negotiator determined the government to send him to the Congress of Lunéville, over which he presided, and here, seconded by the victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden he concluded the treaty of peace with Austria (1801).

In the following year he and Maret represented France at the Congress of Amiens, where, with the British Envoy, Lord Cornwallis, peace was arranged and signed between England and France (1802). This triumph of diplomacy did much in helping N. to obtain the Consulship for life (1 Aug. 1802) and the attendant privileges then granted, as that of the selection of his successor. On this question disagreement arose between N. and Joseph. The first wished to recognize the son of Louis Napoleon as his heir, in view of the fact that neither himself nor Joseph had a male heir. But the latter, with his Corsican view of primogeniture, claimed the recognition of his right as heir. When the French Empire was proclaimed in May 1804 the friction was acute, and N. offered to Joseph the crown of Lombardy as a bribe if he would renounce all claim of succession to the throne of France. But this Joseph firmly refused to do. At this period he had been using all his diplomatic talent to avert a rupture with England, but with no success (1803). During the Emperor's campaign in Germany he presided over the Senate and was chief of the French Government. On signing the Peace of Pressburg, in Dec. 1805, N. issued a decree announcing that the Neapolitan dynasty "had ceased to reign," and Joseph was placed at the head of the French Army destined to invade that kingdom, with the promise that the Neapolitan crown was his if he chose to accept it. He was accompanied by Masséna, Gouvion St. Cyr, and other generals, and the conquest of the mainland was speedily accomplished, though some places such as Gaëta, Reggio, and the rock of Sylla resisted for some time. The Bourbons retired to Sicily, protected by a British force. In pursuance of an imperial decree, Joseph on 30 March 1806, was proclaimed King of Naples and the Two Sicilies, whilst N. also allowed him still to maintain his claims to the French succession. The government of the kingdom presented many difficulties, as is recorded in the memoirs of Count Miot de Melito, whom Joseph appointed minister of war. Financially the conditions were those of an

almost bankrupt treasury, whilst the population were degraded and dangerously fickle in character. From outside came the dangers of Bourbon intrigues and plots and attacks from the British stationed at Sicily. Yet the new king set about making several important changes in the constitution and introduced as many of the elements of that of France as his subjects would allow. He suppressed the monastic orders, abolished feudal rights, disposed of various national domains, applied the produce to the liquidation of the public debts, equalized the taxes, and established an available sinking fund. He also simplified the legal code; endowed schools, colleges and hospitals; founded thirty establishments for gratuitous instruction; restored professorships in the different branches of *belles-lettres* and science, and inaugurated a new system of roads and bridges. In Naples itself, besides embellishing the city, he introduced a general system of lighting, and commanded workshops to be constructed for the *lazzaroni*. All these improvements were obtained by means of persuasion and by a skilful amalgamation of the interests of all parties, and in everything he honestly endeavoured to fulfil the aims he had expressed to his consort in 1806: "Justice demands that I should make this people as happy as the scourge of war will permit." In time he might have become a great favourite, but the best plans did not always turn out successfully, added to which the fact of his own necessities and the exactions of N. compelled him to levy oppressive contributions on his subjects. Some defects in his personal character weakened his influence to a considerable degree. He was too mild and supine; too feeble to exert any moral force, therefore becoming the passive instrument of some of N.'s unpopular measures, and frequently too indolent to attend closely to details of business he at times abandoned the reins of government to Salicetti, Roederer, and Arcambel, his three chief ministers.

By this time N. had come to the decision to dethrone the Spanish Bourbons. It is stated by some authorities

that the original plan of the Emperor was to give Lucien the throne of Spain, but a breach had occurred between the two brothers, and the crown was offered to Joseph, who accordingly quitted his kingdom of Naples for that of Spain. Here he was faced by almost insuperable difficulties. When he was within a day's journey of Bayonne N. issued a decree (1808) proclaiming Joseph King of Spain and the Indies and guaranteeing the independence and integrity of his dominions in the four quarters of the world. But the Spanish populace were infuriated, and, despite the good intentions and aims of Joseph, his efforts were futile. He had entered the country with as few Frenchmen in his suite as possible; had appointed Spaniards to some of the most important posts in the ministry; the civic and provincial authorities had displayed their nominal submission; the municipal officials of Madrid had decorated the city to welcome the new monarch, but the people were not to be seen, or those who were in the streets stood silent. As the cavalcade passed, the money scattered among them lay where it fell, for the French themselves to pick up; and the theatres which had been thrown open to the people were left to Frenchmen. The popular feeling rose higher every day, a movement that ultimately proved fatal to all N.'s plans as regards Spain, and Joseph's stay in Madrid was of short duration. The intelligence of the defeat of Dupont's army at Baylen (*q.v.*) having reached him, together with the news that the Spaniards were advancing upon Madrid, rendered his retreat desirable. Before retiring to Vittoria he generously gave leave to the individuals composing his administration either to follow his fortunes or take the national side if they preferred it. At the end of the year he was reinstated by N., whose presence had sufficed to restore victory to the French arms, but his sovereignty continued to be little more than titular, and the subordinate position he was relegated to proved increasingly irksome, so that on four occasions he offered to abdicate. The Emperor merely replied by ordering him to govern with more

energy. He was, however, a king without revenues, and he would have been without even the semblance of authority if he had not likewise been nominated N.'s lieutenant in Spain, by virtue of which title he was empowered to dispose the French army of occupation as he willed—a power which was extremely unacceptable to the French generals. Joseph had neither sufficient power nor military genius to direct the operations which the unforeseen changes of general affairs rendered necessary. In 1810, independent of Joseph's authority, N. placed the northern and north-eastern provinces under the command of French generals as military districts. Joseph again protested and again was unanswered. The extreme measures exercised by the French military commanders were disapproved of by the one whose authority and rule they were intended to establish. By all possible means he endeavoured to conciliate the people, to become a constitutional monarch, but was forced by circumstances to be "the mere instrument of a military power," a rôle temperamentally repellent to one of Joseph's character. To such a pass did matters come that at last he proceeded to Paris to exact better terms from his despotic brother, or, failing that, to abdicate. But, again yielding to N.'s will, he returned to his uneasy throne with the grant of a monthly subsidy of 500,000 francs and the promise that the army of the centre, the smallest of the five French armies, should be under his control. This was in 1811, the same year that the Emperor united Catalonia to France. At the news of Wellington's victory at Salamanca (22 July 1812) Joseph left his capital, and though the British retired in the autumn of that year the authority of the French king never recovered from the blow. The next year saw the end of his nominal rule. At the Battle of Vittoria (21 June 1813), where Wellington utterly overthrew the chief French army commanded by himself and Marshal Jourdan, Joseph barely escaped with his life; his baggage, artillery, military chest and court equipage, even his very crown, falling into the hands of

the British. On his arrival in Paris N., infuriated, disgraced him and sent him into retirement at Mortefontaine. To the minister of war the irate Emperor wrote (July 1813) concerning the fallen King of Spain: "His (Joseph's) behaviour has never ceased to bring misfortune upon my army; it is time to make an end of it."

While N. was engaged in the campaign of 1814 Joseph remained at Paris, and was appointed lieutenant-general of France and commandant of the national guards, for the two-fold purpose of assisting Marie Louise in the government and of defence of the capital. Here again he fell short in performance of the Emperor's wishes, and his part in affairs was certainly inconsiderable. He authorized Marmont on 30 March to make a truce with the Allies if they should be in overpowering numbers. On the surrender of the capital he at once retired and joined the Empress at Blois, and, on his brother's abdication, a few days after, he went to Switzerland, purchasing an estate in the canton of Vaud.

On N.'s escape from Elba in March 1815 he returned to Paris, but the part he played during the Hundred Days was undistinguished. That N. depended upon him to some extent is indicated by that request of his, four days after Waterloo, that Joseph should urge the Chamber of Deputies to a scheme of national resistance. But in this he was the last man ever to succeed. After the defeat at Waterloo he aided his brother's plans for escape. When N. surrendered to the captain of H.M.S. *Bellerophon* at Rochefort, Joseph embarked for the United States, where he adopted the title of Comte de Survilliers and attempted to promote plans for his brother's escape or rescue from St. Helena. In the year 1830 he pleaded for the recognition of the claims of the Duke of Reichstadt, N.'s son, to the throne of France, but was unsuccessful. Later he visited England, and next resided for a time at Genoa and Florence, the home of his race, where he died on 28 July 1844. From his correspondence and memoirs it may be seen that towards N. Joseph always

bore a warm affection, despite the friction that often arose between them owing largely to differences of character, one being fitted by nature for domination and leading of men, while Joseph's qualities were adapted for private life and, to some extent, diplomacy. "In discharge of the high duties which I confided to him," said N. at St. Helena, "he did the best he could. His intentions were good, and, therefore, the fault rested not so much with him as with me who raised him above his proper sphere." This was amply borne out by facts. The Emperor finished the above remarks with the following: "He is very like me in person, but handsomer." This was also true to a certain extent, but Joseph utterly lacked the strength and vitality which made his brother's appearance so impressive.

Joseph left two daughters, Zénaïde Charlotte, the eldest, who married her first cousin Charles, the eldest son of Lucien, and Charlotte, married also to a first cousin, Napoleon Louis, the second son of Louis Bonaparte.

**Bonaparte, Louis (1778-1846).**— Was born at Ajaccio on 2 Sept. 1778, and was baptized on the 24th, being given the royal name of Louis. His godparents were the Comte de Marbeuf, the governor and commander-in-chief of Corsica, and Madame Boucheport, wife of the Royal Commissioner. When Louis was eight years of age, three years after the death of his father, Madame Bonaparte applied for an entrance for the boy to one of the Royal Military Schools, the same that N. had enjoyed, but this was unsuccessful. In 1791, when N., then a lieutenant, left Corsica to return to his regiment at Auxonne, he took Louis with him to complete his education, and also in the event of any advantageous opportunity offering itself Louis would be at hand to profit thereby. N.'s pay was £4 a month, and with his young brother to keep he was poorer than ever, but being fond and proud of Louis, as shown by a letter of his to Joseph Fesch, he never grudged the privations it entailed upon him. Only once did he refer to it, and that was twenty years later, when, stung by the flight of the King of

Holland, his brother Louis, into Germany, he said to Caulaincourt: "What! abdicate without warning me! Take refuge in Westphalia as if from a tyrant! My brothers injure instead of aiding me. This Louis whom I brought up on my pay of a lieutenant, God knows at the price of what privations. I found means to pay the schooling of my young brother. Do you know how I managed it? By never setting my foot in a café or going into society; by eating dry bread and brushing my clothes myself that they might last the longer. In order not to disgrace my comrades I lived like a bear in a little room, with my books for my only friends. And those books, in order to procure them what strict economy was necessary! (N. was then writing his *History of Corsica*.) When by dint of abstinence I had amassed a couple of crowns I went to the bookseller's with the joy of a child. Tormented with the crime of envy, I visited the shelves and coveted for a long time before my purse permitted me to purchase. These were the joys and debaucheries of my youth!" When N. in 1795 procured for Louis admission to the military school of Châlons he wrote of him as follows: "I am very pleased with Louis; he fulfils my hopes; intelligence, warmth, good health, talent, good address, kindness—he possesses all these qualities." The brothers were again together through the famous Italian campaign of 1796-7, where Louis behaved with courage and devotion, but before the peace of Campo Formio he was attacked by the disease which was to render his life miserable and his character morbid.

On his return to Paris while visiting his sister Caroline, at the establishment of Madame Campan (*q.v.*) he fell in love with Emilie de Beauharnais, a niece of Josephine. This did not fall in with N.'s matrimonial projects for Louis, and he promptly married Emilie to the Comte de Lavalette (*q.v.*) and took Louis with him to Egypt as one of his aides-de-camp in 1798-9. Upon his return to France the question of Louis's marriage to Hortense de Beauharnais (*q.v.*), Josephine's daughter, was mooted. Unfortunately neither

Louis nor Hortense desired it, by all accounts, and the former to escape the project travelled for some time in Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark. The reasons for the marriage lay, according to N.'s account and others, with Josephine. Already the terror of divorce haunted her, knowing well as she did the hatred and designs of the Bonapartes, and by this marriage she had hoped to gain an ally in the hostile clan. This would most surely have been accomplished if Louis had been allowed to marry her niece—as it was, his marriage with Hortense, which took place on 7 Jan. 1802, transformed him into the bitterest enemy of all, whilst causing unmitigated misery to himself and his wife. Some assert that he certainly loved Hortense, but that it was not returned—hence the bitterness. In the *Documents historiques sur la Hollande*, by King Louis, may be found his version of the affair. Other accounts show some of the chief contributing causes to the misery of the marriage, chief of all the outrageous scandal emanating from the jealousy of the Bonaparte family, especially the venomous Madame Murat. They had opposed the marriage, seeing in it their defeat by the Beauharnais, which feeling was intensified when a son was born, for this event affected the succession for Joseph, who had only daughters. In their chagrin the Bonapartes and Madame Murat industriously circulated the report that Hortense's child was not the son of Louis, but of N. himself and with the connivance of Josephine. (For the indisputable evidence against this *see* article on Hortense.) Caroline even communicated the scandal to Louis, who betrayed no signs of belief or disbelief, only so far as causing him to be more exacting and unkind to his wife. It certainly succeeded, however, in making him fall in with the Bonapartes against N.'s and Josephine's plans for the little Napoleon in regard to the succession, for when informed of their designs Louis utterly refused to give his consent, alleging as one of his reasons that his child would be taken from him and brought up at the palace, and again the selfish one—that he himself



would never yield his right to the succession to his son who would thus occupy a superior place to his father. Joseph, as the eldest brother, bitterly opposed the arrangement, making himself absurd over the matter. N. relinquished the plan so far that he included Joseph and Louis in the succession, but a clause was inserted giving him the right of adoption. This he asserted after the coronation, and by an additional clause having left out Joseph and Louis again, proposed to adopt his nephew. So violent by now was the opposition of Louis and the family that N. allowed the subject to fall into abeyance. The death of the child later put an end to the dispute and altered the destinies of the Bonapartes and indeed of Europe.

During the years 1802-4 Louis was almost entirely with his regiment as its colonel, or seeking in vain some cure for his disease at the mineral baths. In 1804 he was made general of division and councillor of state. After the victory of Austerlitz (2 Dec. 1805), a cherished plan of N. began to take actual form. This was to surround the French Empire with a ring of states in close alliance with France. Of these states Holland (*q.v.*) was one, and Louis was destined to fill the throne. According to his own statements he only accepted this charge with reluctance. After a study of his ineffectual character this may be regarded as partly true. A tinge of morbidity overclouded his faculties; physical disease kept him in a state of irritability whilst weakening his will and mentality, therefore he shirked any responsibility. Yet when King of Holland by no right but that of being N.'s brother, he displayed in a marked degree the vainglory and disloyalty to N. shown by all the family. Like Joseph and Murat, he conceived the idea of being a dynastic king and acting as one. He moved the capital from the Hague to Amsterdam, introduced the Code Napoléon, thus reforming Dutch jurisprudence, and patronized learning and the arts. This was well in its way, but N. wanted other things.

The friction between Emperor and King increased, and N. decided that Holland, which held a large place

in his plans, would be better under his own immediate rule, for he suspected Louis of entering into negotiations with England, and charged him with it. Accordingly N. offered Louis the throne of Spain. In his rôle of dynastic king Louis rejected it indignantly. A demand for the cession of Zeeland and Brabant in return for the Hanse towns further nettled him; he refused the exchange, and, expecting invasion in return for his disobedience, prepared to resist.

On his return from the Austrian campaign, N.'s intention of dethroning Louis was patent to all. He invited Louis to Paris, and by the advice of his councillors the King of Holland accepted. His case was hopeless in the face of the Emperor's statement in the *Moniteur*: "Holland is one of the principal arteries of my empire. Changes will be necessary. The safety of my frontiers and the interests of the two countries imperiously necessitate this." Neither in his suit for Holland nor in that for a divorce from Hortense was Louis successful. Following out his design, N. in 1810 annexed the island of Walcheren, alleging that not only had Louis failed in putting the interests of France first but had neglected to defend them at the time of the British Walcheren expedition (1809), while French troops also occupied Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom. Thus Louis was virtually reduced to the position of a French governor. He gave way on all points in the dispute, but the crisis was bound to come. When in the spring of 1810 the negotiations with Britain collapsed, the Emperor again pressed Louis hard, and finally at his command French troops were sent against the Dutch capital. Louis summoned his council and advised resistance, but his ministers pointed out the hopelessness of such a course, besides betraying no enthusiasm in the support of Louis. The latter now meditated his revenge, to put N. as much as possible in the wrong so that all the world might see. On 1 July 1810 Louis abdicated in favour of his son, Napoleon Louis, and fled the country. N.'s words on hearing of this have already been quoted (*see* p. 57, col. 1). He de-

clared the act of abdication a nullity, and took Louis's son under his own charge. On 9 July 1810 Holland was annexed to the French Empire.

Louis had taken his departure from Haarlem in the strictest incognito, and for a while his whereabouts was unknown to the Emperor. He finally retired to Gratz, taking the title of Comte de St. Leu, a small estate he owned near Paris. Later, by a decree of the French Senate, an appanage of 2,000,000 francs and an increase of his French estates were settled on himself and his family, but he considered this out of keeping with his dignity as a king and refused it. On N.'s reverses and after the battle of Leipsic he thought of attempting to recover his crown and of returning to Holland by way of Paris, but he was not allowed to enter the city. N. wrote to him saying that he would rather Holland should return to the government of the Prince of Orange than to his. On receipt of this Louis made a direct appeal to the magistrates of Amsterdam, but the Dutch paid no attention to his letter and gave the crown to the heir of their ancient stadtholders. During the Hundred Days Louis held aloof, although the other brothers, even Lucien, made common cause with N., seeing perhaps, though too late, that their fate was bound up with his. Louis spent the rest of his life separated from his wife, but in 1815 he secured the custody of his elder son, Napoleon Louis, and, henceforth living at Rome, devoted his time to his son's education and literary and philosophic studies. The devotion of both his sons to the national cause in Italy pleased him greatly, though the death of the elder, Napoleon Louis, in the Italian insurrection of 1831 proved a severe shock. His interest was intense in the attempts of his son Charles Louis Napoleon (afterwards Napoleon III.) to wrest the crown of France from Louis Philippe, and the failure of the attempts at Strassbourg and Boulogne was another bitter disappointment to the brooding man. He died on 25 July 1846, and was buried at St. Leu. He wrote several works, but they are unimportant. They include a novel, *Marie, ou les Hollandaises* and *Docu-*

*mens Historiques et Reflexions sur le gouvernement de la Hollande*. His sons were Napoleon Charles (1802-7), Napoleon Louis (1804-31), and Charles Louis Napoleon (1808-73), afterwards Napoleon III. (q.v.), Emperor of the French.

**Bonaparte, Louis Lucien (1813-91).**—Second son of Lucien Bonaparte; was born at Thorngrove, Worcestershire, England, on 4 Jan. 1813. He was educated in the country of his birth, not entering France until 1848, after the revolution. In the November of that year he was elected deputy for Corsica, but his election was declared invalid; he was afterwards returned as deputy for the Seine. He sat on the right of the Legislative Assembly, but took no active part in affairs in the *coup d'état* of his cousin (2 Dec. 1851). He was made senator and prince by Napoleon III., but in politics he played no part. In 1870, after proclamation of the Third Republic, he retired to England and devoted himself to philology and published some works on the Basque language: *Grammaire basque*, *Remarques sur plusieurs assertions concernant la langue basque*, (1870), and *Observations sur la basque Fontarabie* (1878). He died on 3 Nov. 1891, leaving no children.

**Bonaparte, Lucien (1775-1840).**—Brother of N.; was born at Ajaccio on 21 May 1775. Like his elder brothers, Joseph and N., he was sent to the college at Autun, proceeding later to Brienne to prepare for a military career. Partly because of his defective eyesight, but more by reason of his intense restlessness and love of change, he suddenly relinquished all idea of the army and decided to "study the humanities" and become a priest. He thereupon left Brienne much against N.'s advice. One cause of this change on Lucien's part may have been due to N.'s elder-brother attitude, which evidently galled the younger and rather conceited boy, who, in his *Memoirs*, frankly states that when he met N. at Brienne he at once took a dislike to him. Their respective ages at the time were: Lucien, nearly ten, and N. fifteen. Certain it is that all their lives they remained, to a great extent, irreconcilable quantities though obey-

ing by instinct that intense *esprit de famille*, which the Bonapartes possessed in common with all Corsicans. Lucien entered the seminary at Aix, but to one of his volatile temperament the discipline proved intolerable, and, his career still unsettled, he returned with N. to Corsica in 1790. The Revolution and its creeds found in Lucien an ardent enthusiast, and with Fesch (*q.v.*) as supporter he became a leading light of the radical club at Ajaccio. His fiery oratory and enthusiasm inspired even N., perhaps to greater lengths than he might otherwise have risked, though to Lucien he seemed but a lukewarm revolutionary.

There is a curious letter of Lucien's written to Joseph about this time in regard to N. The epistle shows the writer's wonderful gift of penetration, singular in a youth scarcely seventeen: "... I have always discerned in N. an ambition not entirely egotistical but which overcomes his desire for the public good; I am convinced that in a free state he would be a dangerous man. He seems to me to have a strong inclination to be a tyrant, and I believe he would be one if he were king, and that his name would be for posterity, and for the sensitive patriot, a name of horror.

"I see, and not for the first time, that in case of a Revolution, N. would endeavour to ride on the billows, and I think that for his personal interest he would be capable of becoming a turncoat, etc., etc." Despite a youthfulness of expression this truthfully depicts certain tendencies in N.'s character.

At Ajaccio, Lucien finally broke with the Paolists, the conservative and pro-British party, and headed that of the republican faction, which favoured French rule. It is stated that Lucien's prime cause of enmity against Paoli was the refusal of the latter to nominate him as his private secretary. During this period Huguet de Sémonville, envoy of the French Government, visited Corsica. At Ajaccio he made a speech in French which Lucien afterwards delivered in Italian, rousing the audience to great enthusiasm. An intimacy then sprang up between these two men, and the friendship thus origi-

nated lasted for many years. In Feb. 1793 Sémonville was recalled to France, and Lucien accompanied him as secretary. At Toulon he became prominent for his Jacobinism, and there, at a political meeting, delivered a bitter speech attacking and calumniating Paoli, the great Corsican leader. This diatribe was at once sent to their representative by the Toulon Jacobins, and was read before the Convention on 2 April 1793, the result being that Paoli, now a suspect, was summoned to appear before that body in person. Meanwhile the Toulon speech and its consequences were all unknown to N. and the other members of the family, who were still resident at Ajaccio, but it was precisely this that settled their fate. They were compelled to flee from Corsica before the wrath of the Paolists, and joined Lucien at Toulon, where he now held a post in the commissary department. After the fall of Toulon in 1794 he went to St. Maximin, a small town between Toulon and Antibes, as keeper of the commissary stores. Here again he became a prominent Jacobin, styling himself Lucius Brutus and known as "the little Robespierre." He also prevailed upon the inhabitants of the place to change the name of St. Maximin to "Marathoa." While lodging at the inn there he fell in love with Mlle. Christine Boyer (*q.v.*), the beautiful daughter of his host, and married her the same year (May 1794), although he had not attained the legal age, being only nineteen, which difficulty, however, was overcome by the appropriation of N.'s birth certificate. This step not unnaturally incurred the displeasure of his family, and after the *coup d'état* of Thermidor (28 July 1794) he was unfortunately overwhelmed in the general ruin of the Jacobins and had to fly from St. Maximin, "Brutus" by now being unpopular. At St. Chamans, near Cette, he again secured a post in connexion with supplies for the army of Italy, but was recognized by a man belonging to St. Maximin whose family Lucien had caused to be imprisoned. This enemy now denounced him as a fugitive Jacobin and Robespierist, and he was consequently

thrown into the prison at Aix-en-Provence. Frantic and helpless, he wrote imploring letters to N. and the other Bonapartes. On N.'s elevation to the command of the army of the interior Lucien was released, after sixteen days incarceration. The same influence also procured for him a post as commissioner in the French Army acting in Germany. According to some statements, he threw this up because his love of political intrigue found no outlet; other versions maintaining that he was relieved of it by N., who, however, offered him later a similar post in the Egyptian expedition. This Lucien refused. The fact remains that he next proceeded to Corsica, where he at once entered the political arena, and in 1798 was elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred for his native department Liamone. At Paris in July he took his seat, and his eloquence gained him a prominent place in the Council. He interested himself in international politics, the quarrels in Italy being fomented by him. Socially Lucien was a success, his love of letters attracting many to his home, which became a centre of influence. This, together with his acumen and skill in intrigue, made him a power to be reckoned with. When General Jourdan asked for the Council's votes in support of his motion (Sept. 1799) "that the country be declared in danger," it was Lucien who led the opposition and won. The crisis, he declared, could only be surmounted by giving greater power to the executive authority, combating, however, any suggestion of a dictatorship. Yet though displaying great republican zeal, he thwarted the now reviving influence of the democrats.

Notwithstanding the interruption of communications between Toulon and Alexandria, Lucien found means of keeping N., while in Egypt, well informed as to the condition of affairs in Paris; the unsatisfactory state of the parties, and the disasters on the frontiers. These letters, it is believed, were carried by a Greek named Bambuki. There is no doubt that Lucien's measures were well-planned, though the results were not quite those he had desired. Already he was President of

the Council (Oct. 1799), a position that gave him an added advantage in the carrying out of his plans. On N.'s return to France Lucien conducted all the private negotiations with possible supporters, presiding at the secret meetings. On that memorable day of Brumaire (9 Nov. 1799), when the legislative body held an extraordinary sitting at St. Cloud, Lucien exerted every effort to stay the opposition against his brother. When the outlawry of N. was demanded he cried: "Can you ask me to put the outlawry of my own brother to the vote?" Finding this appeal of no weight with the assembly, he threw his insignia of office on the desk before him with a dramatic gesture, saying: "Let me be rather heard as the advocate of him whom you falsely and rashly accuse." At that moment a small party of guards, sent by N. to his assistance, marched into the hall and carried him out. Lucien then mounted a horse and called out in his sonorous voice: "General Bonaparte, and you, soldiers! the President of the Council of Five Hundred announces to you that factious men with daggers (*les représentants du poignard*) have interrupted the deliberations of the assembly. He authorizes you to use force against these disturbers. The Assembly of the Five Hundred is dissolved." Bourrienne, who was present, relates in his *Memoirs* that Lucien, perceiving a slight hesitation on the part of the troops, drew his sword with the words: "I swear to plunge this sword in the bosom of my own brother if he should ever aim a blow at the liberties of France." Thus Lucien the citizen succeeded where N. the soldier had been nonplussed. The success of this memorable day in no inconsiderable degree may be attributed to Lucien, but, strangely enough, it proved a shrewd blow to that democratic cause he had so ardently supported. It also sowed the seeds of distrust between the brothers, though, as previously stated, Lucien had already professed to see in N. signs of an overpowering ambition. Having now helped him to triumph over the parliamentary institutions of France, the old suspicion revived, and

during the period of the Consulate (1799-1804) the relations between them were strained to the utmost. The portfolio of the Minister of the Interior had been the reward of Lucien's services, but though he carried out his duties with marked ability, he did not long retain the post owing to his differences with N. According to some, Fouché among others, Lucien equalled N. in ambition and love of power, and in this lay the root of disagreement. Fouché asserts that Lucien cherished a design of urging his brother to establish a species of consular Duumvirate, by means of which he hoped to retain in his own hands all the civil power, thus dividing authority with N., who never dreamed of any such participation. In short, Lucien wished to govern the state, leaving to N. nothing but the management of the army. Needless to say, this design never succeeded, though Lucien tried several times to influence his brother towards other plans of his contriving. According to some authors, Lucien was relieved of his portfolio for having written a pamphlet entitled *Parallel between Caesar, Cromwell, Monk and Bonaparte*, in which military government was bitterly assailed. Others state that Fontanes was the author, Lucien merely conniving at its circulation. Either way, it infuriated the First Consul, who discerned in the pamphlet, truly enough, Lucien's ideas.

At this point the quarrel became so acute that it was necessary to separate the brothers without further scandal. This task was undertaken by Talleyrand, and outwardly peace was made. N. now appointed Lucien ambassador to Madrid. This mission at the time was regarded as little better than a brilliant disgrace. Financially it proved a source of wealth to him, but politically he again displeased the First Consul. Portugal, with its handsome bribes to Godoy, the Spanish minister, and Lucien, the French ambassador, and their consequent signing of the preliminaries of peace at Badajoz (6 June 1801), succeeded in frustrating the designs of N. against her. The First Consul was enraged, and remonstrated angrily with his brother, who

thereupon resigned and returned to France.

In March 1802 Lucien was appointed a member of the Tribune, and took an active part in the Concordat and the institution of the Legion of Honour. In connexion with the latter, he was one of the seven members of the grand council for its administration. As a member of the Tribune he opposed many of N.'s schemes, such as an hereditary consulate, and this again revived the old bitterness, whilst he absolutely refused to acquiesce with the First Consul's matrimonial arrangements for himself. Lucien was now a widower, his wife having died in 1800, and N. desired him to marry the widow of the King of Etruria. Lucien meanwhile had met in the spring of 1802 a Mme. Joubertson (q.v.), of whom he had become deeply enamoured and made his mistress, promising her marriage in the event of the birth of a male child. A son was born, and Lucien, despite N.'s prohibition, secretly married Mme. Joubertson on 23 Oct. 1803 at his residence of Plessis. This incensed the First Consul to such a degree that Lucien deemed it wiser to quit France with his wife and infant son. He also formed a kind of league in the family against N., encouraging Jerome in his short resistance to the First Consul's wishes and inducing Joseph to refuse the viceroyalty of Italy.

Lucien proceeded to Italy, residing chiefly at Rome, where he was received with marked kindness and attention by the Pope. But his hostility to N. suffered no abatement. In 1807 Joseph arranged a meeting between the two brothers at Mantua. N. made Lucien several brilliant offers—the throne of Portugal, or, better, a new kingdom in Italy and the Duchy of Parma as solace for Mme. Lucien—but all on the terms of Lucien's repudiation of his wife. This he absolutely refused to do. The interview was stormy, but some kind of reconciliation was patched up, Lucien at last consenting to give N. his eldest daughter for the furtherance of N.'s dynastic designs. This arrangement fell through owing to the rebellious conduct of Charlotte, at one time

designed for the Prince of the Asturias. She was sent back to her home, where she was gladly received, for Lucien was a devoted father.

He had now retired to an estate at Canino, some little distance from the capital and from which he derived his papal title of Prince of Canino. Here he devoted himself to literature, archaeological research and agriculture. In May 1809, when the Emperor issued his decree incorporating Rome with the French Empire, Lucien considering himself no longer safe, embarked with his family for the United States, but was captured by a British ship, taken to Malta, thence to England, where he resided quite resignedly at an estate called Thorngrove, in Worcestershire, which he had purchased. He was permitted to live in freedom upon his parole, one officer only having the superintendence of his movements and correspondence. The peace of 1814 restored him to liberty.

Lucien was profoundly affected by his famous brother's fall, and a complete reconciliation was arranged between them. He tendered his fortune and services to N., and was with him during the Hundred Days (1815). He stood with the Emperor at the "Champ de Mai," and, strangely enough, was the last to defend his prerogatives at the time of the second abdication. When N., apparently paralysed by the unexpected reverses at Waterloo, betrayed symptoms of irresolution, Lucien did all possible to reanimate his spirits. "You give up the game," he said, "without having lost it. The death of thirty thousand men cannot decide the fate of France." Finding his brother still undetermined, he remarked to his secretary that "the smoke of Mont St. Jean had turned his brain." Whilst N. was at St. Helena, Lucien applied to the British Government for permission to reside there with his brother, defraying his own expenses and submitting to every restriction imposed on the Emperor. This was refused, and he spent the rest of his life in Italy, dying there on 29 June 1840.

In many ways Lucien was the ablest of the brothers of N., his

courage equalling that of the latter. The fiery enthusiasm of his youth was mellowed by years, and he became a steadfast and kindly character, though he never lost the gift of pungent and bitter satire. Literature had always attracted him—to be a poet and live by his work was one of his ambitions, unfulfilled, however. He wrote an epic, *Charlemagne, ou l'Eglise délivrée* (2 vols. 1814), which had no success and is now forgotten, and also *La vérité sur les cents jours* and *Mémoires*, which he left unfinished.

Five sons and six daughters comprised his family. By his first marriage he had two daughters, Charlotte and Christine Egypta. The former married Prince Mario Gabrielli; the latter, firstly, Count Avred Posse, a Swede, whom she divorced on discovering in him signs of lunacy, and, secondly, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart. By his second marriage he had the following: Prince Charles Lucien (q.v.), who succeeded his father, and married his cousin Zénaïde, the eldest daughter of Joseph; Laëtitia, who married Sir Thomas Wyse of Waterford; Paul, who was killed by an accident on Lord Cochrane's battleship; Jeanne, who married the Marquis Honorati; Louis Lucien (q.v.), born at Thorngrove in 1813; Pierre (q.v.), born at Rome in 1815; Antoine, 1816; Marie, who married Viscount Valentini; and Constance, who took the veil at an early age.

**Bonaparte, Maria Anna Elisa (1777-1820).**—The eldest of N.'s three sisters; was born at Ajaccio on 3 Jan. 1777. By the influence of the Comte de Marbeuf (q.v.) a nomination to St. Cyr as a royal pupil was obtained for her. To gain this concession of free education reserved for the children of impoverished aristocrats it had, of course, been necessary for Carlo Buonaparte (q.v.) to obtain certificates attesting the poverty which prevented him giving his daughter an education suitable to her birth, and also documents showing the possession by the father's family of two hundred years of nobility. The benefits to be derived were substantial. The pupils might enter the seminary at seven years of age and not leave until they were

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twenty, whilst besides free clothing, food and education, they each received on leaving a dowry of 3,000 francs and a *trousseau*.

Whilst Elisa was at this institution she received visits from her brother N., accompanied by his friend, Fauvellet de Bourrienne (*q.v.*), also from Mme. Permon (*q.v.*) and her brother the Abbé Demetrius de Courriene. In her fifteenth year, however, Elisa was forced to leave, for on 16 Aug. 1792 St. Cyr was suppressed by a decree of the National Convention. The beneficiaries were to be dismissed, though with the customary goods and linen, also mileage at the rate of one franc a mile, which made Elisa's share 352 francs, her journey being from Versailles to Ajaccio. In Sept. N. made applications for permission to remove his sister from the institution, for, now a captain and having obtained leave to return to Corsica, he wished to take her with him. On 1 Sept. they both appeared before the municipality of St. Cyr and made the requisite declarations. The formal permission was given, but, unable to start on their homeward journey at once, N. took his sister to the Hôtel des Patriotes Hollandais, where he was staying. From 2 Sept. to the 7th the terrible massacres in the prisons were perpetrated, and all exit from the city was barred, but on the 9th of the month they obtained their passports and left Paris for Ajaccio. Stormy weather kept the brother and sister prisoners at Marseilles for a day or two. At the hotel the feather in Elisa's hat appealed to the people as of a pronounced aristocratic flavour, and cries of "Death to the aristocrats" were raised. N. seized the suspected hat from his sister's head and flung it to the crowd, shouting back: "No more aristocrats than yourselves!" a proceeding that elicited great applause.

The year of Elisa's return to Ajaccio saw some probability of a marriage being arranged between her and Admiral Truguet, then in command of the Mediterranean squadron, but from some cause the plan fell through. Forced to flee from Corsica by political developments, the Bonapartes finally settled at Marseilles, where,

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after the first months of privation were past, their home became a centre of local society and a rendezvous for Corsican visitors, for by now N. was General Bonaparte and the family consequently of increased importance. It was often said that Elisa resembled N. in character—in decision, arrogance, wilfulness—but at some points the resemblance ceased. Elisa was cross-grained, positively disagreeable, if the testimony of the Duchesse d'Abrantes is to be believed.

On 1 May 1797 Elisa married Pasquale Bacciochi, a retired officer and member of a noble Corsican family. This marriage was opposed by Lucien, and is said to have also displeased N., though his advice had not been asked. Apart from political reasons—the Bacciochis were royalists, and a member of the family had served with the *émigrés* and the English at Toulon—there was no great monetary gain by the alliance, though as his own fortunes improved N. certainly did not forget his sister and her insignificant husband.

In 1797, when Josephine joined N. at the Château de Montebello, the whole Bonaparte family, including Elisa's husband and the wives of Joseph and Lucien were also there at his invitation. Lucien says in his *Memoirs*, "Mme. Bacciochi was determined to be rid of her husband." This is in reference to the fact that when he himself was sent on a mission to Spain Elisa determined that her husband should accompany him, whilst she returned with her mother to Marseilles and later proceeded to Ajaccio. But already her ambition was at work, she dreamed of a career resplendent with the glory won by her famous brother. The beginning came when Lucien, now a member of the Five Hundred and resident in Paris, invited his mother and Elisa to take up their residence with him. With his literary tastes he had already gathered about him men of note, and Elisa, taking his cue, endeavoured to pose as a patroness of art and letters. Chateaubriand, Fontanes, La Harpe, Boufflers, Arnault, Esménard and Andrieux were frequenters of her *salon*, but her favourite was Fontanes.

On his behalf she used her influence with N., and he was appointed president of the Corps Législatif, a proceeding that struck many at the time as strange. Under his influence her posturings as an authoress became increasingly ludicrous. She wrote a sufficiently worthless novel, and forthwith conceived the idea of a literary club for women only, but women of intellect. Many were the demands for admission, and an impressive opening ceremony was arranged, with Mme. Bacciochi as president. A commentary on these proceedings may be found in the *Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes*. Her reign in Paris, however, was disfigured by incidents which reflected on her name and fame—her intimacy with Fontanes and others, together with the convenient disappearance of her husband to join a dragoon regiment as its colonel. Meanwhile she irritated N. with her literary pretensions and didactic monologues intended for conversation—furthermore, she disgusted him by her appearance in the part of *Alzire* in flesh-coloured tights at Lucien's theatre at Neuilly. A well-merited rebuke was her reward. One amiable trait in her character, however, was discovered in her efforts to save many of the condemned royalists in the plots of 1804 by personal appeal to the Emperor, though this was largely done in jealous emulation of Josephine, whose wholehearted efforts of mercy were well known. Against Josephine, Elisa, together with her sisters, waged incessant war; their jealousy of her was unbounded, and to their influence may be traced the bitter feud between the Bonaparte and Beauharnais families, which did so much to wreck the fortunes of their brother and benefactor.

From the time of the proclamation of the Empire, the sisters of N. never ceased importuning him for titles and crowns. One of his replies to their requests is famous: "Truly, Mesdames, considering your pretensions, one might suppose we inherited the crown from the late king, our father." But with his great family affection and his unfailing generosity, he gave them their desires. Elisa was thus honoured

first. On 18 March 1805 he announced to the Senate that he had given the state of Piombino to the Princess Elisa, who henceforth would be recognised as the Hereditary Princess of Piombino, though ruling as a feudatory of France. Hence, though her children were to succeed their mother, their investiture would be received from the Emperor, neither might they marry without his consent. M. Bacciochi was allowed to assume the title of Prince of Piombino, with additional duties as outlined in the oath he was required to take. On the dissolution of the republic of Lucca, this was further added to Elisa's states. She now, in her administrative powers, began to display an energy, skill and grasp of affairs which, though confessedly modelled on her famous brother's methods, yet showed many of her own gifts of mind. The department for foreign affairs she conducted herself, corresponding directly with the French minister, not always agreeing with him, which sometimes obliged her brother to interfere. The administration she reformed most thoroughly; extensive public works were inaugurated, agriculture was encouraged, art and letters patronized. The deserted wastes of Piombino were colonized, its marshes drained, whilst the brigands infesting the high roads were brought to book. In all this she was admirable, but in other ways she was ludicrous or scandalous. Her husband, for instance, was allowed to take little or no share in the government; at all public ceremonies he walked behind her, and at reviews of the troops he lowered his sword in salute as she passed. Military pomp and parade became a mania with her; she imitated N.'s deportment and manners to an amusing degree; in short, it was this mania for an army and its attendant conscription that rendered her so highly unpopular in a country where agriculture and commerce had been the leading features. She had organized her court, regulating such matters as etiquette and precedence to a nicety. But her former habits of gallantry now found freer play; many admirers thronged her court, and, like a king with his mis-



tresses, she had her various lovers. She was frankly a cynic, for in the *Mémoires d'une contemporaine* may be found her creed in the lines written to a friend: "Live for yourself, follow your tastes and hide them, and do not invite the public to share your confidences." It was Talleyrand who aptly called her "the Semiramis of Lucca."

In 1809 Tuscany was added to her spoils—she was created Grand Duchess and Governor General of Tuscany. Here again her administration introduced many improvements, whilst her court was enlarged and conducted on a grander scale. Elisa's ambition now assumed greater sway over her. Though always on the surface sufficiently obedient to N.'s wishes, as, for instance, in his policy as regarded Pope Pius VII., yet she began to plan for herself—the making of powerful friends, the possible acquisition of further territory, such as Corsica. N. as her benefactor and her brother was gradually forgotten. She was essentially hard and selfish—her own interests always first. When the Empire was in its throes only her own peril and losses concerned her. Seeing the storm coming, she plotted with the smooth Fouché, listening to all his treacherous words against N. Fouché was also in touch with Murat, was indeed the centre of all the festering treachery which was gradually drawing closer about its victim. But though Elisa and Murat were friends in intrigue, that did not prevent the latter, in his dreams of an Italian kingdom, sending troops into Tuscany under the command of General Minuto to seize the states, even naming one of his officers, General Joseph Lecchi, as governor. Unable to resist, she at last determined to retire to Lucca, and therefore issued directions to her husband, who was commander-in-chief of the troops, to evacuate Tuscany. Neither aristocrat nor peasant displayed any loyalty towards their French rulers; indeed, they pursued them with a hail of sarcasm and irony. Bacciochi having, at Elisa's command, changed his name of Pasquale—ridiculous by its associations in Italy—to Felix (the happy), the street popula-

tion called after him in farewell: "When he was Felix we were unhappy, now he again comes Pasquale we shall be happy." Fouché, an amused spectator, describes it cynically as having been effected without loss of blood: on one side it was nothing but a flight, on the other a volley of sarcasm. Fouché was, however, at Lucca with Elisa, where he still intrigued with Murat, the result of which was a treaty—the French troops were to fall back on Genoa, evacuating Tuscany, and gradually retiring to France. Murat, now an ally of Great Britain and backed by English troops, could not be gainsaid, and Elisa, though on the eve of confinement, had, perforce, to flee. A son was born to her at a wretched wayside inn, but finally she reached Bologna, only to be arrested by the Austrians.

Rome and Naples were denied to her as future homes, though she applied to Marie Louise and the Austrian Emperor. She was confined at Brünn a close prisoner, but in Sept. 1814 was allowed to proceed to Bologna, where she lived, separated from her husband, under the title of Comtesse de Campignano. It was from here she wrote to N. at St. Helena, offering to come and join him there if permission might be obtained—a letter very likely written in late repentance. She wandered now from place to place, living for a while with her sister Caroline, and at last settled at the Villa Vincentini, near Trieste, where she died of a nervous fever on 7 Aug. 1820. Her brother Jerome and sister Caroline attended her to the last with exemplary devotion. N., on hearing of her death, was greatly affected; he remarked that he had imagined Death to have forgotten the family, "but now he begins to strike it. Elisa has shown us the way. I shall be the next to follow her to the grave." Four children had been born to Elisa: a son, Napoleon, in June 1798, who died the following year; a daughter, Napoleone Elisa, in June 1806, who in 1825 married Count Camerata, and left a son who committed suicide in 1853; a son, Jerome Charles, in 1810, who died the following year; and a son, Frédéric, in 1814, who died in 1834.

**Bonaparte, Maria Annunziata (Caroline) (1782-1839).**—The youngest of N.'s sisters; was born on 25 March 1782, and in 1800 became the wife of Joachim Murat (*q.v.*). She was the cleverest and most ambitious of the Bonaparte sisters, but also the one whose name is most blackened by intrigue for power against the brother who was her benefactor.

While she was still a child N. had attained fame and fortune, so that the circumstances of her youth were superior to those of her sisters. It was N. who gave her the name of Caroline, it is thought in memory of his first love, Caroline Colombe. She was placed by N.'s wish at Mme. Campan's that she might become as gifted and graceful as Hortense Beauharnais. Her brother's praise of Josephine's daughter roused all the venom of Caroline's nature, and ever after she regarded both mother and daughter with intense dislike, and stooped to all kinds of infamy to bring about their banishment from N.'s home and life. Lannes, Moreau and Augereau were mentioned as possible husbands for Caroline, but in 1800 she was married to Murat at the palace of the Luxembourg, and henceforth she devoted all her energies to further her ever-increasing ambition.

Shortly after the marriage Murat left with Bonaparte for the Marengo campaign, and though he returned to Paris with the First Consul, was soon appointed to take command of the army of observation which had been left in Italy. During her husband's absence Caroline, *enceinte* with her first child, experienced the trying ordeal of the 3rd Nivôse, when an infernal machine, intended for N., exploded near her carriage. She displayed remarkable coolness, but her son, born a little later, was subject to epileptic fits, due, it was said, to the shock to the mother. This was in 1801. In 1802 Caroline went to join her husband in Milan, but in 1803 Murat was made military governor of Paris, a post she had long coveted for him, for now she would be first in precedence after Josephine, whom she so cordially hated. From this date she began to make friends of all she

thought likely to be of use to her, and openly showed hostility to the Beauharnais. When N. became Emperor, she evinced an intense anxiety to possess a throne. She plied Talleyrand and Fouché with questions as to her brother's plans for his family. Murat was made a marshal of France, but the dignity of a *maréchale* was beneath Caroline's contempt. With Josephine now Empress and Hortense a princess, her jealousy knew no bounds, and at an Imperial dinner she created a disgraceful scene. The next day she renewed her tears and reproaches, and eventually she and her sisters also became princesses. To further her cause with the Emperor, nay, more, to estrange him from Josephine, Caroline arranged *amours* for N. with shameless eagerness. Mme. Duchatel and Eléonore Revel were two of her protégées in this infamous plan. The reward was forthcoming in the Grand Duchy of Berg and Cleves; but this was less than either Murat or Caroline had expected or desired, though both immediately began to put on regal airs and deny N.'s right to demand aught of them. When the Emperor departed for the Jena campaign it may be said the Grand Duchess of Berg reigned in Paris. She plotted to her heart's content while she led the round of society and its pleasures. She began to dream of the throne of France, for the possibility of the Emperor's death had occurred to her—and might not she and Murat step into his shoes! Junot was military governor of Paris, and in this capacity was occupying a position of the greatest importance. To make him her tool she became his mistress. But N. returned, and hearing of the *liaison* he relieved Junot of his post, while he allowed Caroline to escape.

In 1808 Murat was sent to Spain, and again both dreamed of a throne. But Spain was for Joseph, and to Caroline's chagrin Naples was offered to them. She found "the crown of Naples too small for her head." Still, she was now a queen, and seizing on all the treasures of the Elysée, as if personal property, she set out for her kingdom. Murat had been cordially

welcomed by the fickle populace, and Queen Caroline was equally well received. A struggle now began between herself and her husband for the first place in the state and government. Her reasoning was that Murat was only king by virtue of being her husband, therefore the first place was undeniably hers. Besides, her husband's intellectual inferiority had been an ever-present thorn in her flesh, and certainly her firmness of purpose in matters of government was in striking contrast to the vacillations of the brave but weak-willed Murat. Two parties were formed, the King's and the Queen's, and Caroline intrigued against Murat in her thirst for power and domination.

When after the Austrian campaign N. decided on divorce, he summoned Caroline to Paris. So overjoyed was she that at last Josephine was to be discarded that a blizzard did not deter her journey across the Alps. N. had a high opinion of Caroline's gifts, and deputed her to receive Marie Louise on her journey to France at Brannau on the Austrian frontier. Immediately she conceived the idea of ruling the future Empress, but by her arbitrary behaviour only succeeded in creating an extreme aversion on the part of Marie Louise. Further, she, with her sisters, objected to the task of holding the bride's train at the Imperial wedding, and was only restrained from revolt by the wisdom of Mme. Mère.

On her return to Naples she resumed the struggle with Murat for the upper hand, and did not scruple to show her contempt for his weakness of will and character, while she encouraged lovers quite openly. Murat in his chagrin became ill, for N., ever mindful of his sister's administrative powers, which to some extent she certainly possessed, gave his consent to her proposals, but vetoed those of her husband. The intrigues with Austria had now begun largely at Caroline's instigation, and though before the Russian campaign of 1812 the brothers-in-law were again reconciled, both Murat and his wife were playing a double game in order to preserve their throne, regardless of what might happen to N.

With her husband away with the grand army, Caroline was Queen and absolute ruler at last. She granted and refused pardons, made appointments, signed decrees, and presided over cabinet councils. Stories of her independent actions had already decided Murat to return, when he received a letter from her telling of the English fleet off the coast and consequent fear of invasion. Though left in command by N., Murat left for his kingdom, turning over his duties to Eugène Beauharnais, a proceeding which again roused N.'s furious anger. But this passed unheeded, for Caroline and her husband were now steeped in intrigue with both England and Austria. It is stated that the Queen had opened negotiations with the avowed intention of evicting her husband from the throne and seizing the crown, but the powers would only treat with Murat. When the treaty with Austria was at last signed, it was he who showed signs of remorse at his treachery, for Caroline was triumphant and scornful at her brother's expense. N. knew well that it was his sister who had betrayed him; Murat he stigmatized as a fool everywhere but on the battlefield. Mme. Mère never forgave either for their baseness, and poured unlimited scorn and contempt on their heads.

Despite their treachery, however, Caroline soon saw that nothing could be hoped from the Congress of Vienna, though Talleyrand and Metternich, both friends of hers, were the dominating personalities. It was Talleyrand who had said of her that "she had Cromwell's head on the shoulders of a pretty woman." Therefore Murat entered into communication with the Emperor, and after the latter's return from Elba hoped to conquer the whole of Italy under N.'s victorious progress in the north. This was strongly urged by Caroline, but Murat by his precipitancy spoilt all—his own as well as the Emperor's chances of success. After Murat's defeat and withdrawal the city of Naples was in a parlous condition, threatened not only by the Austrians, but with anarchy, pillage and massacre. Nothing daunted, Caroline adopted prompt measures.

She assembled the national guards and addressed them in a fiery speech. For nearly the whole day she was on horse-back, visiting every post and remaining to the last, but her energy was wasted, for she and her family were at length compelled to flee. She was delivered up to the Austrian authorities and confined in the castle of Raimbourg, where in Oct. she heard of her husband's tragic end at Pizzo. She was eventually allowed to settle at Trieste, and there she married General Macdonald. She herself had taken the title of Countess of Lipona, an anagram of Napoli. After representations to the powers as to her legal and financial claims, France awarded her an annual pension of 100,000 francs. Later she was permitted to return to France, and on her visit to Paris all that was remembered was that she was the sister of the great Emperor. As such she received a warm and enthusiastic welcome. On her return to Italy she settled at Florence, where she died on 18 May 1839. When she was dying, M. Clavel, who was her lover at that time, endeavoured to make her sign a will declaring him residuary legatee, but the children of Murat arrived opportunely to his discomfiture. Clavel afterwards sold the letters she had written to him to her heirs for 60,000 francs. Caroline, like her father and her brothers, N. and Lucien, died of cancer of the stomach. The children born of her marriage with Murat were Napoleon Achille Charles Louis (*q.v.*) 21 Jan. 1801-47; Letizia Joseph, born in 1802, married to the Marquis Popoli; Napoleon Lucien Charles (*q.v.*), 1803-78; and Louise Julie Caroline, born 1805, married Count Rasponi.

**Bonaparte, Maria Letizia.** — See BUONAPARTE, MARIA LETIZIA.

**Bonaparte, Marie Alexandrine Charlotte Louise Laurent.**—Née de Bleschamps, the second wife of Lucien Bonaparte; was born in 1778, the daughter of a naval commissioner who narrowly escaped the guillotine during the Terror. On the mother's side she was related to the families of Montmorency and Lamartine. A son of the family served with Poniatowski as his aide-de-camp, and met the same fate

as his chief, being drowned in the Elster after the battle of Leipsic.

Marie de Bleschamps was first married to M. Jouberton, a Paris stockbroker. She bore her husband two children, a son who died in infancy and a daughter who was married twice—first to Prince Hercolani, secondly to Prince Jablonowski, a Polish officer in the Austrian Army.

The marriage with M. Jouberton was unhappy, and resulted in the wife being divorced. M. Jouberton then went to the West Indies with the French expedition under General Leclerc, and, like him, succumbed to the yellow fever. It was under the name of Mme. Jouberton that this beautiful woman first met Lucien Bonaparte, just then returned from Spain. He at once fell in love with her, and she reciprocating his affection became his mistress on the promise of marriage in the event of a male child being born. This event duly happened, and Lucien prepared to keep his word. This came to the ears of N., and by means of his police he tried to prevent the marriage, but Lucien outwitted him, and the couple were married at the village of Picssis on 23 Oct. 1803. Exile into Italy followed. The marriage proved one of the happiest, and Lucien was a devoted husband. He steadily and persistently refused to repudiate his wife despite N.'s repeated wishes and bribes. Mme. Lucien on her part consented unselfishly to a separation, asking her husband if he wished to deprive his children of thrones, to which he replied by asking her if she would deprive them of a mother. That she was worthy of this devotion, whatever her former record, is beyond doubt. In *Napoleon and his Family*, M. Leseure says that "she was a Frenchwoman with a Roman heart; she remained the good genius of Lucien's unsettled life, and the honour and charm of his wandering hearth." By her beauty and intelligence she seems to have won all hearts. Lucien's daughters by his first wife adored their step-mother, for whose benefit Charlotte, the elder, wrote those witty and sarcastic letters, when entrusted to the care of her grandmother, Mme. Mère, in prepara-

revolutionary mission to the south, also fell under her spell, and a passionate attachment sprang up between Pauline and the young commissioner, as is amply demonstrated by Pauline's and her lover's letters, some of which have been preserved. Fréron's suit, however, was frowned upon both by N. and Mme. Bonaparte, and in 1797 she was married to General Leclerc (*q.v.*) at Montebello. A son, Dermide, was born of the marriage, who, however, died in childhood. When N. organised the expedition to San Domingo in 1801 he gave the command to his brother-in-law Leclerc, and, wishing to put a stop to the frivolous life his sister was leading in Paris, insisted on her accompanying her husband, despite tears and protestations which really made her ill. By N.'s command, however, she was carried in a litter on board the admiral's ship, the *Océan*, on which was her former lover, Fréron, going out as commissioner to the same destination. San Domingo laid no restrictions on Pauline's pleasure-loving nature, and by all accounts she plunged into all kinds of dissipation. In the face of danger, however, she showed admirable courage, according to Constant, and when her husband, worn out by the misfortunes which had dogged the expedition, fell a victim to cholera she nursed him, in spite of the danger of infection, with exemplary devotion. At his death she displayed extravagant grief. She caused his body to be embalmed and placed in a splendid coffin of cedar wood, and, cutting off her hair, laid it beside the corpse. In the two outer coverings of the coffin, however, she packed her jewellery and valuables, for greater safety on the return voyage to France, which she, with her little son, accomplished on the *Swiftsure*. The body was buried in the Panthéon with great pomp and state, and Mme. Leclerc, overjoyed to be once more in Paris, again resumed her life of pleasure, despite shattered health, a condition attributed by some to dissipation. To prevent any more scandal concerning Pauline, N. had desired her to reside with Joseph Bonaparte and his wife, and live, at least for a

time, a secluded life. But this was an impossibility to Pauline, and her intrigues were as numerous as ever, notably one with Lafon, an actor of the Théâtre Français. In Nov. 1803, however, Pauline married Prince Borghese (*q.v.*), his wealth and title proving irresistible attractions. For dowry N. gave his sister 500,000 francs and the estate of Montgobert near Paris. The ceremony was celebrated at Joseph's magnificent seat at Mortefontaine, though in the absence of N., who was at the camp of Boulogne. The marriage proved an unhappy one. Both went their own way, and if the Prince had mistresses, Pauline had lovers. Rome was scandalised and Pauline amused. She made no attempt to please her husband or his people, and a separation was spoken of. N., however, insisted upon an ostensible reconciliation, and also quenched his sister's ever-present idea of returning to Paris for the meantime. This was in 1807, after the peace of Tilsit; but the quarrel broke out again, and Princess Borghese went her own way. In 1806 she had been given by N. the principality of Guastalla, and in 1809 he augmented the revenues to a substantial extent. She wandered from city to city seeking pleasure and health, exciting attention wherever she went. Paris, however, was her favourite resort, and after Josephine's divorce she took for a while the place of the Empress. According to some authorities, she had been a prime mover in the intrigues whereby N. was persuaded to put away Josephine, though others deny this. She was not in favour of the Austrian alliance, and in one instance her conduct towards Marie Louise was so rude that N. in just anger commanded his favourite sister to stay at Neuilly and forbade her the court.

When disaster came Pauline at last showed that she possessed some qualities of character, such as courage and generosity. Before N. left France she had an interview with him at Bouillidon, near Luc, and wished to accompany him then and there to Elba. N., however, would not hear of this, but in June she carried him a dispatch

from Murat, and in Sept. she returned and took up her residence there to cheer and console the exile. Her money and jewels were at his disposal. Besides this she proved that she had some capability, for a large share of the plans for N.'s return to France are believed to have been in her hands. After his departure from Elba, Pauline, to escape espionage, also proceeded to Paris, and further helped her brother with her valuable and much-loved diamonds, a sacrifice on her part which is eloquent of her affection for N. Unfortunately, the conveyance containing her diamonds was captured by the English after Waterloo, and later the jewels were exhibited in London to a gaping public. Pauline's health was completely shattered by the final disaster, and she retired to Rome with her mother. The Pope brought about a reconciliation between her and Prince Borghese, and satisfactorily arranged her financial affairs. But her mind was set upon joining N. at St. Helena, and when the Abbé Buonavita had given his account of N.'s failing health, she wrote to Lord Liverpool early in July 1821 as follows: "My Lord,—The abbé Buonavita, arrived from the island of St. Helena, has brought us alarming news of the state of my brother's health. I enclose a copy of some letters, which will give you the details of his physical sufferings. The malady by which the Emperor is attacked is fatal at St. Helena. In the name of all the members of the family I implore a change of climate. If so just a request be refused it will be a sentence of death passed upon him; and in this case I demand permission to depart for St. Helena to rejoin my brother. . . . I know that the moments of his life are counted, and I should eternally reproach myself if I did not employ all the means in my power to soften his last hours and to prove my devotion to him." Permission was granted, at which she was overjoyed, when the news of her brother's death arrived. In her feeble condition this was a terrible blow, and caused a shock from which she never recovered. When Antommarchi, returning from

St. Helena with N.'s last messages, found Marie Louise at the theatre with Neipperg, and Louis Bonaparte "too ill" to receive him, Pauline welcomed him gladly, but the grief at the pitiful tale only tended to aggravate her condition. She lingered on for a few years, finally going from Rome to Florence, the climate of the former being declared bad for her by the doctors. She died at Florence on 9 June 1825 in the arms of her husband, with whom she had been reconciled. The beautiful statue of *Venus Victorieuse* by Canova was modelled from Pauline Bonaparte when Princess Borghese.

**Bonaparte, Pierre Napoleon (1815-81).**—Third son of Lucien Bonaparte; was born at Rome on 12 Sept. 1815. He was known for his adventurous life, which he began at the early age of fifteen, when he joined the bands of insurrectionists in the Romagna (1830-31). The following year he went to the United States, joining his uncle Joseph, and in Colombia was with General Santander (1832). Some years later he returned to Rome only to be taken prisoner by order of the Pope (1835-36). He escaped to England, but after the revolution of 1848 he returned to France and sat as deputy for Corsica in the Constituent Assembly, where his politics were those of an extreme republican and his votes went to socialists. He was in favour of the national workshops and against the *loi Falloux*. This attitude of Pierre Bonaparte did much to strengthen popular confidence in his cousin Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III.). He strongly disapproved of that cousin's *coup d'état* (2 Dec. 1851), but a reconciliation took place between them, and the Emperor created him a prince. The acceptance of this title cost him the support of the republican party, and his political career came to an end. He sank into a depraved course of life and dabbled in literature, but his productions were worthless. In 1870 he again came into prominence, when, as the outcome of a controversy with Paschal Grousset, who at last sent some journalists to provoke him to a duel, he drew his revolver and shot

one of them dead. The republican press demanded his trial, and when the High Court acquitted him their criticism of the government became bitter and hostile. Pierre Bonaparte had married Justine Eleanore Ruffin, the daughter of a Paris working man. Two children had been born before the marriage: Roland Napoleon, who was born 19 May 1858; entering the army to be excluded from it in 1886, afterwards devoting himself to geography and scientific exploration; and Jeanne, who married the Marquis de Vence. Pierre Bonaparte died in obscurity on 7 April 1881 at Versailles.

**Borghese, Camillo Filippo Ludovico, Prince (1775-1832).**—Married Pauline, sister of N. and widow of General Leclerc, in 1803. He was one of the richest men in Italy and owned the magnificent Borghese Palace in Rome with all its art treasures. Though a Roman prince and the great-nephew of Pope Paul V., he had been one of the first to embrace the principles of the Revolution and served in the ranks of the French Army during its first campaign in Italy. He was much bepraised for this, but a deeper motive is said to have inspired his action—the preservation of the immense wealth and estates of the family from the French who would not touch the property of a supporter. On the other hand, the brother of Borghese, Prince Aldobrandini, joined the Papal party so as to secure protection also from them. The plan succeeded admirably. Prince Borghese had the reputation of a fop and his magnificence caused a great sensation in Paris. In 1806 N. made Borghese Duke of Guastalla and also governor of the Piedmontese and Genoese provinces. The marriage with Pauline Bonaparte was unhappy, but a reconciliation was brought about by the Pope before her death in 1825 at Florence, whither the Prince had retired after the fall of N.

**Borghetto, Battle of.**—An action of N.'s Italian campaigns, fought on 29 May 1796, between the French under Napoleon and the Austrians under Beaulieu. The latter were forced to evacuate Peschiera, and lost 1,200 prisoners and five cannon.

**Borgö, Act of Guarantee given at.**—A guarantee issued on 27 March 1809 by Alexander I. of Russia to conciliate the Finns. He had conquered Finland in the preceding year, but fears for the lasting effects of his conquest and the non-arrival of assistance promised him by N., decided him on this peaceable measure. By the Act of Guarantee the Emperor bound himself to respect the religion, the laws and constitutions of Finland, and the rights and privileges of its inhabitants, at the same time confirming his own title as Grand Duke of Finland.

**Borodino (or Moskva), Battle of.**—Towards the beginning of Sept. 1812, during his march on Moscow, N. determined to concentrate and fight a decisive battle and end the war at a blow. He succeeded in collecting 125,000 men under Murat, Ney, and Davout, to oppose the Russian 110,000 under Kutusov. The battle began early on 7 Sept. and continued all day until both sides became exhausted, but no decision was arrived at. The losses were enormous; the French 25,000 and the Russian 38,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The battle of Borodino has been called the bloodiest fight of the century.

**Boulay de la Meurthe, Antoine Jacques, Comte (1761-1840).**—Practised as an advocate until 1795, when he became a member of the Council of Five Hundred. He and his friend Bailleul, who was ejected from the *Tribunat* in 1802, played a considerable part in the proceedings of the *coup d'état*. Thibaudeau eliminated Boulay's name from the list of those sentenced to transportation to Cayenne, for having acted as advocate and official apologist to the Directors while they were in power, and thus probably saved him from death. In the year 1797 Boulay presented a scheme to expel from society all ex-nobles or persons who had held positions under the monarchy. Happily the motion, which made a great outcry, was not carried, and Boulay deserted the Directors and turned his attention to the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, thereby rendering N. considerable assistance. Boulay was rewarded by a seat in the council of

state, and in addition the position of superintendent of the national domain. On promoting him to this office N. charged Boulay with the following instructions: "To deal as indulgently as possible with regard to individuals and as sternly as possible with regard to property." Created a count in 1808, during the Hundred Days he returned to the official post of which he had been deprived in 1814. He was raised to the rank of minister of state, but spent the subsequent years in Germany, where he was exiled after the second Restoration. In 1820 he was permitted to return to France, where he remained until his death in 1840.

**Boulogne Flotilla.**— See NAVAL OPERATIONS.

**Bourrienne, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de** (1769-1834).—The career of Bourrienne is of interest only in so far as portions of it were spent in the service of the Emperor, whose close companion and secretary he was for a number of years. The circumstances of this connexion are fully outlined in the accompanying sketch of Bourrienne's *Mémoires*, so that all that is necessary here is a brief summary of the outstanding events in the life of the man whose work has become, perhaps, the most popular memoir of the hero he served. Bourrienne was a native of Sens, and became intimate with N. at the military school at Brienne. In 1797 N. appointed him his personal secretary, and he accompanied him to Italy and Egypt. In 1802 he was dismissed for a flagrantly dishonourable bankruptcy, and was sent to Hamburg. The official post he occupied in that sphere afforded him opportunities for speculation, and he was compelled to disgorge nearly one million francs which he had embezzled. Furious at the discovery of his frauds, he joined hands with the Bourbon party, and when they returned to power in 1815 he sat in the Chamber of Representatives, later becoming a minister of state. But his extravagant habits once more got him into difficulties, and crazed at the financial ruin which now confronted him, he had to retire to an asylum at Caen, where he died. Dishonourable and pretentious, his memoirs are to be

read with caution, and there are, according to some authorities, reasons for believing that they were not written by him.

*Memoirs.*—A good deal of discussion has taken place on the genuineness or otherwise of Bourrienne's memoirs. There is very little doubt that many reminiscences he sets forth have been tinged by his imagination, and perhaps looking back, as he did, through the years upon the great drama in which he played so conspicuous a part for a while he probably saw everything magnified and out of proportion. It must be remembered also that he quitted N.'s service at a comparatively early date, and that the remainder of his memoirs were therefore written from the point of view not of a member of the inner circle but of a private citizen. We may pass over the first four chapters, which deal with the early years of N. and which are therefore without much authority. Had Bourrienne written of his Bohemian days with N. he could have furnished us with matter of quite extraordinary value, but he chose to write as a diplomat first and as an *ami intime* second. He joined N. as secretary the day after the signature of the preliminaries of peace at Leoben, and he had perforce to drop all familiar intercourse with his former friend. "There was," he says, "no more 'thee-ing and thou-ing.'" On the new secretary's entry N. said to him in a loud voice when he entered the apartment where the General stood surrounded by a brilliant staff: "I am glad to see you at last." N. was pleased with Bourrienne's reserve, and took him at once into his political counsels. The plans which led up to 18 Fructidor (4 Sept. 1797) are laid bare, and the events which circled round the treaty of Campo Formio and which preluded N.'s withdrawal from Italy. In the same chapter the project of the Egyptian expedition is described, with its hazards and N.'s final return to France. Later we have a most valuable portrait of the First Consul, his domestic manners, habits, prejudices and opinions. Says the memoirist: "His finely shaped head, his superb forehead, his pale and



elongated visage and his meditative look have been transferred to the canvas, but the quickness of his glance and the rapidity of his expression were beyond imitation. . . . It may be truly said that he had a particular look for every thought that arose in his mind—an appropriate visage for every impulse that agitated his soul. He had finely formed hands. . . . He also fancied that he had fine teeth, but his pretensions to that advantage did not appear to me to be so well founded."

"He had two ruling passions," says Bourrienne, "the love of glory and the love of war. He was never more gay than in the camp, and never more morose than when unemployed." This militates against N.'s assertion that all he desired was the peace of Europe. "My power," he would say, "depends on my glory, and my glory on the victories I have gained. My power will fall if I do not pass on to fresh glories and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can enable me to maintain my place." "It was," says the memoirist, "this sentiment which was always uppermost in his mind, and which became his ruling principle of action—that occasioned his incessant dreaming of new wars and scattering fresh seeds throughout Europe. He believed that if he remained stationary he would fall, and he was tormented with the desire to be always advancing. It was impossible," says Bourrienne, "to expect repose on the part of a man who was restlessness itself."

That portion of the memoirs which deals with the secret police and Fouché is of an interesting character. "Napoleon," says Bourrienne, "had the weakness to fear Fouché, and at the same time to consider him necessary." It also gives some account of the manner in which the First Consul left the Luxembourg and took up residence at the Tuileries. "Well, Bourrienne," he said, "we shall at length sleep in the Tuileries. You are very fortunate you are not obliged to make a show of yourself. You may go in your own way, but for myself I must go in a procession. This is what I dislike; but we must have a display: this is

what people like. The Directory was too simple; it therefore enjoyed no consideration." Speaking of the consuls who partook of power along with him at this time, N. says: "They walk quick who walk alone. Lebrun is an honest man, but he has no head for politics. He makes books. Cambacérès has too many traditions of the Revolution. My government must be entirely new." Seeing the number of caps of liberty which had been painted upon the walls of the Tuileries, he said to M. le Campe, then the architect employed at that palace: "Wash out all those things; I won't have any such fooleries." What N. thought of the revolutionists may be judged from an evening's conversation with Bourrienne, when he said: "To be at the Tuileries is not all. We must remain here. Who are they who have inhabited this palace? Ruffians, the conventionalists. Stop a moment: there is your brother's house; was it not from thence that we beheld the Tuileries besieged and the good Louis XVI. carried off? But be tranquil! Let them try it again!"

The incident of the payment of Josephine's debts is described at length in chapter xii. The events which led up to the campaign in Italy and the Battle of Marengo are next related; then the peace of Amiens and the expedition to St. Domingo. It was about this period, thinks Bourrienne, that the malady commenced which finally caused N.'s death. When dictating to the memoirist he was frequently seized with violent pain, which attacked him with great severity. The domestic intrigues of the Bonapartes are alluded to at some length. Their theatrical amusements are also described. The disgrace of Fouché is reviewed, and N.'s quarrel with Marshal Lannes. There was a violent scene between the marshal and the First Consul, who had told Lannes to furnish the Hotel de Noailles and had afterwards refused the funds for that purpose—no less than 400,000 francs. N. told Lannes to take the money from the chest of the Guard, but immediately after he had done so the treasurer received from the chief commissary an order to balance his

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accounts, and it was incumbent upon Lannes to repay the money to the Guard's chest at once. General Lefebvre furnished him with this large sum to repay the debt, saying to him: "Why did you go and get into debt with that fellow? Here are the 400,000 francs. Take them to him and let him go to the devil!" Lannes hastened to the First Consul and upbraided him in no measured terms. "How could you condescend to such an unworthy act: to lay such a snare for me after all that I have done for you—after all the blood I have shed to promote your ambition. Is this the recompense you have reserved for me? You forget the 13 Vendemiaire! You forget Millesimo! You saw what I did at Lodi and at Governolo, and yet playest me such a trick as this! But for me Paris would have revolted on the 18th Brumaire! Without me you would have lost the Battle of Marengo." N., pale with anger, listened without stirring, and Lannes was on the point of challenging him when Junot, who heard the uproar, hastily entered. "Well, then," said N. "Go to Lisbon. You will get money there, and when you return you will not want anyone to pay your debts." Thus was Lannes sent to Portugal.

It was immediately after this quarrel that the rupture between N. and Bourrienne took place. The business of his office, says the memoirist, had become too great for him, and his health was so much endangered by over-application that his physician impressed upon him the necessity of relaxation, and formally warned him that he could not hold out under the fatigue he underwent. On 27 Feb. 1802, at ten o'clock at night, N. dictated a dispatch to him for Talleyrand, requesting him to come to the Tuileries next morning. Bourrienne gave the letter to the office messenger to forward. On Talleyrand's appearance next day N. immediately began to confer with him on the subject of the letter sent the previous evening, and was astonished to learn that he had not received it until the morning. He ordered Bourrienne to be sent for, and, being in a bad humour, asked him

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what the delay in the dispatch of the letter meant. Bourrienne, after making inquiries, returned to say that it was no one's fault as Talleyrand was not to be found either at his own house or any of his usual haunts. N. called the messenger and questioned him sharply. The man gave confused answers. In his rage, N. had pulled the bell so hard that he had knocked his hand against the chimney-piece and cut it. He grew more and more furious, and at length worked himself into such a transport of passion as to slam the door in Bourrienne's face, shouting: "Leave me alone; you are a — fool." This in turn roused Bourrienne to fury, who, thrusting the door open, called out in a great rage: "You are a hundredfold greater fool than I am." Still under the influence of anger, Bourrienne penned the following resignation:

"GENERAL,—The state of my health does not permit me longer to continue in your service. I therefore beg you to accept my resignation.

"BOURRIENNE."

He received a letter from Duroc to the following effect:

"The First Consul desires me, my dear Bourrienne, to inform you that he accepts your resignation, and to request that you will give me the necessary information respecting your papers.—Yours,

"DUROC.

"P.S.—I will call on you presently."

Duroc and Bourrienne visited the First Consul's cabinet that evening for the purpose of putting the papers in order. Piqued on finding that Bourrienne did not speak to him, N. said to his late secretary in a harsh tone: "Go, I have had enough of this. Leave me." "I stepped down," says Bourrienne, "from the ladder on which I had mounted for the purpose of pointing out to Duroc the places in which the various papers were deposited, and hastily withdrew. I, too, had had quite enough of it."

Two days afterwards Bourrienne left the Tuileries. Before doing so he

went down to the cabinet of the First Consul to take his leave of him. They conversed together for a long time very amicably. N. told Bourrienne that he was very sorry he was going to leave him and that he would do all he could for him. Bourrienne breakfasted with N. on the following day, and after that meal Josephine and Hortense pressed the secretary to make advances towards obtaining reinstatement in his office, but according to himself, Bourrienne did not desire this. As the late secretary was quitting the Tuileries for good, he was told that N. desired to see him. Meeting Duroc in the anteroom leading to the cabinet that functionary said to him: "He wishes you to remain. I beg of you do not refuse." On entering the cabinet N. came up to Bourrienne smiling, and pulling him by the ear, said: "Are you still in the sulks? Come, sit down." The secretary reassumed his usual office and work. Not long after this, however, N. said to him one day: "My dear Bourrienne, you cannot really do everything. Business increases and will continue to increase." Then he went on to say that Joseph had recommended a secretary to him, M. Menéval. "Bonaparte," says Bourrienne, "had never pardoned me for presuming to quit him after he had attained so high a degree of power. He was only waiting for an opportunity to punish me. . . . My rupture has been the subject of various misstatements, all of which I shall not take the trouble to correct." The only one he does "take the trouble to correct" was that which accused him of peculation. Bourrienne thinks that if N. had been left to himself he would have recalled him. Shortly after he left N.'s service, Bourrienne received notice that N. desired the keys of a small house at Ruel and of another at Paris which belonged to Bourrienne. It appears that N. had also received notice that a deficit of 100,000 francs had been discovered in the treasury of the navy, and this he required Bourrienne to refund immediately. Bourrienne denounced this as an infamous calumny, and when N. read his reply, he ordered Duroc to say that it was

entirely a mistake, and that he was convinced that he had been deceived.

It may be said that at this point Bourrienne's first-hand knowledge of Napoleonic history ends. He was appointed as minister to Hamburg some time afterwards, where he had a difficult task to perform. In Dec. 1810 he received a letter from Champigny stating that the Emperor wished to see him, but when he arrived in Paris found that N. did not wish to receive him. Bourrienne waited upon Josephine, and an affecting scene ensued. "My dear Bourrienne," said she, "I have drained my cup of misfortune. He has cast me off, forsaken me. Ah, we judged him rightly."

After the disaster at Waterloo Bourrienne was appointed president of the Yonne and named councillor and minister of state. It is impossible to judge from these memoirs whether he cherished feelings of revenge and hatred towards his old master or otherwise. In passages the feeling appears to be none too cordial, while in other places respect and admiration are ungrudgingly paid to his memory. The probabilities are that Bourrienne in reality found N. rather a hard taskmaster, for his health was none too good, but that he tried to cling to office and all that office meant for as long as he could. But having resigned office he was not a little vindictive. Under the Bourbon régime he would have done himself little good had he been too enthusiastic regarding the great man he had at one time assisted in the work of administration. Lastly, judging the man from his own memoirs, it is not unlikely that he unconsciously irritated N. He probably could never forget that at one time they had been intimates, and if no man is a hero to his valet, he is probably a good deal less to those who have known him in early days.

**Boyer, Christine Elenore.**—See BONAPARTE, CHRISTINE ELENORE.

**Brienne, Battle of.**—An action of the Allies' campaign in France. Blücher, with his army, when on his way to join the main forces of the Allies, was attacked by the French

under N. at Brienne on 29 Jan. 1814. After a terrific struggle the Prussian general was defeated and forced to abandon the town.

**Brienne, N.'s Life at (April 1779 to Oct. 1784).**—The record of the days spent at Brienne sheds a valuable light on N.'s character, already individual and distinct though he had not yet reached his tenth birthday. There, as the son of a poor noble, educated at the King's expense, he suffered many slights. Marbeuf (*q.v.*), whose influence had helped to place him at the school, sent him gifts of money which helped N. over some little difficulties and soothed his pride. But these hurts were as nothing to those which his patriotic spirit endured. He was one Corsican among a whole school of boys belonging to the nation that claimed to have subjugated Corsica. This he was not allowed to forget, and the bitterness was intense to such a nature as his. Stung to passionate speech, he would sing the praises of his country and the great Paoli, to which the boys answered with jeers at his hero, stigmatizing Corsica as obscure, half-civilized, or more truly, savage. Even his name, Napoleon, certainly foreign and strange then, was made the subject of derision and poor jests. Both instructors and pupils indulged in this torture of the boy, and he became morose and silent when not engaged in reprisals of tongue or fist. Each pupil being allowed a garden-plot he utilized his to construct a place of refuge surrounded by a tall, thick hedge. Here he retired to forget his home-sickness and wounded pride in the company of books, Plutarch's *Lives* being his favourite, and he became known as the greatest reader in the school. If any boy disturbed him in his refuge then woe to him if captured by the young Corsican.

The teachers, among whom was Pichegru (*q.v.*), afterwards so famous, do not seem to have appealed to the boy's reserved nature. He respected several for their attainments, such as Père Dupuy, the teacher of French grammar, to whom he afterwards submitted his first work, the *Lettres sur la Corse*, before publication, but

he does not seem to have been personally drawn to any. One great cause of his so-called unsociability lay in the fact that the boy had been shocked and horrified by the immorality for which Brienne was notorious, and hence he always held himself aloof. Neither teachers nor companions commanded his respect, and to the monks he showed open rebellion. To put an end to this he was at last flogged, a punishment he bore without a murmur. Another time he was made to do penance by taking his food on his knees at the door of the dining-hall, and such a blow was this to his intense pride that he became violently ill, and it was thought better to remit the punishment.

After a while his reserve was broken through. This was effected, so the story goes, by a court-martial of N. by his fellow-commanders (heads of cadet companies, of one of which N. was commander), and the verdict was that he was unworthy of his rank since he refused their friendship. This was read to him, and he was degraded from his rank. To their surprise, he bore this so quietly and meekly that they relented towards him. Thenceforward he was more popular and companionable, though his school-fellows always feared his passionate temper. He shone as a leader in the games when the boys formed opposing armies of "Greeks" and "Persians," or according to changing enthusiasts, "Romans" and "Carthaginians." The winter of 1783 was a severe one, and the piles of snow gave N. opportunity for a new game. He built a square fort of the snow, with four bastions and a rampart three and a half feet long, all planned with scientific accuracy. The missiles of attack and defence were snowballs, and the mimic warfare often raged so fast and furious, under the stimulus of the townsfolk who gathered eagerly to look on, that the masters were compelled to interfere. Thus the greatest military genius of the period, of many periods, began his battles.

In 1782, much to the home-sick boy's delight, N. received a visit from his father and mother, for it was one of the strictest rules of the military

schools that the pupils were not to leave the colleges during the time of their residence. Hence, unless they were visited by their friends, communication by letter was all they could enjoy. Mme. Bonaparte was shocked at her son's thinness. She had found him asleep in a hammock, disciplining himself for a naval career, which at that time he dreamed of. In appearance he was certainly delicate, though a latent energy and ardour always impressed those who came into contact with him.

In 1783 his brother Lucien was with him at Brienne for some four months, and in his testimony we again hear of N.'s seriousness, of his self-control and absence of emotion, and of his unsociable manner. Brienne had hardened the southern nature, which, driven in upon itself, had developed rapidly. He was devoted to his profession, but the dreams of what he could accomplish by its means—the liberation of his beloved Corsica from hated France—were far more to the lonely boy, suffering in exile. That his mind and its grasp of a subject was beyond his years is shown by those remarkable letters written to Fesch and his father discussing, among other matters, the subject of his brother Joseph and his career. At the end of the letter to his father he asks eagerly for more books, for Boswell's *Corsica* and other histories and memoirs on the same subject, promising to take all care of them and to bring them back "if it is six years hence." N.'s ambition to enter the navy was natural, for Corsicans are born sailors, and Keralio, the sub-inspector of the schools, had encouraged the desire. Keralio had noticed the serious boy, and in a report described him as follows: "M. de Buonaparte (Napoleon), born August 15, 1769. Height: four feet ten inches, ten lines (about five feet three inches in English measurements), Constitution: excellent health; docile, mild, straight-forward and thoughtful. Conduct: most satisfactory; has always been distinguished for his application in mathematics. Fairly well acquainted with history and geography, but is weak in accomplish-

ments, drawing, music, dancing and the like. The boy would make an excellent sailor; deserves to be admitted to the school in Paris." But Keralio was replaced by Reynaud de Monto, who thought differently. This Carlo Buonaparte, N.'s father, resented, and complained to the minister of war that his son's destiny had thereby been adversely affected. But N. himself had changed his mind, for not only did the navy require influence and means beyond any possessed by the Bonapartes but he had become interested in the artillery, an arm of the service in which personal merit was sure of recognition. Thus was taken another important step in his career, and not long after came the momentous time when, with four others, N. was chosen by Reynaud to enter the *École Militaire de Paris (q.v.)*, a pre-ferment he owed, it is thought, to his success in mathematics.

Brienne itself is famous to-day by reason of its great pupil, the modern name of the town being Brienne-Napoleon, and in the market-place stands his statue. In after days he revisited Brienne: in 1805, when he stayed at the château of Brienne, surrounded by many sycophants but few friends; in Jan. 1814, when he took that same château by force and held it against the Russians, and in Feb., only a month later, when he lost "his first battle on French soil."

**Brienne, The Military School of.**—The college of Brienne, at which N. received his military education, was originally a monastery, first becoming a college in 1730. In 1776 it was made into one of the twelve military schools founded by Louis XVI. on the advice of St. Germain, his minister of war. These schools were under religious orders, that of Brienne being superintended by the Minims. At Brienne, as at the other schools, fifty to sixty of the poorer nobility were received to be educated at the expense of the King, an annual sum of £28 being paid for each pupil. An equal number of pensioners was also to be received, St. Germain deeming it advisable that the young nobles should not be educated wholly by themselves. The pupils entered at the age of eight

or nine and stayed there for six years, never leaving it for holidays or visits to relatives. The curriculum included writing, French, Latin, German, geography, history, mathematics, drawing, music, dancing, and fencing. Each pupil had a separate room or cell, 6 ft. square, and strict rules existed for their conduct. No attendance was permitted, each one had to dress himself, and even keep his clothes in order, linen being changed twice a week, while the cadets slept on straw beds, only one rug being allowed except where a boy was in delicate health. Their hair was cut short up to the age of twelve, when they were allowed to wear a pigtail, but no powder with the exception of Sundays and Saints' days. Meals were generous and were served in a common dining-hall. The cadets were clothed in a "blue coat with red facings and white metal buttons with the arms of the college; their waistcoat was blue faced with white, their breeches blue or black according to circumstances; they wore an overcoat in winter." The system, in its aim to promote health and strength by a simple and hardy régime, was strikingly modern. The pupils, it was commanded, were not to waste time in the making of Latin verses or on oratorical themes; biographies, in especial Plutarch's *Lives* and the historical drama, were to be read; geography and history must be taught together. The art of war and "of drawing to fortifications, castramentation, and military topography," must take precedence of mathematics, whilst logic and ethics pure and simple must be taught, without metaphysical subtleties. Again, "all corporal punishment was forbidden as injurious to the health, staining the soul and depraving the character." Government inspectors visited the school every year, their visits each lasting ten days. The long vacation, spent at the college, lasted from 15 Sept. to 2 Nov., the cadet having only one lesson a day, the rest of the time being spent in recreation. Religious exercises were strictly enforced—Mass was celebrated every day and confession heard once a month. The inspector, Reynaud, in

his report on Brienne, stated that the boys were of fair behaviour, their food was good, their housing bad, mathematics the only strong subject, and general culture deficient. The Minims failed to maintain the school at a proper level, and it eventually collapsed into complete disorder.

**Brueys, d'Aigalliers, François Paul (1753-98).**—French admiral; was born at Uzès, dept. Gard. Entering the navy in 1766 he took part in the American War, but was dismissed the service in 1793. He was later reinstated, and was made a rear-admiral, commanding the Adriatic squadron in 1797. In the following year he received command of the fleet destined for Egypt, hoisting his flag in *l'Orient*. After disembarking the French Army he made the error of awaiting Nelson in Aboukir Bay, with the well-known disastrous results. He received three wounds early in the action, succumbing to a fourth while still upon his quarter-deck. He was already dead when the flagship took fire. A statue to his memory adorns his native town. *See NILE, BATTLE OF THE.*

**Brumaire, Coup d'État of.**—It was his *coup d'état* of Brumaire, more than any other event, which really determined Bonaparte's destiny; yet this event is one which in many ways is difficult to understand, certainly one which cannot be grasped save when bearing in mind that, when the future Emperor returned to France in 1799, after campaigning in Syria, he found a country which might be compared to a battleship undergoing attacks while destitute of captain and helmsman, compass and commissariat. For at this date royalist feeling was still strong in many parts of the land, and there had lately been divers revolts on behalf of the Bourbons; while religious schism was rife, French commerce had been swept off the seas by Nelson, the national purse was almost as lean as in the time when Louis XV. was daily squandering vast sums on his mistresses; and, worst of all, a powerful coalition had lately been formed against France—Russia, England, Portugal, Turkey and Austria—all these countries had joined hands to menace her. At first it seemed

to Bonaparte that his most pressing duty was to go and meet the Austrian forces mustering in the north of Italy; he refrained, however, from this step, deciding to stay at home for the moment and oust the existing government if possible. Nor should it be said that he took this decision simply with a view to gratifying personal vanity and ambition, for the records of the affair, hazy and contradictory as they are, indicate abundantly that he was actuated by lofty motives of patriotism. "When the house is crumbling," he said to Marmont, "is it the time to busy oneself with the garden? A change here is indispensable." Certainly there was no man among all the Directorate politicians nearly so well fitted as N. to hold the reins of France, and none likely to confront him seriously. Barras was the chief power, his main henchman being the Abbé Sieyès; but it was whispered that these two were secretly plotting in favour of the exiled royal house, while Fouché was supposed to be abetting them herein. He and Sieyès, nevertheless, were soon virtually won over by Bonaparte, who also rallied to his cause various malcontents who had lately been deprived of office, for instance, Roederer, Bruix, Réal, and Cambacérès, afterwards Second Consul. More important still, the shrewd schemer, Talleyrand, was induced to give his aid; and it was, in fact, at his house in Paris that the impending plot was chiefly hatched. Much difficulty accompanied the hatching, withal; and it is recorded that once, when a palaver was going forward late at night, and the plotters heard an unexpected noise outside—caused, in reality, only by a band of revellers going home—N. blew out the candles instantly, so nervous was he about the whole affair. But he had more supporters than he guessed, perhaps; for the Ancients, on the whole, were hostile to the Directorate, and, if the same was scarcely true of the Council of Five Hundred, these were slowly being influenced by Lucien Bonaparte, at this time beginning to prove himself something of a persuasive rhetorician.

The command of the army stationed

in Paris being now given to N. by the Ancients, he presented himself before that body at the Tuileries; yet contrived, adroitly, to avoid taking that oath of fidelity to the constitution invariably demanded from an officer when receiving an appointment of this sort. And in acting thus he was ably seconded by his brother, Lucien, who emphasized the fact that the Ancients had lately decreed the transference of the sessions to St. Cloud, in consonance with which measure, so he maintained, no oath could be taken save there. To St. Cloud, accordingly, Bonaparte went on the following day, 19 Brumaire (10 Nov. 1799); but his attempts to address the Ancients were comparatively abortive, his speech suggesting the camp rather than the senate house; and, having withdrawn in some confusion, he entered the hall of the Five Hundred, intending either to cajole or to intimidate them. Thereupon a turmoil ensued, and cries of "Down with the tyrant" were levelled at N. by many of the younger deputies, while some of them stigmatized him as an outlaw. Sieyès, however, shouted loudly, "Since they outlaw you, they are outlaws themselves"; while Bonaparte, who by this time had fully regained his presence of mind, and who remembered that there were troops in attendance, obeyed the natural impulse of a soldier, crying aloud, "To arms." His words were echoed by Lucien, who appealed to the military to free the council from the menaces of some deputies—men, he declared, who were not only armed with daggers, but were in the pay of England; and this happy reference to daggers and to English gold saved the situation. For now Murat and Leclerc, together with other generals, took up the cry on behalf of N., the common soldiers themselves speedily following suit; and then, drums sounding an advance and troops pouring into the hall, the legislators were driven out pell-mell, their cries of "Vive la république" notwithstanding.

In this curious way, then, was brought about the collapse of the Directorate, in this curious way Bonaparte sowed the first seeds of that rule

destined to lead the French for a while to glittering heights of glory; and it may well be recalled that, in triumphing thus, he fulfilled literally a prophecy made a few years before by Burke. "The liberty which France has now gained," said that eloquent writer at the time of the Revolution, "will fall a victim to the first great soldier who contrives to draw the eyes of all Frenchmen upon himself."

**Brune, Guillaume Marie Anne (1763-1815).**— French marshal; was born at Brives-la-Gaillarde in the department of Corrèze, where his father was an advocate. He went to Paris before the Revolution with the avowed object of studying law, and whilst at the capital engaged in political journalism and became the friend of Danton. In 1793 he emerged from civil life to take a high command in the army, and as general of brigade he took part in the fighting of 13 Vendémiaire. In 1796 he accompanied N. to Italy, where he was promoted general of division. Two years later he commanded the French Army which occupied Switzerland, and in the following year was dispatched to Holland in the chief command. He defended Amsterdam against an Anglo-Russian expedition under the Duke of York, which he defeated and compelled to quit the country. He saw further service in La Vendée and in Italy, and when N. assumed the imperial title in 1804 he was made a marshal. In 1807 he was given the command in north Germany, and subsequently doubts arose as to his trustworthiness. There is, however, absolutely no proof that these were justified. During the Waterloo campaign he was recalled to military service, and as commander of the army of the Var defended the south of France against the Austrians. He was assassinated by a royalist during the White Terror at Avignon on 2 Aug. 1815.

**Buonaparte, Carlo Maria (1746-1785).**—The father of N.; was born at Ajaccio on 27 March 1746, the son of Giuseppe Buonaparte and his wife Marie Saveria, née Paravicini. The only child of the family was a girl Gertruda, born five years previously, therefore the birth of a son

was a longed-for event; otherwise, that branch of the Buonapartes, descendants of the Carlo Maria, who, in 1657 married Virginia Odone, would become extinct. The young Carlo thus became the heir, not only of his father, but of his great-great-grandfather Carlo Maria; he was his namesake and only male descendant. Owing to this importance he was petted and spoiled from the first, and the indulgence with which he was reared was accountable for many of the traits of later years. In 1763 his father died, and Carlo became the ward of his uncle Lucien Buonaparte, Archdeacon of Ajaccio. At this time the young Buonaparte was attending a Jesuit college in that town, and by his instructors was looked upon as a brilliant pupil. By now he had grown into a handsome youth, tall, elegant, and manly, with the charm of a frank and open manner. His features were regular; his eyes grey or grey-blue, eyes which his son N. inherited, but added thereto that remarkable penetrating quality of his own. He was gifted with an intelligence beyond the common, whilst his education had been of a more thorough and careful description than was then usual in Corsica. His French, for instance, was fluent and correct, a rare accomplishment amongst his countrymen; he wrote graceful Italian verses, was an enthusiastic lover of *belles lettres*, and had adopted Voltairism. Finally, he was ambitious, though this did not prevent him making a love-match, when, on 2 June 1764, aged only eighteen, he married the beautiful Letizia Ramolino, a bride of fourteen. Her family was of patrician descent, if not definitely noble, and Letizia, the only surviving child of her father, inherited the Ramolino property.

Shortly after their marriage French troops, in accordance with the treaty of Compiègne (Aug. 1764), occupied the coast towns of Corsica, amongst them Ajaccio; and Carlo, an ardent patriot and follower of Paoli, had thereupon removed to Corte, Paoli's capital and the centre of the government. Here he was received with extreme kindness, at first as the representative of an influential lowland



family, but after because of his personal charm. According to one account, the kindness went so far as to include a post of emolument and honour as Paoli's private secretary. A new university had been inaugurated (Jan. 1765) at Corte, and there Carlo Buonaparte, continuing his education after marriage, took the courses of Ethics and Law.

At Corte there gradually gathered about Paoli all the ardent enthusiasts and patriots of Corsica; but amongst them, it is said, the youthful Carlo was first favourite, whilst a tradition, treasured by the Buonapartes, would have it that he was named by Paoli as his successor.

At the Battle of Borgo (Oct. 1768), when the Corsicans inflicted a severe defeat upon the French, Carlo Buonaparte acted as Paoli's aide-de-camp. An armistice followed and he returned to Ajaccio for the winter with Letizia, who had accompanied him, and their son Joseph, born Jan. 1768. It is not known for certain whether he was present at the famous and decisive engagement of Ponte Nuovo (8 May 1769), but it is highly probable, for he is afterwards to be found, again with his wife beside him, joining a little company of patriots who found a wild and desolate refuge on Monte Rotondo. On 13 June Paoli, with some three hundred and fifty followers, left Corsica on two English vessels. Carlo Buonaparte was not among that devoted company, and the same month saw him at Corte as a representative of the Monte Rotondo refugees, tendering their submission together with his own and swearing fealty to Louis XV. before the French representative, the Marquis de Vaux. This change of front on his part evoked the bitterest censure from the Paolist party, whilst N. himself throughout his boyhood, always an eager listener to the tale of Paoli and the struggle for Corsican liberty, also nursed a strong resentment against this action of his father, though afterwards in the *Souper de Beaucaire*, written at a crisis in his own fortunes, he defends and shows the necessity for such action as this. But it is only fair to remember the difficulties surrounding the elder Buonaparte at this time.

His cause was defeated; after the disaster of Ponte Nuovo it was hopeless to attempt to raise the remaining peasantry, while, if a last stand and forlorn hope were to have been attempted, then Carlo might well have complained of the desertion of Paoli and his company. Again the little band of refugees would be in dire straits for the merest necessities in such a desolate spot; his son Joseph was but a baby; his wife was far advanced in pregnancy. In such circumstances it is not wonderful that he bowed to the inevitable, recognising it as such, and saw the advantages of joining the winning side. The family now returned to Ajaccio, where on 15 Aug. 1769 their son N. was born.

Carlo had determined to take his degree at Pisa in accordance with the tradition of his family, and in Nov. 1769 he was made a doctor of laws by that university. The question of finance was an important one in the Buonaparte household, and was to be more so as the years went on and the young family increased. Buonaparte, by reason of his upbringing, was in his youth extravagant and careless of money, but this was gradually corrected, or, at least, held in check, both by necessity and his thrifty wife. As yet, however, neither she nor circumstance had quite controlled this trait of his, and, obeying his love of display and good-fellowship, he gave a banquet to celebrate the taking of his degree, on which he spent a year's income or more. A similar instance of extravagance occurred later when a ridiculously large sum was spent on his Court dress when he went to Versailles to be presented to Louis XVI.

Already the question of ways and means had become of pressing importance, for Carlo's inheritance had been a shrunken one. The cause of this was a long and weary lawsuit that had been carried on by his father, Joseph, thus wasting much of his fortune thereby. This litigation concerned the recovering of lands, his by right, but then held by the Jesuits. Briefly the case was as follows. By an entail in trust of a great-great-grandfather important lands, the estate at Milelli and the Maison Badine, were entailed

in the male line of the Odone family, and in default of a regular descent the property was vested in the female line. By this right the estate should, when the maternal uncle of Carlo died childless, have reverted to his mother. But the uncle had made a will bequeathing his property to the Jesuits, who immediately took possession, and by this and other legal trickeries maintained their right of ownership. Buonaparte evidently looked upon the continuance of this lawsuit as a filial duty, and cheerfully settled down to pursue the same course as his father had done before him. But his estates, being heavily mortgaged, yielded only a meagre income, and the family was virtually dependent upon Letizia's patrimony.

To one in these straits, almost the only possible means of re-establishing the fallen fortunes seemed to be by using all the influence available. Some business ventures entered upon had turned out disastrously, and his necessities now forced him into that unwearying scheming and place-hunting which has brought upon his name some contempt and reproach. With the in-born instinct for intrigue so strong in the Corsican, he set himself to use what influence he already possessed and to gain more. The French commander-in-chief, General Marbeuf (*q.v.*) became his friend, interesting himself on Buonaparte's behalf and his family's. For one thing, Carlo now sought to prove beyond all doubt the nobility of the Buonapartes, largely in order to benefit to the full under the French rule. The French conquest had brought in its train the influence of the *ancien régime*, with its sharp division of the three classes of society: nobility, clergy, and third estate. Of this the Corsican families began to feel the influence. An edict (April 1770) of Louis XV. admitted into the French nobility all Corsicans who could prove their possession of the condition of "noble" for two hundred years. Needless to say, the Paolist sympathisers made no effort to avail themselves of this; the adherents of France alone seeking to enter the ranks of the French aristocracy. Amongst these families there was now

much questioning and searching for family papers and pedigrees. Already the claim to nobility had been put forward by Carlo; for in the *Libro di Dottorati* of Pisa he had been described as *Il Signor Carlo del On Giuseppe Buonaparte, Nob. Patrizio Fiorentino, Saminiatense, e di Ajaccio*. This was consequent upon the obtaining from the Archbishop of Pisa letters patent authorising him to use the title of Noble and Patrician, this being gained by means of the document which Giuseppe, Carlo's father had received from the Tuscan Buonapartes admitting consanguinity. Carlo's next step, with Louis's edict in view, was to procure a certificate signed by members of notable families of Ajaccio—the names of Ornano, Ramolino, Benielli, Pontano, Baciocchi, being amongst the signatories—declaring that the family of Buonaparte, then represented by Signore Lucien (the archdeacon) and Carlo, had ever been regarded as one of the ancient and noble families of the province. By virtue of this Lucien and Carlo obtained from the *Conseil Supérieur* (13 Sept. 1771) a declaration that the Buonaparte family had been proved to be noble, its nobility extending over more than two hundred years.

His next step was to secure some official position by means of his political standing. The States-General of Corsica met on 1 May, 1772, Carlo taking his place among the nobles, also becoming a candidate for election as one of the Twelve Nobles, the chief Corsican functionaries of the island. All was not peace in the camp of the French; dissensions had arisen between Marbeuf and Narbonne, his second in command; dissensions serious enough, with their attendant intrigue and wire-pulling at Paris; but Carlo, with his native adroitness, sided with Marbeuf, the chief in power, and so won his election; though now, as later, he so managed affairs as not to offend the other party. As one of the Twelve Nobles he received a yearly salary of 300 livres, whilst a further appointment, that of assessor to the court of Ajaccio, brought him 900 livres annually. Private practice seems also to have been permitted him, though

holding an official position, an anomalous condition of affairs, as is shown by the complaint of a rival lawyer that Buonaparte had acted for a client in a case which he also decided as assessor.

The free education of the children of indigent nobles as wards of the King and at the expense of the State was extended (March 1776) to the Corsican nobility. Of this Carlo decided to take advantage, and he accordingly obtained from his friends, Stéphanophi, Folacci, Ornano, and Ponte, citizens of Ajaccio, a declaration that, though a noble, he was poor and unable to provide an education for his children suitable to their birth and position. Marbeuf, out of friendship but also in return for political support, seconded Buonaparte's application for the King's bounty, and wrote to the Minister of War about the two eldest sons. At this juncture the estates of Corsica elected three members to form a deputation to the King. Buonaparte was chosen to represent the nobility, Monseigneur Santini the clergy, and Casabianca the third estate. Of the three, Carlo was by far the most polished and best educated, besides which his command of the French language gave him an additional advantage, with the consequence that at Versailles he was leader and spokesman. Besides accomplishing the object of the deputation he was able to render service to Marbeuf by delivering the *coup de grâce* to his rival Narbonne's pretensions, though he, Carlo, had but a little while before solicited his patronage. He now returned to Ajaccio, the personal spoil of the mission being 2,000 livres for travelling expenses, besides the concession of three plantations of mulberries which the State had decided to establish in Corsica, payment to be made after planting.

On 19 July, 1778, came the news that the application for free education as a king's ward had at last been granted; the younger boy, N., being destined for a military career. On 2 Sept. 1778 the fourth son was born, and later in the month was baptized with the royal name of Louis, his godparents being "General Marbeuf, Governor of Ajaccio, and Madame

Boucheporn, wife of the Royal Commissioner." Marbeuf was by now a close friend of the family, staying at the Buonaparte house when in Ajaccio; and jealous rivals and political foes were not slow in pointing out that Marbeuf's name was also Louis, and making unfounded accusations as to the paternity of the child. When, years afterwards, the enemies of N. set out on their campaign of blackening the whole Buonaparte family this aspersion was not forgotten, but no shadow of a stain ever rested on the fair fame of Carlo's wife.

Another Corsican deputation to Paris was necessary at this time in order to confer on the question of the regulation of imposts, for Necker was then making his attempts at financial reform and retrenchment. Buonaparte was again chosen as deputy, and this time he set out accompanied by his two sons and also Joseph Fesch (*q.v.*) destined for the seminary at Aix. They started on 12 Dec. 1778, and on New Year's Day 1779 Joseph and N. entered the school at Autun. The elder boy, intended for the priesthood, was there at his father's expense, his education to cost six hundred francs a year; the younger N., nine and a half years old, to proceed later to Brienne as king's ward. At Versailles things went smoothly for Carlo, except in one thing. He made further applications on his own behalf; the first for a supplement from the royal purse to augment his meagre pay as deputy, and the second a plea for the settlement of his claims to the ancestral estates. The first was granted, the second was disregarded.

In June 1782 Carlo again visited France, this time with Letizia, when they visited N. at Brienne, and Joseph at Autun.

By means of further supplications preferred with untiring persistency, and aided by the never-failing Marbeuf, the poor Corsican noble had obtained further favours, this time for Lucien and Elisa, so that when in June 1784 he again visited Brienne he was accompanied by his daughter, destined for St. Cyr, and by Lucien, who, after a year at Autun, was to enter at Brienne as *pensionnaire*, wait-

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ing to step into N.'s shoes as *boursier*; two brothers as royal pupils at the same time not being permissible. When in Paris, not unmindful of his son Joseph's wishes for a military rather than an ecclesiastical career, the indefatigable father set about obtaining the desired change, and wrote to the Minister of War stating his request, and ending with details of his ever-pressing poverty, his large family, and the expected birth of another child. The plea as regards Joseph was granted with the proviso that the boy would have to go to the Artillery School at Metz and pass an examination in mathematics. Always dependent, to a certain extent upon his wife's judgment, Carlo determined to take Joseph home before the final decision. The disease, which was finally to cause his death, cancer of the stomach, was by now causing Buonaparte acute suffering, and taking the opportunity while in Paris, he consulted De la Soude, Marie Antoinette's physician, who benefited him temporarily and further advised him to take the waters at Orezza in Corsica. In view of this he returned to Ajaccio immediately, visiting Joseph at Autun, but with no time for Brienne, much to N.'s grief, ever a true Corsican in his love for his family.

On his return, though still suffering agonies, Carlo yet thought some relief had been obtained. That weariful lawsuit still haunted him, and feeling that legal methods were of no avail, he determined on another journey of solicitation to Versailles, to settle the question once for all; also De la Soude could again be consulted and further relief secured. He embarked at Ajaccio accompanied by Joseph, now on his way to Metz. It proved a terrible journey; a violent storm forcing the vessel to put in at Calvi, while further rough sailing before they reached the French coast aggravated the condition of the invalid and caused a relapse. On landing the father and son went to Aix, where Fesch still was, and thence to Montpellier to consult the famous specialists there. All was in vain, and after some weeks of agony Carlo Buonaparte died at the residence of Mme. Permon at Mont-

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pellier on 24 Feb. 1785, not quite thirty-nine years of age.

An autopsy was performed upon the body and cancer of the stomach certified. The remains were buried at Montpellier, but years afterwards were transferred by Louis Bonaparte to St. Leu.

**Buonaparte, Lucciano (1711-91).**— Archdeacon of Ajaccio; great-uncle of N. By his ecclesiastical rank he was one of the principal dignitaries of the island. His personal character was such that the peasants voluntarily submitted their disputes to his judgment. He was much revered and exerted considerable authority in the district.

On the death of his brother Giuseppe in 1763 Lucciano had become the guardian of his nephew, Carlo Buonaparte (*q.v.*), the father of N. As head of the family from 1763 to 1791 his prudence and judgment were of great value, and after the death of Carlo (1785) he became patron and protector of his children, and helped the young widow in all possible ways. He always lived in the Buonaparte house at Ajaccio and was a familiar figure to the young N., who learned from him his catechism and Bible history. This same nephew, when an Emperor in exile, "spoke frequently of his old uncle, who had been a second father to him."

In later years he became bedridden. When he was dying, pious as he had always been, he grew annoyed with Fesch (*q.v.*), who, a priest by that time, "ran to him in his stole and surplice to assist him in his last moments." The Archdeacon bade him desist, saying that the last few minutes he had to live should be given to his family. Of the rest of the scene two versions are left to us, those of N. and Joseph. At St. Helena the Emperor told Antommarchi (*q.v.*) and also Las Cases (*q.v.*) that his uncle had declared that while Joseph was the eldest, N. was the chief. This, on the face of it, seems highly improbable, for in Corsica the eldest son's precedence is inviolable. Joseph's version, given in his *Memoirs*, is as follows. The Archdeacon said: "Letizia, cease weeping. I die con-

tent since I see you surrounded by your children. My existence is no longer necessary for them. Joseph is now at the head of the administration of the country, so he must be competent to manage the family. Thou, Napoleon, will be a man of importance." He died on 15 Oct 1791. This event occurred during N.'s visit to Corsica. The Archdeacon had always lived frugally and had therefore saved a not inconsiderable fortune, which he left to Letizia Buonaparte and her children.

**Buonaparte, Maria Letizia, née Ramolino (1750-1836).**—The mother of N.; was born at Ajaccio on 24 Aug. 1750, the daughter of Giovanni Ramolino and his wife Angela Maria Pietra Santa. The Ramolino family were of Florentine origin, like the Buonapartes, their respective traditions being similar in many ways. With the Pietra Santa strain, however, Letizia had inherited the blood and habits of a race bred in the most primitive and savage region of Corsica (q.v.), a part where an almost tribal condition of life prevailed, where the vendetta was a commonplace. Education was of minor importance, culture in this sense being an unknown quantity, but the characters produced by such environment were of undeniable vigour and quality, distinguished by a frugal habit of life, inured to hardship. Mentally they possessed a quickness of judgment and a fertility of resource. Undoubtedly the darker side was also present—violent and passionate natures, vindictive tempers, unrelenting hate. In Letizia the passionate nature was present, but with an iron will to hold it in leash, whilst the desirable qualities of her heritage were intensified.

Giovanni Ramolino died when his daughter was but five years of age, therefore her training was wholly in the hands of her mother, a woman of dominant and Spartan temper. The child's education, however, was of the most meagre description, though a generous share of shrewd common sense and mother-wit, combined with a mind essentially reflective and refined, more than made good the deficiency.

It has been said that the Ramolino and Pietra Santa families at first

objected to the suit of Carlo Buonaparte on the grounds of his Paolist sympathies, they having remained, so far, true to the Genoese cause. Finally, however, they gave way in the matter, and in time also joined the Corsican party. Hence some would have it that Paoli, with Archdeacon Lucciano, arranged the match so as to secure the adherence of the families represented by Letizia. Be that as it may, all the evidence points to the fact that it was a love-match, and the handsome couple were married at the cathedral of Ajaccio on 2 June 1764.

Married at the early age of fourteen Letizia even then possessed a development of will and character far beyond her years, a character of the true heroic mould. Physically she was of striking beauty and famous for her good looks. She was slender in figure and somewhat below the middle height, but with a dignity of mien that made her seem much taller. Her features were of the classic type, with straight nose, refined and expressive mouth, her eyes the deepest brown, almost black, and a finely shaped head crowned with chestnut hair. Her complexion was a dazzling white—that whiteness peculiar to Corsica, differing from the usual olive tint of the South—with rose-flushed cheeks. In her youth, as in later years, the expression was serious, almost severe. Such was the mother of N., described lovingly and often by N. and those who knew her.

Her first two children—a Napoleon and Maria Anna—born respectively in 1765 and 1767, both died in infancy, but on 7 Jan. 1768, at Corte, Paoli's capital, a son Joseph was born, fortunately a more robust infant than the others, for an heir had been ardently desired; otherwise this branch of the Buonapartes was threatened with extinction.

During the French war, Letizia, true to race, accompanied her husband in the various campaigns, almost on to the battlefields. In the spring of 1769 was fought the decisive battle of Ponte Nuovo (*see* PAOLI), and Letizia, with her husband and others, retreated to the wilds of Monte Rotondo, whither the refugees fled for safety. On

taking the oath of submission, however, they were permitted to return to their homes.

At their home in Ajaccio N. was born on 15 Aug. 1769. This momentous event has been variously described. An account by Letizia herself is preserved in the *Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes*, who tells how her mother, Mme. Permon and Mme. Buonaparte, two old friends, were sitting talking on the evening of 10 Nov. 1799 that spring-time of N.'s greatness. Naturally it was of him they spoke, and Letizia's memory went back to the time of his birth. She told how she was "at Mass on the day of the fête of Notre Dame of August, and while there was overtaken by the pains of childbirth, and she had scarcely reached home when she was delivered of N." A picturesque tradition exists to the effect that the first covering of mother and child was an ancient piece of tapestry representing the heroes of the *Iliad*.

In the straitened circumstances in which the young couple found themselves Letizia's instincts of thrift stood them in good stead. By marvels of economy she contrived to feed and clothe her household with no outward signs of strain or poverty. Her husband was thus enabled to uphold his official dignities in a suitable fashion, and the hospitality of their home at Ajaccio became known for its lavish generosity, for after the French occupation they entertained frequently, General Marbeuf, the governor of Corsica, and in time their devoted friend, being, among others, a constant guest. It is clear that thrift was an absolute necessity if any standing at all was to be maintained when it is realized how quickly the young family increased. After N., who was the fourth child, came eight others. Two daughters followed him in 1771 and 1773, both named Maria Anna after the first daughter and, like her, both dying in infancy. Then came Luciano (Lucien) in 1775; next, another Maria Anna (Elisa) in 1777; Luigi (Louis) in 1778; Paula Maria (Pauline) in 1780; Maria Nunziata (Caroline) in 1782; and Girolamo (Jerome) in 1784.

In 1782 Letizia accompanied her

husband to France, visiting N. at Brienne and Joseph at Autun.

After the death of her husband in 1785 affairs were in a troubled condition, and means still more limited. Archdeacon Lucciano was protector and adviser, doing all in his power to assist, but Letizia herself was a tower of strength. There is evidence that she did the actual work of the household, helped only by Mammuccia Caterina. A letter of hers to Joseph at Pisa betrays the condition of affairs. Yet Letizia was patient, uncomplaining, and the family undeniably happy.

In the Corsican rising of 1793 the Buonapartes, as leaders of the French party, were in great danger. N., anxious for the safety of his family and hoping to be able to get them away from the island, had suggested a plan for the taking of Ajaccio. This was agreed upon by the commissioners, but before this expedition could arrive Letizia received the news that the Paolists in considerable numbers were close at hand. At first she refused to fly, desiring to defend her house to the last, dying in the task if necessary. Eventually, however, she was persuaded against this, consenting to escape to their country home of Milelli, for her children's sake. The desolate group left the house in the dead of the night, Letizia, Abbé Fesch, Louis, Maria Anna, Pauline, Caroline, and Jerome; and only just in time, for soon after it was surrounded and pillaged. Not sufficiently secure there, they afterwards fled to the Capitello tower on the further side of the bay, Letizia and her children scrambling over rocks and through thickets, when N., passing with the French expedition, found them. Destitute and homeless, he took them to Calvi, whence on 11 June 1793 they embarked for Toulon, thus joining Lucien. So poor were they that Letizia perforce found cheaper lodgings at La Valette, a village near by. After a while they proceeded to Marseilles, where, as a Corsican refugee, she received a small pension from the government, a sum which was welcome, for evidently her straits were such that gloomy pictures had haunted her of being driven to

appeal, like a pauper, for their daily bread to some charity in Marseilles.

But the tide of misfortune had now passed. After Vendémiaire N. became the possessor of means, and at once sent his mother a considerable sum. In Ségur's *Histoires et Mémoires* is a letter written by N. to Joseph in which he says: "I have sent the family 50,000 to 60,000 livres in silver, paper money and bills. Therefore, distress yourself no further. . . ." The miserable lodgings were discarded and more suitable ones obtained. The Buonaparte home became quite the centre of local society and a rendezvous for the many Corsicans passing through Marseilles. Here Joseph married the well-dowered Julie Clary, and Maria Anna, now Elisa, the Corsican, Pasquale Baciocchi.

When N. became First Consul, or shortly after, Mme. Buonaparte went to Paris with her children, but lived in the most retired manner. In Lucien's disputes with N. she took the former's part simply because he was the weaker. Hence she was not at the coronation (1804), being with Lucien elsewhere, but N., when David was painting the picture of the ceremony, ordered him to put in the portrait of Letizia as present. It was not until her son became Emperor that she could be said to lead a social life; and, while attaining a certain measure of success, she never aspired to political power. Through it all "Madame Mère," as she was then known, continued to speak in the Corsican dialect (scorning any attempt to dissuade her from it) and to save money. She had now an income of 1,000,000 francs settled upon her, with the Comte Cassé Bruzac as chamberlain and M. de Cazes as secretary. She was also made *Protectrice Générale* of all the charitable institutions of France.

His mother's parsimonious habits frequently aroused the Emperor's displeasure. Mme. Mère's dress was not sufficiently elegant; accordingly Elisa was commissioned by N. to make good the deficiencies in her wardrobe. For this striking sense of thrift many reasons could be adduced. First comes the pathetic fact that necessity

had long demanded it, and in time it had become an instinct. Again, it was largely caused by her profound distrust of all this sudden greatness; she foreboded the end, and seemed to discern in N. signs of exhaustion even when at the summit of his power. In view of that rainy day the habit of saving was therefore continued. She lectured her children, Pauline especially, upon their extravagance, and on Lucien quitting France in 1804 she took possession of his splendid home, and under her rule a system of the most rigid economy succeeded her son's princely régime.

Her kindness was unailing to those in trouble, and for them she would, if necessary, apply to N., though contrary to her rule. When she took part in public affairs her sympathies were with the weaker side. Upon the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien she went to the Tuileries and exerted all her influence on his behalf. On hearing of the execution of this prince she bitterly reproached her son, saying it was the deed of a criminal, the stain of which could never be wiped out, and that he had weakly followed the advice of his enemies, only too eager to bring obloquy upon his name. N.'s treatment of the Pope displeased her greatly.

When all her sons save one had become kings her applications to them on behalf of Lucien were unceasing. On being told one day by N. that she loved Lucien more than the rest of her children, she replied: "The child of whom I am the most fond is always the one that happens to be the most unfortunate." This was amply proved later. She, who to a certain extent had held aloof from the Emperor in his hour of glory, placed her fortune at the service of the exile when the days of Elba dawned, while she never forgave Caroline or Murat for their treachery to N.

When N. was sent to Elba Mme. Mère followed him and took up her residence on the island. A letter of N.'s is extant which shows his care and thought for her comfort on hearing of this determination. No doubt exists as to the large part, both financial and practical, which

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was Letizia's share in N.'s escape from Elba. So again after Waterloo she immediately proffered him all she possessed in the world to assist him in re-establishing his ascendancy, saying that all was not yet lost.

In Oct. 1818 she addressed an unavailing appeal to the Allied sovereigns on behalf of her son.

After the final downfall she had retired to Rome, where she was treated with kindness and consideration by Pope Pius VII., who bore no grudge for N.'s past treatment of him. He even exerted his influence in guarding Letizia from the machinations of the Grand Alliance. By the Treaty of Paris (1814) she had been permitted to retain her title, and an annuity of 200,000 francs, secured on the great book of France, was settled upon her. She lived a very secluded life, taking part in charitable works, but her grief and sorrow were plain to all who saw her. Her beauty she retained almost to the last. Michelet has left a description of Mme. Mère at this period, and remarks that the Italian artists endowed her with a sublime beauty, something tragical, mysterious, unfathomable.

The death of N. was a further blow, and her life became almost conventual. A serious fall in 1829 crippled her, and later she was afflicted by partial blindness. She died on 2 Feb. 1836, nearly eighty-six years of age, outliving her famous son by fifteen years.

**Buonaparte, Maria Saveria (née Paravicini).**—She married Giuseppe Buonaparte, the grandfather of N., on 5 March 1741. She was an indulgent mother to Carlo, the longed-for son and heir, and to his children after him. She lived with the Buonapartes, a familiar figure of N.'s childhood—the "Minana Saveria," to whom, in the letters home, he never failed to present his respects. She showed her devotion and thought for her grandchildren by hearing one Mass a day for each child from its birth; this representing eight Masses a day.

**Buonaparte, The Casa.**—The family house of the Buonapartes in Ajaccio (*q.v.*). It is situated at the corner of the Rue St. Charles and the

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Rue Letizia, was built in the early seventeenth century, and consists of a ground floor and three stories above. The third floor was an addition of a later date and the property of a branch of the Pozzo di Borgo family. At the time of N.'s advent the house was above the average in Ajaccio. On the first floor it has a fine gallery with six windows on to the Via del Pevero on one side, and opposite six glass doors open on to a terrace, which Carlo Buonaparte, the father of N., constructed in 1774, at a cost of 600 francs. This terrace was a favourite spot, and here N. during his holidays read and studied, erecting for the purpose a summer-house of planks of wood. A library, reception-room, dining-room, Letizia's and three other bedrooms at the far end of the gallery complete the first floor. The second consists of four rooms corresponding to those below in the front of the house. The one looking down on the terrace was that occupied by N. Letizia's bedroom on the first floor is usually shown as the room in which N. was born, but on the evidence of Letizia herself and that of N. it was the *salotto*, the reception-room, which witnessed his advent. In 1793, after the flight of the family, the house was burst into and sacked by the Paolists. Nasica writing in 1821-9 states that: "The house was given up to pillage. Even the doors and windows were torn from their hinges. The house would have been burned but for the fear of damaging the neighbouring houses, which belonged to the so-called Patriots." For this indemnity was claimed in 1798 by Letizia Buonaparte, and the document is preserved in the archives of Ajaccio. The statement relating to the house is as follows:

"A house situated in the Rue Bonaparte, completely furnished, of four stories, with the ground floor (the Bonaparte house in the Rue St. Charles, formally Via Malerba, sometimes called Rue Bonaparte) *dévastée* . . . 16,000 francs."

Letizia made other claims, amongst them one for the loss of 1,000 books of her husband's library. In 1796 Joseph returned to Ajaccio, and at N.'s



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request had the house put in order and repaired. Later, N. wished to give it to his wet-nurse, Camilla Ilari (*q.v.*), but this was opposed by the family, and Andrea Ramolino, a cousin of Letizia, living there at the time, refused to move. N. then made Ramolino give up his own house to Camilla in exchange for the Bonaparte house, together with 20,000 francs. A further condition was that he was to pull down the Pietra Santa house and part of the Gentile house so that an open space should be made in front of the Casa Buonaparte, thus making the Place Letizia. In 1831 Andrea Ramolino died and bequeathed the house to his nephew Levie Ramolino. This owner was offered, and refused, large sums for it; C. A. Pozzo di Borgo (*q.v.*) in 1833 offered £20,000 for it. The Duc d'Orléans also offered £8,000. In 1843 Levie gave it to Joseph, and it descended to Princess Zénâide, his sole heiress, who sold it to Napoleon III. for £2,000, with a further £600 for the furniture, which, however, can hardly be the furnishing of N.'s time. The house is now the property of the Empress Eugénie. See HOMES AND PALACES OF N.

**Buonavita, The Abbé.**—Spiritual adviser to N. at St. Helena; had spent twenty-six years in Mexico. He had been chaplain to Mme. Mère at Elba, and went with her to Paris for the Hundred Days. After Waterloo he became chaplain to Pauline at Rome, and there he took an attack of apoplexy. On leaving St. Helena he reported himself to the Bonapartes at Rome.

**Burton, Dr. Francis.**—One of the signatories to the report on the post-mortem of N. He had had some experience in taking casts in plaster of Paris, and took a death-mask of N.'s face. He went to Jamestown for plaster, but could find none in any of the shops. Learning that the crude material, gypsum, was to be found in certain parts of the coast, he applied to the admiral, who allowed his boats to be used, and the gypsum was collected at night by torchlight. Antommarchi considered the quality of the gypsum too poor, but Burton made the attempt and succeeded. He

## CADOUDAL

covered the face and head with the plaster and took off the mould in two pieces, the front and the back. It was taken some time between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., but the body was not in a condition to permit of a second attempt. Burton left the mould in the death chamber and took the cast from it next day. Returning on the morning of 9 May, the day of the funeral, he found that the front part had gone. It had, in fact, been stolen by Mme. Bertrand. He wrote to her and begged her to give it back, but she took no notice of the letter. He then wrote to Bertrand, who told him he had no right to the cast whatever, and that he had merely assisted Antommarchi. When he arrived in London Burton attempted to regain the cast by legal means, but in this he was unsuccessful. The cast was kept by the Bertrands, and descended to Hortense, Mme. Thayer, from whom it went to Prince Victor Napoleon. See DEATH-MASK.

**Busaco, Battle of.**—A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 27 Sept. 1810, between 60,000 French under Masséna, and 50,000 British and Portuguese under Wellington. After fierce fighting the French assault was repulsed, with a loss of about 5,000, including five generals, while the British lost about 1,300.

## C

**Cadoudal, George (1771-1804).**—Leader of the Chouans during the French Revolution and Consulate; was born near Auray in 1771. On the outbreak of the Revolution he withstood the tide of democratic fervour and remained loyal to royalism and religion. A rising in the Morbihan was organized by him in 1793 against the revolutionary government, but this was speedily quelled. Next he joined the army of the Vendéans, and took part in the battles of Le Mans and of Savenay. Arrest and imprisonment awaited him on his return to the Morbihan, but he succeeded in escaping from Brest, only to begin the struggle anew. In 1800, however, Cadoudal, with other royalist leaders, was in Paris,

led there partly by the hope that in Bonaparte they might find the "long-expected restorer of monarchy." The First Consul, who admired the conspirator for his skill, obstinacy and energy, granted an interview. Cadoudal's position was that "he was prepared, after a certain delay, and on condition that he should be paid for it, to give his support to the Government." But all the time fresh schemes were afoot, which Fouché ferreted out, and the papers of the royalists were seized. Cadoudal fled to England, together with Hyde de Neuville (*q.v.*). Indirectly he was concerned in the attempt made by St. Régent in the Rue St. Nicaise on the life of Bonaparte, after which England was again his refuge. In 1803 came his final plot against the First Consul. He left London and "crossed the Channel on a cutter from the British Fleet." He was supplied with funds from the British Government for the organization of insurrection in the capital, to which he proceeded. Here he entered into communication with Lajolais, Pichegru, Rivière and the Polignacs. For six months he eluded the police of Fouché. Efforts were made to treat with Moreau, the leader of the republican party. Though he refused to associate himself with the royalists, he was compromised beyond retrieval when the plot was discovered in Jan. of 1804. Cadoudal was arrested in March. It was this conspiracy which led to the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien.

During his trial Cadoudal showed great firmness and courage. With eighteen of his companions he was sentenced to death, but by Josephine's intervention those of the nobility implicated were reprieved and imprisoned. Those of "meaner birth," together with Cadoudal, were shot on 24 June 1804. Noting the trend of events politically throughout the time of his trial, he said in irony: "We have done more than we hoped to do; we meant to give France a king, and we have given her an emperor."

**Caffarelli du Falga, Louis Marie Joseph Maximilien (1756-99).**—French general. This distinguished

soldier was known almost universally in the France of his day as "Jambe de Bois," a name given him because early in his career he had one of his legs carried off by a cannon-ball, a wooden substitute being given him thereafter by the surgeons. Born in 1756, he took part, in 1795, in the passage of the Rhine under Kléber, while he held an important command during N.'s Egyptian expedition; and when, at one time, it looked as though the French were likely to be stranded in the land of the Pharaohs, it was a stock joke with the soldiers to say that Caffarelli was the most fortunate man among them, inasmuch as he always had one foot in Europe! "Jambe de Bois" won particular distinction at the taking of Alexandria, but during the assault on St. Jean d'Acre he had the misfortune to have one of his arms fractured, and the subsequent operation on the wounded limb proved fatal to the brave soldier. "Son tombeau," says one of his biographers, "a été jusqu'à ce jour respecté par les Arabes"; while we must not fail to note that Caffarelli was a ripe scholar, besides being a gifted leader, and was specially admired and trusted by N. himself.

**Caldiero, Battle of (1).**—A battle of N.'s Italian campaign, fought on 12 Nov. 1796, between the French under Masséna and the Austrians under Alvintzi. The Austrians had taken up a strong position on a line of hills, and their cannon and musketry were so effective that Masséna was compelled to withdraw his troops into Verona with a loss of nearly 2,000 killed and wounded; he lost besides a number of prisoners.

**Caldiero, Battle of (2).**—Fought on 29 Oct. 1805. The French under Masséna attacked the Austrians under the Archduke Charles in a strongly entrenched position on the rocky heights of Caldiero. After three days' hard fighting the French were repulsed, but the Archduke, hearing of the victories of N. in Germany, did not follow up his success, and, indeed, began to withdraw his army from Italy.

**Calendar, Republican.**— On 22 Sept. 1792 the National Convention of the French Republic introduced a revolutionary era to celebrate the foundation of the new system of government. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days at the end. These days were called *Sansculotides*, and were regarded as festivals which were dedicated to Virtue, Opinion, Genius, Labour and Rewards. The observance of Sunday was ignored, while every tenth day was treated as a public holiday. This extraordinary system remained in force until 1 Jan. 1806, when by the command of N. it was abolished and the Gregorian calendar resumed. According to the revolutionary system, the names of the months were as follows:

Vendémiaire (Vintage), 22 Sept. to 21 Oct.  
 Brumaire (Foggy), 22 Oct. to 20 Nov.  
 Frimaire (Sleety), 21 Nov. to 20 Dec.  
 Nivôse (Snowy), 21 Dec. to 19 Jan.  
 Pluviôse (Rainy), 20 Jan. to 18 Feb.  
 Ventôse (Windy), 19 Feb. to 20 March.  
 Germinal (Budding), 21 March to 19 April.  
 Floréal (Flower), 20 April to 19 May.  
 Prairial (Pasture), 20 May to 18 June.  
 Messidor (Harvest), 19 June to 18 July.  
 Thermidor (Heat), 19 July to 17 Aug.  
 Fructidor (Fruit), 18 Aug. to 16 Sept.

**Cambacérès, Jean Jacques Regis de (1753-1824).**— Born at Montpellier on 18 Oct. 1753. He was descended from a family belonging to the legal nobility, and was himself destined for the law, becoming a councillor in the court of finances and accounts of Toulouse. On the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 he espoused the democratic cause. He was chosen by the *noblesse* of the province to draw up the *cahier*, the statement of principles and grievances. Later he was elected as deputy for Montpellier to the States-General, but on some technical point the election was made void. In 1792, however, he sat as one of the deputies for the newly constituted department of Hérault in the National Convention,

which in the Sept. of that year proclaimed the French Republic. He did not seek any prominence in party matters, but devoted himself to the judiciary part of public affairs and to committee work. His attitude during the trial of Louis XVI. laid him open to the charge of blowing hot and cold, a charge his colleagues did not fail to bring against him. His position was caused by his views on the legality of the proceedings, but these again clashed with his republican creed. He doubted the right of the convention to resolve itself into a tribunal, saying: "You were chosen by the people as legislators, not judges," whilst he also demanded that the King should have facilities for his defence. Going with the stream, however, he voted the King guilty, but tried to temporize over the question of the penalty, proposing that its execution be postponed till after the cessation of hostilities, and that the sentence should first receive ratification by some legislative body. Yet this did not avail to save Cambacérès from the character of regicide amongst the royalists as it told against him with the republicans, for later it was the bar to his appointment as one of the five Directors after the *coup d'état* of Vendémiaire 1795. At the beginning of 1793 he had become a member of the committee of General Defence, and again of its successor, that of Public Safety, where, in charge of foreign affairs, he successfully negotiated peace with Spain. As one of the Legislative Committee, Cambacérès drew up the Code of Civil Law in its first form, which later was to be the basis of the famous Code Napoléon. He had worked hard on behalf of the Girondins, fallen after the *coup d'état* of May 1793, pleading for their restoration to the Convention. Though not chosen as a Director, for the reason above stated, that of not being a regicide, his fund of knowledge and powers of brilliant debate gave him a foremost place in the councils of the Five Hundred. As a Moderate he came into opposition to the Directors, and thereupon retired into private life, from which he was drawn, however, by the influence of

## CAMBACÉRÈS

Sieyès, and in July 1799 he became minister of justice. Cambacérès was certainly in the plot of overthrowing the Directory (Brumaire 1799), but his support of Sieyès and Bonaparte was characterized by the usual moderation, or, as some said, wiliness.

It was Sieyès' estimate of the gift of Cambacérès and his influence, together with his immense legal knowledge, that procured for him his appointment as Second Consul. From this time onward he was invaluable to N. In the words of an eminent authority: "Cambacérès was a native of the south; cautious and subtle, he had been a member of the Convention, and was rightly regarded as an able lawyer. He justified the confidence which Bonaparte placed in him, and proved himself a skilful, cool-headed and sound adviser. If he did nothing to prevent Bonaparte from becoming a despot, if he even aided him to become one, he succeeded in sometimes tempering the eccentricities and harshness of his master, at any rate in matters of detail."

That Cambacérès played an important part in the drafting of the Civil Code is unquestionable, but the "dry bones of the law" which he furnished were made to live by the genius of N. Again, to a great extent it was the skilful advice of this minister that gained for Bonaparte the consulship for life (1802). Yet Cambacérès never hesitated to show his disapprobation of the conduct of certain events, such as the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, the rupture with England (he, with Talleyrand, being for peace), and, it is said, the proclamation of the Empire (19 May 1804). But when the Senate went in a body to St. Cloud it was Cambacérès, Second Consul and President, who hailed N. by the title of "Imperial Majesty." Under the Empire he became arch-chancellor, with the presidentship of the Senate in perpetuity, and in 1808, already a prince of the Empire, he received the title of Duke of Parma. At this period he used all his influence against the intervention in Spanish affairs (1808) and the invasion of Russia (1812), both of which proved disastrous. His actions after

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the campaign of 1814 were adversely criticized by the followers of the Empire as disloyal and largely contributory to the further troubles that overtook N. Only with reluctance, it is stated, did he accept office during the Hundred Days. He was exiled as a regicide under the Restoration, and resided in the Netherlands, but in 1818 a decree restored him to the rights and privileges of a French citizen. The last six years of his life were spent in retirement. He died in 1824, and was buried with military honours in the cemetery of Père la Chaise. In private life Cambacérès seems to have been remarkable as a *gourmet*, and his dinners were a feature not despised by N. as an aid to diplomacy and statecraft. Otherwise, being of a quiet and intensely reserved nature, his friends were few, and do not seem to have been inspired by any great devotion towards him.

**Cambronne, Pierre Jacques, Baron de (1770 - 1842).**—French general; was born at Nantes, and was a son of the middle class. He left home early in life, with a very scanty education, which probably accounted for his unpolished manner, and in 1790 began his military career, distinguishing himself in many campaigns, both revolutionary and Napoleonic. He was given command of the Imperial Guard, who, to the number of 700, landed in Elba on 26 May 1814, and to whose coming N. had looked forward with so much eagerness, saying to the general on his arrival: "Cambronne, I have passed many bad hours while waiting for you, but at last we are united once more, and they are forgotten." He was made commandant of Portoferraio, the capital of Elba, by the Emperor, who placed in his care "all that is police and security." No one was allowed to land without first being examined by Cambronne, and this duty he fulfilled almost too zealously, making Portoferraio rather an unpleasant place for visitors. Cambronne without doubt aided N. in his escape from Elba—his part, it is said, being to requisition horses at Cannes. At Waterloo he commanded a division of the Old Guard, and greatly distin-

guished himself by his gallant conduct. His two battalions were forced to retreat for some distance, but taking up a position in the valley they made a magnificent stand. Overwhelming numbers, however, at last bore them down, only 150 surviving, and Cambronne, himself wounded, surrendered to the British. This incident is written in history, partly, perhaps, because of the famous phrase, "La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas," which was attributed to Cambronne on this occasion. Such a sentiment was indeed typical of the Old Guard, fiery, courageous, and of indomitable spirit as they were, and might well have been uttered by their commander, but it cannot be actually traced to him. It is possible that the well-known picture by Charlet (q.v.), "Grenadier de Waterloo," which bears this motto, may be its only origin. In 1815 Cambronne had to face a council of war, and, although exonerated, he retired for some years. In 1830, however, he re-entered the service of his country. He died in 1842.

**Cameo of Napoleon.**—Among the most interesting relics of N. acquired by Barry O'Meara, his medical attendant at St. Helena, was a little cameo portrait of the Emperor, the work of an artist named Morelli. Given to O'Meara by Bonaparte's mother, it is carved with very subtle lines, and shows a singularly winning face, the expression slightly pensive, yet indicating great strength of character on the sitter's part. As regards the artist, his name proclaims him of Italian origin, but we are unable to offer any definite information concerning his career. Possibly he may be identified with Cosimo Morelli (1732-1812), a gifted Italian architect who designed the Episcopal Palace at Imola, together with several fine buildings at Rome and Naples.

**Camerata, Napoleonne Elisa, Countess (1806-69).**—The daughter of Elisa Bonaparte and Pasquale Baciocchi; was born on 3 June 1806. In 1825 she married Count Camerata, one of the richest landowners of the Marches of Ancona, but the marriage proved unhappy, and a separation was arranged in 1830. On hearing of the

July revolution of 1830 she conceived the idea of kidnapping her cousin, the Duke of Reichstadt, or inducing him to lay claim to the throne of France. She eluded the police, and, dressed in masculine attire, with tricolour rosettes, reached Vienna. She also contrived to send letters to her cousin, and one day when he was on the steps of his house she rushed up to him and kissed his hands. In consequence of her actions the Austrian authorities ordered her immediate departure. Her son Camerata Napoleon committed suicide in 1853 under most mysterious circumstances.

**Camerino, Duchy of.**—Incorporated in the Italian kingdom in 1808, and subjected to the Concordat of Tuscany under French rule.

**Campan, Jeanne Louise Henriette, née Genest (1752-1822).**—French gouvernante and companion to Marie Antoinette; was born at Paris in 1752, her father holding the post of first clerk to the foreign office. Though possessing no fortune, he yet gave his daughter an education of the best—she was well grounded in classical literature, could speak English with ease, was taught Italian by Goldoni and music by Albanesi. She easily took her place in the most cultivated society, and at the age of fifteen was appointed reader to the three daughters of Louis XV., rapidly becoming a general favourite at court. On her marriage to M. Campan, son of the secretary of the royal cabinet, the King gave her as dowry an annuity of 5,000 livres. Soon after this event she was made first lady of the bedchamber to Marie Antoinette, and remained her faithful companion till separated from her by force at the sacking of the Tuileries (20 June 1792). Wonderful to relate, she escaped during the Terror, but events had reduced her to poverty, besides which her husband fell ill. This was after the Thermidor revolution. In these straits she decided to support herself by establishing a school at St. Germain, the *Institution Nationale de Saint-Germain*. Not only was Mme. Campan a governess born, not made, but with government and society settling down to a normal system there was a grow-

ing desire for the manners and graces of life, her venture therefore was opportune and succeeded beyond expectation. As a link with the *ancien régime* she was looked upon as the arbiter of culture and etiquette, and her school became the fashion not only for children of republican families but for those of returned *émigrés*. The first house she took soon proved too small, and she removed to a larger establishment. Among her pupils she counted Hortense de Beauharnais, later Queen of Holland, Emilie de Beauharnais, who married the Comte de Lavalette, Stephanie of the same family, who became the Princess of Baden, the two Mlles. Augnié, daughters of another lady-in-waiting of Marie Antoinette, one of whom married Marshal Ney, and Nicés d'Almenara, the future wife of General Duroc. Most of those who became the wives of men famous under the Empire were for a time under her care. Before N. departed for Italy after his marriage to Josephine he visited St. Germain to see the little Hortense. So pleased was he with Mme. Campan's methods, especially with the place given to domestic economy, and the refined manners of the pupils, that he at once said he should send his "ignorant" little sister Caroline to be her pupil. At a later date his sister Pauline, already married to General Leclerc, was placed by him under her care for six months. Later, when N. founded the academy of Écouen for the education of the daughters and sisters of members of the Legion of Honour, he at once appointed Mme. Campan as its superintendent. She continued in this post till the Restoration of the Bourbons, when she immediately retired to Mantes, where the rest of her life was spent, saddened by the death of her only son and shadowed by the base calumnies of the Royalists, who pursued with a fanatical hatred all who had lived under N.'s favour. Mme. Campan was greatly beloved by her pupils, notably in the case of Queen Hortense. Between mistress and pupil a deep and sincere friendship existed, ended only by death. Mme. Campan died in 1822, leaving among her papers the

valuable *Mémoires sur la vie privée de Marie Antoinette, suivis de souvenirs et anecdotes historique sur les règnes de Louis XIV.-XV.* (Paris, 1823). Other works of hers include a treatise *De l'Éducation des Femmes* and some small didactic works written in a clear and natural style. In Mme. Campan's educational system she anticipated some modern innovations such as the teaching of domestic economy. She has been blamed for attaching overmuch importance to the lighter accomplishments and the social arts, especially *l'art de plaire*. The period is a sufficient excuse for this tendency of hers, and the charm of the generation of Frenchwomen she trained and set the standard for is undeniable. She believed in study being made pleasant, and broke the monotony of school routine by the production of stage plays acted by the pupils, performances patronized by N., and by balls and entertainments. In some ways her system might savour of the pedagogue. Her rules and directions as to the choice of subjects for conversation are sufficiently quaint. The choice, she said, was not by the tastes and inclinations of the guests, but strangely enough by their numbers. If there were twelve guests at table, travels and literature were to be discussed; if eight, then art, science and new inventions. When six were present, politics and philosophy might be essayed; if four, affairs of sentiment and romantic adventures were allowable. Two guests, then—she says "each talks of himself—a *tête-à-tête* belongs to the egoist."

**Campbell, Sir Neil (1776-1827).—**British commissioner at Elha during N.'s residence on that island. Was a member of a younger branch of the Argyll family, and entered the military profession at the age of twenty-one. He spent a number of years in the West Indies, and served in the Peninsular War (1811) as colonel of a Portuguese regiment. In 1813 he was attached to the Russian headquarters staff at Kalisch, and was present at many engagements of the War of Liberation and of the allied invasion of France. At the battle of Fère Champenoise (25 March 1814) he was

seriously wounded, but recovered sufficiently to accept the office of commissioner to Fontainebleau to arrange the Emperor's abdication. In the capacity of commissioner he also accompanied N. to Elba on the *Undaunted*, and to him Bonaparte addressed most of his conversation during meals on the voyage. At N.'s expressed desire (Campbell being at this time a favourite), the British Government permitted his continued residence on the island; his duties included the sending of reports to England regarding the exile, and partook of the nature of espionage, of which the Emperor was not unaware. Campbell kept a diary during his stay on Elba, which was published under the title of *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba* in 1869. It contains notes of many interesting conversations, and one sees from it that the writer entertained serious suspicions regarding the fortifications and preparations made by N. on the island, and thought he was planning some great move; yet Campbell stated that he believed the Emperor would probably settle down quietly if he were given the promised pension. The relations between N. and the commissioner gradually lost their cordiality, and the former did everything he could to make Campbell feel that his presence was undesired. On 16 Feb. 1815 he went to Leghorn with dispatches, and on his return (28th) he found N. gone. It was Campbell's belief that if N. did try to escape he would make for Italy, and this mistaken opinion hampered the efforts to recapture the fugitive. The Emperor had placed Campbell in a somewhat ambiguous position, and hints were not wanting that he and his government were aware of the conspiracy. On his return to England he had an interview with the Prince Regent, who acquitted him of any blame in the matter. He fought at Waterloo, and in 1826, having attained the rank of major-general, he accepted the post of governor of Sierra Leone, but he only survived the climate a year, dying there on 14 Aug. 1827. Campbell was a man of kindly nature, brave and efficient in his profession; and although N.

afterwards accused him of having been an intriguing agent of the British Government, his eyes were doubtless blinded by his own necessities and his estimation influenced thereby.

**Campo Formio, Treaty of.**—At the close of the Italian campaign of 1793-97, in the course of which Bonaparte had brought Italy and Austria to the feet of France, a treaty was agreed upon by the latter countries at Campo Formio (17 Oct. 1797). The great desire of the conqueror was to obtain command of the Mediterranean by securing for France the Ionian Isles and the fleet of Venice, and during the peace negotiations of the summer of 1797 he pursued this policy determinedly, refusing to be hampered either by the will of the Directors or by the arguments of the other plenipotentiaries, which he met more than once with violent outbursts of rage. The representatives of the two countries met at the beginning of Sept. at Udine, near Bonaparte's Italian headquarters, and throughout the proceedings he held his army in readiness for a renewal of hostilities. At length the terms of a treaty of peace were agreed upon, and the treaty signed at Campo Formio on 17 Oct. The provisions were as follows: (1) The Austrian Netherlands (already occupied by France) were formally ceded by the Emperor Francis; (2) Bonaparte was to cede to Austria the Italian lands east of the Adige, with Dalmatia and Venetian Istria (contrary to the wish of the Directors of France, Venice was included in this part of the bargain); (3) the Venetian fleet and the Ionian Isles were to pass into the keeping of France; (4) Venetian lands west of the Adige to the Ticino were to be included in the Cisalpine Republic; (5) Genoa was to be constituted a republic under the name of the Ligurian Republic. In addition to these provisions, arrangements were made for a congress to be held at Rastatt to deal with German territories, and secret articles of the treaty bound Austria to do all in her power to enable France to obtain the German lands west of the Rhine, while France in turn promised to use her influence at the congress to obtain

## CANNING

the archbishopric of Salzburg for Francis.

**Canning, George (1770-1827).**—British statesman; was born in London on 11 April 1770. Through the goodwill of his uncle, Stratford Canning, he was educated at Eton and Oxford. In 1794 he entered Parliament for Newport, Isle of Wight, and two years later became under-secretary of state. He speedily made a reputation in politics by his Abolitionist speeches and his advocacy of the war with France. From 1801 to 1804 he was in opposition, and on the death of Pitt in 1806 he resigned office, and only returned when the Portland ministry was formed. Then he became Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he did much to thwart the plans of the French. In 1809 a dispute arose with Castlereagh, which resulted in a duel wherein Canning was wounded. Thenceforward till 1822 Canning played but a minor part in British politics. In 1822 he was appointed governor-general of India, and was about to depart when Castlereagh's suicide recalled him. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs and leader of the House of Commons, rising once more high in public opinion. In April 1827 he succeeded Lord Liverpool as premier and formed a ministry, but already his health had begun to fail, and on 8 Aug. 1827 he died.

**Canova, Antonio (1757-1822).**—Italian sculptor. This sculptor, mentioned here on account of his association with Bonaparte, was born at Passagno, a village amid the hills of Asolo; and here he spent the greater part of his childhood, living with his grandfather, who, being a sepulchral stone-cutter by profession, early marked and encouraged the boy's fondness for statuary, thereafter seeing that he was given an adequate art education. Later on, Canova having grown famous throughout Italy, N. sought to bring him to France, the Emperor's desire being that the sculptor should supervise in Paris certain projects of an artistic nature; and, though the Italian politely declined this offer, professing to feel an aversion to the conqueror of his

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country, he was induced at last to come and model statues of the Empress Marie Louise and of N. himself. But his greatest triumph is undoubtedly the statue of Pauline as Venus—a noble work worthy of the palmy days of Hellenic art. It is interesting to recall that, whilst engaged on the latter work, he had the courage openly to criticize Bonaparte's previous removal from Italy of many works of art; yet it would seem that he gave no offence to his imperial patron by being so outspoken, for, whereas N. desired to be figured in uniform, Canova persuaded him to pose instead in a pseudo-antique garb. The statue, twelve feet in height, was hewn at St. Cloud; while on completion it was brought to Paris and placed in the Louvre. However, it stayed there only a little while, Wellington in 1815 carrying it victoriously to England, where it remains to this day.

**Cantillon Bequest, The.**—See CANTILLON, MARIE ANDRÉ NICHOLAS.

**Cantillon, Marie André Nicholas,** whose name is written in history as the would-be assassin of Wellington, and subsequent recipient of the great N.'s approval as expressed in the famous Cantillon Bequest, was born at Paris in 1783.

Item 5 of the Fourth Codicil to N.'s will (*q.v.*) runs as follows: "Ten thousand francs to the sub-officer Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that oligarch as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify himself by pleading the interests of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have excused himself and have been justified by the same motives, the interest of France, to get rid of a general who moreover had violated the capitulation of Paris, and by that had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labédoyère, etc.; and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties."



Cantillon, the son of a modeller, had been taught the trade of a working jeweller. Later, however, he joined the army as a substitute for a conscript, and served in a cavalry regiment in the campaigns of 1808 and 1809. In 1813 he retired with a pension, but during the Hundred Days he again served, afterwards spending his time partly in Paris and partly in Brussels, and becoming a rabid Bonapartist.

On the night 10 to 11 Feb. 1818 a pistol was fired, presumably at the Duke of Wellington while his carriage was passing under the archway leading to his house in Paris. Darkness enabled the would-be murderer to escape, and search revealed no trace of a bullet on the vehicle or in the courtyard. The police, however, finally brought to trial two persons, Louis Joseph Stanislas Marinet and Cantillon; and the trial began on 10 May 1819, lasted five days, and resulted in both men being acquitted. The evidence, at least so far as Cantillon was concerned, scarcely justified the acquittal, which seems to have rested upon the assumption that for ethnological reasons it would be impossible for a Frenchman to have committed such a dastardly crime! But there is little doubt that Cantillon was a rogue, and richly deserved such punishment as he escaped.

No mention is made by memoirists who have dealt with N.'s life at St. Helena, of Cantillon or his trial, but it is probable that great interest would be taken in his attempted crime, as indeed is shown by the Bequest. One cannot reconcile N.'s approval of this would-be assassin with his denunciation of parallel deeds and his personal fear of such men. It has been suggested that his mind must have given way, but there is no trace of any weakening of intellect in his other bequests, or his Last Instructions to the King of Rome which was dictated about the same time. Yet his justification of Cantillon is not only immoral but illogical, and much at variance with his attitude to similar attempts upon his own person.

As regards the payment of the Bequest, accounts differ. One story is

that between the years 1823 and 1826, while the throne of France was occupied by a Bourbon, the executors of N.'s will, Montholon and Bertrand, paid to Cantillon certain sums on account. When Napoleon III. ascended the throne, he appointed a commission to carry out the conditions of the will; to these commissioners Cantillon's widow applied for payment of the balance due to her of 1,200 francs; and it is said that they refused, saying that the testator must have been insane to make such a bequest. Another account states that two commissions were appointed by Napoleon III.: the first reported in Aug. 1853 that none of the legatees "had received more than about half what was coming to them"; while the second, in April 1855, stated that Cantillon had received 10,000 francs and 354 francs interest, and not one of the other legatees had received full payment of their bequests.

Much interest was aroused in Great Britain at this time with reference to the Cantillon Bequest, owing to an attempt which was made to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon III. and his Empress by certain Italian conspirators whom it subsequently transpired had recently been resident in England. France and her Emperor took occasion to hold up England to scorn as a land in which assassins could find a safe asylum, and even addressed protests to the English Parliament with reference to the inadequacy of English law. Not unnaturally these roused great indignation, coming as they did from a man who it was publicly stated had authorized part at least of N.'s infamous bequest to be paid to the legatee—a rewarder of assassins was scarcely a fit person to make such representations.

The truth concerning the payment of the Cantillon Bequest has never come to light, and great doubt also exists as to the date of Cantillon's death. On the one hand it was said his widow applied for payment to the commission in 1853, while on the other it was affirmed that in the year 1838 he was living in Brussels, pursuing the trade of locksmith.

**Cape Finisterre, Battle of.—**

A naval battle fought on 22 July 1805 between a British squadron of 15 sail of the line under Sir Robert Calder and a Franco-Spanish fleet of 20 battleships under Admiral Villeneuve. The latter lost two ships, 149 killed and 327 wounded, while the British loss was 183 killed and wounded.

**Capri.**—An island in the Bay of Naples, captured by the English in 1806, but two years later retaken by the French under Murat, when Joseph Bonaparte took up the reins of government in Naples, while Ferdinand IV. was compelled to retire. Joseph found the country in a state of barbarism, and his way was not made any easier by the atrocities which his great enemy, the Queen of Naples, was having carried out in the south of the country. He reigned two years, but was finally replaced by Murat, who devoted himself to military reforms. Ten years later the Neapolitan army amounted to 80,000 men, and during a hostile visitation the island of Capri remained well guarded, while the garrisons in Malta and Corsica were compelled to evacuate. Sir Hudson Lowe was governor of Capri when the fortress was taken by Murat.

**Caricature, Napoleon in.**—Caricatures lay bare for us—to a greater extent, perhaps, than anything else—the popular opinion of Bonaparte a hundred years ago; while, at and about that time, they played their own little part in making history, and N. himself was well aware of this. Knowing that anti-Bonaparte fervour was being continually stirred up in England by caricaturists, he realized that his own cause might likewise be abetted by artists of that kind; and he kept a considerable number of them in his employment, while we find him writing to Fouché from Milan in 1805: "Have caricatures made: an Englishman, purse in hand, entreating the various Powers to take his money."

As regards the probable number of works of this sort, Ashton, in his *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I.* (London, 1884), maintains that the British Isles brought forth some three hundred; but he might, without being extravagant,

have given a larger figure; and, when we remember also the cartoons produced by other countries than England, we are faced by a formidable sum total. Some of these productions appeared in books, notably Dr. Syntax's hudiabastic poem on the Emperor's career, while others saw the light originally in magazines; but, in general, the Napoleonic caricature was a single sheet, complete in itself. The size was usually folio, and the drawing was sometimes reproduced by etching, sometimes by wood-engraving, while hand-coloured prints enjoyed a toletable vogue. The chief publishers of these, in London, were Ackerman in the Strand, Mrs. Humphrey in St. James Street, and Fores in Sackville Street; nor did the business of these, and analogous people, consist only in selling the caricatures, for the publishers were also wont—in the fashion of the modern circulating library—to send portfolios of their wares out to houses.

It is a curious fact that, while the England of N.'s time brought forth so many brilliant caricaturists, contemporaneous France produced comparatively few who acquired anything like wide honour. It is true that one of the ablest of the Empire miniature painters, Jean Baptiste Isabey (1767-1855) (*q.v.*), a *protégé* of the Empress Josephine, has to his credit at least one Napoleonic caricature, *The Little Coblenz*; and it is the case, again, that analogous works were executed by artists so distinguished as Louis Boilly, Carl Vernet (*q.v.*), and his son Horace. Yet these men are but the exceptions which prove the rule, and the great mass of French Napoleonic caricaturists are known nowadays only to the inquisitive, or to those who have made a special study of pictorial satire. Langlois, Maleuvre, Jean Tardieu, Hennequin, Picot, Ruotte, Charon, Forestier and Chasselat, Desrais and Tassart—these are Empire humorists of the pencil whom it is well to mention by name, but, even were we able to offer biographical information concerning them, this would be rather a superfluous task. For most of them were shy of signing their works, a fact which appears in no way sur-

prising when we recall Bonaparte's strict, if not tyrannical, surveillance of the press (see JOURNALISM); and indeed it is hard to understand why he tolerated the existence of the publishing house of Martinet, situate in the Rue du Coq Honoré, whence emanated the bulk of the French Napoleonic caricatures. In numerous of these the satire is veiled in subtle fashion; but in equally many the significance is transparent, this being true especially of drawings emphasizing the blessings of peace and the miseries of war. A remarkably fine work belonging to this category is *The Olive Branch*, wherein is represented, to the left, a female figure pointing towards a smiling and fertile plain, and to the right various implements of war, these having for background a snowy landscape, in the midst of which is a burning village; while the Emperor is figured standing between these two different scenes, his right hand extended in a gesture clearly expressing contempt for the symbols of peace. A further able work of like purport is *The Universal Toast*, its subject a group of people carousing in honour of a pacific policy; while several prints show N. engaged in a game of cards with various foreign potentates; in another drawing he is seen receiving lessons in deportment from Talma, and in yet another he is represented being driven about by two men playing battledore and shuttlecock. Many caricatures, again, refer to Bonaparte's banishment to Elba, among the best of these being one in which he appears in the guise of Robinson Crusoe; while on the occasion of the Emperor's ultimate captivity at St. Helena divers French satirists produced drawings signifying their joy at this momentous event. A striking work of this sort delineates the exile chained to a rock, his vitals being gnawed by a gaunt and hungry-looking eagle; while scarcely less poignant is a drawing in which N., squatting on the ground with a bitter expression on his face, is trying to make a meal off a huge article labelled "Fromage de St. Hélène."

Turning to the subject of German Napoleonic caricaturists, we are again

faced by a big muster-roll of workers who are little known. Of these men, the most notable is the Swabian Johann Michael Voltz (1784-1858), probably the ablest satire coming from his pencil being *The Triumph of the Year 1813*; while other artists who did remarkably good work are Schadow and Geissler, Ramberg and Hoffmann, Hess and Girardet, Stein, Arndt and Fichte. Many of these Germans, like the Frenchmen mentioned above, were occasionally diffident about affixing their names to their drawings; for it must be remembered that, for a while at least, there were differences of opinion in Germany about Bonaparte, some parts of the country being inclined to favour him, and approve in particular of his fiscal policy, other parts meanwhile detesting him as cordially as he was detested in England. Gradually the latter sentiment grew in Germany, and simultaneously the caricaturists, throwing all shyness aside, began introducing into their satires that grisly element so prominent in the works of painters like Dürer, Lucas, Cranach and Altdorfer. Thus, in one print, we see N. viewing the Battle of Leipsic with a skeleton beside him; elsewhere he is shown occupying a cage in a menagerie, the neighbouring cages being filled with beasts gnawing bones; while now he is depicted burning and pillaging a village; and now he is figured seated on a heap of skulls, flanked significantly by bags of money. None of these works, however, has very much genuine artistic worth; and the best German satires of N. were not of native workmanship, but were adaptations of English masters, this practice of copying the English school being also carried on in Italy. But Bonaparte had scarcely set foot in Italy ere some of its artists began aiming their own shafts at him; and though, so long as the despot held sway over the Italians, their satires were mostly issued stealthily, this state of affairs was changed later, when the hated conqueror's luck began to wane. Thereupon the Italians, forgetting that N. had really done much for their land, began to satirize him openly; and they produced numerous

caricatures on the subject of his Russian campaign, together with his retirement to Elba, while repeatedly they waxed humorous concerning his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the freemasons in Italy. Venice appears to have been the town where most of the Italian caricatures were published, numbers likewise emanating from Rome and Milan; while among artists engaged in the work we may cite Bartolomeo Pinelli, Lamberti and Pietro Buratti. And, if these are recondite names, we come to a familiar one on passing to study the Spanish school, for Goya (1746-1828), that most vivacious of Iberian painters, is credited with at least two Napoleonic caricatures, *The Plucked Eagle* and *Napoleon in Purgatory*. Moreover, the same master's wonderful series of etchings, *Desastres de la Guerra*, certainly did much to stir up a fine patriotic ardour in Spain; and this ardour, in turn, naturally proved a great stimulus to a host of caricaturists, anonymous and otherwise.

The Spanish satirists, like the Italians and Germans, occasionally reflect a debt to the English school; and, though the Muscovite caricaturists of N. sometimes disclose an analogous influence, Russia had really little need to borrow in this way, being blessed with a band of gifted native satirists, notably Samoridgy and Ivan Terebenef. The latter, in fact, holds a high place in the whole realm of pictorial satire, his draughtsmanship being invariably vigorous, and much of his work having an imposing simplicity, as witness in particular a drawing called *The Dancing Lesson*, wherein Bonaparte is performing a jig, his steps being quickened by an angry Russian peasant armed with a huge whip, while a neighbouring Russian plays on the flageolet. Terebenef is also a fine colourist, this gift of his being illustrated especially by his *Medical Consultation*, which shows N. being examined by two doctors with delightfully lugubrious faces; but this sort of theme was hardly the usual one with the Muscovite artists, who greatly preferred to deal with the horrors which the invading

Frenchmen suffered alike from the grim Russian winter and the onslaughts of Cossack cavalry. Nor were the Russians alone in this, for a similar topic appealed to sundry Dutchmen, and in particular Willem Esser, who produced a remarkably fine print in which N. is seen running away to the best of his ability, a Cossack spearman attacking him from behind. Equally good are two further drawings by the same satirist, the subject of the first being the Emperor incarcerated in a rat-trap, the second depicting him mounted on a bantam cock; and it is interesting to note that Esser was a publisher of caricatures besides an artist, his publishing house being at the Hague. Other Dutch satirists who deserve to be mentioned are Bock and Peter van Woenzel, the latter better known by his pseudonym of "Ammath Effendi Neckim Bachi." And passing from Holland to Switzerland, we find that in that country the caricaturing of N. began almost with the very outset of his career, the two ablest artists in this field being David Hess and Balthasar Anton Dunker. The former (1770-1843) sometimes reflects the influence of the English school, but a very original and individual manner was employed by Dunker, who, born in 1746 at Saal, studied art for a while at Paris under Joseph Marie Vien, settled subsequently at Basle, and eventually removed thence to Berne, where he died in 1807. His work is mostly of an intricate character, the details frequently having great beauty in themselves, yet never being obtrusive. The bulk of his caricatures appeared in the form of quarto sheets, the drawing commonly reproduced by etching done by Dunker's own hand. In general the sheet embodies a whole sequence of little pictures, and thus, in one, we see in the centre the young N. himself—manifestly a close study from the many portraits painted of him while he was First Consul—this likeness being flanked by medallions of Attila and Hannibal; while above this trio of portraits are three separate representations of episodes in Napoleonic history, a further three of these occupying the foot of the paper. In

numerous other drawings by Dunker balloons figure prominently; and their presence refers, probably, to the exploits of the French aeronautist, François Blanchard (1738-1808), who crossed the English Channel by balloon in 1785, a feat which won the admiration of Louis XVI. at the time, and appears afterwards to have made N. think seriously of using balloons for sending his messages hither and thither.

Sweden, like Switzerland, has a few caricatures of Bonaparte to her credit; but these are not of great interest, and we may now turn to the great English satirists, of whom perhaps the first to gain notoriety was Isaac Cruickshank. Born about 1756—the exact date is uncertain—he produced his initial Napoleonic caricature in 1797, the title being *Buonaparte at Rome giving Audience in State*; and the broad humour marking this work is found in nearly all the subsequent shafts levelled at the Emperor by the artist, whose death occurred four years prior to Waterloo. In fact, Isaac is among the most delightfully and genuinely funny of all N.'s English satirists; but, though his composition is generally good, and his draughtsmanship usually spirited, it can scarcely be gainsaid that, as an artist pure and simple, he is not the equal of his son, George Cruickshank. The latter, whose name is widely familiar on account of his long and close association with Dickens, for whom he illustrated several stories, was born in 1792, and began to attract attention by his drawings while he was yet in his teens; while ere long he turned his attention to Napoleonic satire, one of the cleverest of his early works in this field being *Broken Gingerbread*, its topic the Emperor carrying on his head a tray of toy figures. This was succeeded quickly by many analogous things, notably *John Bull making a Capital Bonfire*, and *The Eruption of Mount Vesuvius*; while the year 1815 saw the publication of a satirical book illustrated throughout by Cruickshank, *The Life of Napoleon: A Hudibrastic Poem*, by William Combe (1741-1823), better known by his

pseudonym of "Dr. Syntax." The drawings here reflect the artist's skill at its zenith, and, turning the pages, we are astonished again and again by the rare economy of means with which Cruickshank has attained his different effects. His every line, however tiny, seems to obey him implicitly, conveying precisely what he desired it to convey. Cruickshank forms an interesting link with the present day, for his death did not occur till 1878. Contemporary with the latter's father, the caricaturist Thomas Rowlandson achieved great success. He was born in 1756, and, having studied art for a while in Paris, he settled in London, where he lived chiefly until his death in 1827. His caricatures, like the elder Cruickshank's, are mostly of a broadly humorous kind, as witness *Napoleon the Little in a Rage with his Great French Eagle*, and again, *A Rare Acquisition to the Royal Menagerie*, the former showing Bonaparte engaged in an altercation with a huge gaunt bird with one claw in a sling, the latter representing the Emperor incarcerated in a sort of parrot's cage, which is being drawn through the streets by two donkeys, inquisitive crowds gazing the while on the spectacle. As risible as either of these is *The Flight of Buonaparte from Hell Bay*, in which we see a group of lusty devils, the arch-fiend in their midst, who is calmly blowing soap-bubbles, N. perched on one of them; while yet funnier is *The Corsican Tiger at Bay*, the finest passage in this drawing being the dogs who are hunting the imperial prey. Drawn with superb vigour and apparently complete spontaneity, they bring to mind some of the dogs in Rubens' various hunting scenes. And it is this same quality of vigorous draughtsmanship, before all else, which renders so interesting the numerous caricatures by James Gillray. Born in 1757, he was apprenticed as a boy to a letter-engraver; but ere long he had begun to devote himself exclusively to art, ordinary portraiture occupying his attention besides satire; and, after a busy career of tolerable success, he passed to his rest in the year of

Waterloo. It were a long matter to enumerate even the cream of his Napoleonic satires, yet we would fain cite, as singularly clever, his *Boney and Talley*, the topic here being Talleyrand wrangling with his imperial master in a butcher's shop; while we must not leave Gillray without offering homage to the beautiful colour in many of his polychromatic works, and it is worth noting that he it was who originally coined the now familiar phrase, "Little Boney."

If good colour is salient in many of Gillray's productions, the same may be said emphatically of much by Lewis Marks, nor is this by any means the latter artist's only fine quality. Indeed, one of his drawings, *Boney and his New Subjects at Elba*, competes favourably as a work of art with the best satires of the younger Cruickshank; while, simply as a piece of fun, it may be compared without extravagance to anything by the greatest humorists of the pencil, not even excepting Keene and Hogarth, Daumier and Gavarni. Less visible, but in many ways powerful, is a further caricature by Marks, *Boney's Meditations on the Island of St. Helena*; and we regret being unable to give any biographical details concerning this talented master. Nor is much known of George Murgatroyd Woodward; the date of his birth is uncertain, but it is evident that he lived chiefly in London, and died in 1809; while we recall with interest that he was something of a writer besides a caricaturist, and that a volume of his miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse was issued in 1805. Great power is found in many of his Napoleonic satires, for instance, *A Cock and Bull Story* and *St. James's Volunteers Firing at a Target in Kilburn Wells*; while nearly all Woodward's drawings are the more impressive by reason of their fine simplicity, a precious merit seen again in divers works by Charles Ansell and in some by David Roberts. Look, for example, at the former's *Boney in Possession of the Millstone, Buonaparte in Egypt*, and *The Royal Gardeners*; or look at the other artist's *Hop, Skip and Jump*, in which N. is seen flinging himself

on to a drawn sword brandished aloft by a typically English warrior standing secure upon Dover cliffs.

Roberts appears to have been himself a publisher of caricatures, and no doubt some of the fine anonymous drawings sent out by his house were in reality by his own clever hand; while many other British publishers were wont to issue Napoleonic satires to which artists' names were not appended, several of the best things in this category emanating from the firm of McCleary, in Dublin. The subject of these unsigned attacks on the Emperor is in itself a wide subject, too wide to be handled here; nor have we scope to speak of the various caricatures by John Cause and Temple West, Charles Knight, and John Nixon, Elmes, Brooke, and Charles—men concerning whom little is known, but who all manifested a certain talent for pictorial satire. Lack of space also prevents us from dealing with heraldic caricatures, a class of work produced on a specially large scale on the occasion of Bonaparte's coronation; but we must pause for a moment to speak of the countless satires which, instead of being drawn on paper, were executed in pottery or porcelain. The Brighton Museum has a singularly fine collection of mugs and jugs of this sort, mostly in Staffordshire ware, and beautiful bits of colour they are in many cases; and we note with interest that among Brighton's treasures in this line is a plaque of white glazed earthenware which reproduces Voltz's drawing, *The Triumph of the Year 1813*. A fair number of these pretty caricatures in pottery, it would seem, were made a good while after the object of their wit had been safely exiled at St. Helena; and, indeed, we find that the practice of satirizing "Little Boney," far from dying with him, was carried on till long after his decease. The publication in 1827 of Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon* evoked numerous caricatures; and if the best of these was not aimed directly at Bonaparte himself—for the subject is the Duke of Wellington reproaching Sir Walter for some inaccurate statements—yet the grim Emperor's

doings were trounced a little later on by William Heath, and soon afterwards by the clever draughtsman Richard Doyle, in certain illustrations to early editions of the *Bon Gaultier Ballads*. The last-named artist also sketched, in 1846, a caricature of N. for *Mr. Punch's Historical Portrait Gallery*; and mention of this work reminds us that Thackeray, a master whose skill with the pencil has been unduly eclipsed by his fame as a writer, drew a satirical portrait of Bonaparte for one of the opening numbers of *Punch*, where it appeared at the head of an article by Gilbert & Beckett, entitled *The Astley-Napoleon Museum*. All these later caricatures, of course, lack the biting savour of their predecessors; for even in early Victorian times people were beginning to forget that N. had once been a menace to British liberty, and were coming to regard him instead as nothing less than a glorious hero.

**Carnot, Lazare Nicolas Marguerite (1753-1823).**—Born at Nolay, in Burgundy, in 1753, of an ancient family long settled in that city, his father being an advocate. He was early placed at Mézières, where he received his training as an engineer, becoming an officer at twenty years of age. In 1783 he was made a captain. His essays, *Sur les machines en général*, and one on balloons, gained him admittance into several learned societies, whilst his *Éloge* on Marshal Vauban obtained the crown at the academy of Dijon and the approbation of Prince Henry of Prussia.

The cause of the Revolution appealed to his convictions, and he became an adherent and participator, throughout his career remaining sternly faithful to the principles of the republican creed. He was elected a deputy for the Pas de Calais to the legislature, where, from the first, his chief interest was in army affairs. He was nominated member of the Committee of Public Safety, and one of his first acts was to call for a *levée en masse*, a course that led to speedy results, for soon thirteen armies comprising 750,000 men were ready for the field against the disunited Allies. His ad-

ministrative work was of the highest order, and he was often with the armies in the field, as, for instance, at Wattignies with Jourdan, where his share in the defeat of the Austrians was so great that the credit of the French victory has been largely ascribed to him. In 1795, when Carnot's arrest was demanded, it was to the recognition of his superhuman labours—a recognition embodied in the cry of an indignant deputy, "Will you dare to lay hands on the organizer of victory?"—that Carnot owed his life.

Carnot was among the first to discern the energy and great abilities of the young general Bonaparte, and to this the latter owed his appointment to the command of the Italian Army. Already he had sent in to Carnot a plan for the prosecution of the campaign in that country, and this commending itself to Carnot's drastic standard of efficiency, the incompetent General Schérer was quickly superseded by the Corsican.

In the *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor (4 Sept. 1797) Carnot only saved himself by flight. After the 18 Brumaire (9-10 Nov. 1799) he returned to France and again became Minister for War, and his foresight and genius for organization largely aided in the achievements of Bonaparte. He also accompanied Moreau in the Rhine campaign. As the finance of the country was in a strained condition he set about the task of reducing the expenses of the army, while still retaining it at an efficient standard. He effected many reforms in army administration, and his sterling integrity was shown in his firm refusal to accept gifts from contractors and other interested parties. Later, owing to friction in the council of state, he tendered his resignation, but it was long before the First Consul would accept it, realizing as he did the rare qualities he would lose in relinquishing Carnot's services. From 1801 he lived in retirement with his family, but in 1802 he was called as a senator to the tribunate. Here again he showed the same inflexibility of principle; he voted against the consulate for life, steadily opposed the growing monarchic tendencies of N., and delivered a vigorous speech against his proclamation as

Emperor, and was the one who alone refused to sign the register of allegiance. Despite this, N., knowing well Carnot's worth, gave him a pension in 1809 and commanded him to write a work on fortification for the college at Metz. Still a stalwart Republican he took no part in the Napoleonic wars, but in 1814, when in his judgment France herself was in danger, he offered his services. He was at once made a general of division by N., and his first command was that of the strategic position at Antwerp, his defence of which fortress proved a remarkable exploit. Strange to say, it was Carnot alone who opposed, in the Council of Ministers, N.'s abdication—Carnot, who in 1804 had left his country rather than acknowledge him Emperor. This may doubtless be traced to his opposition to the return of the Bourbon dynasty as well as loyalty to one who commanded his admiration and sympathies from the first. Carnot, on his return to Paris, addressed a memorial to Louis XVIII., which aroused public attention abroad as well as in France. During the fateful Hundred Days he again joined N., and became Minister of the Interior. He was proscribed under the second Restoration, and henceforward devoted himself wholly to science. He died at Magdeburg in 1823.

**Carrat.**—A valet in the service of Josephine while she was yet Mme. Bonaparte and while her husband was absent on his Egyptian expedition. When Josephine visited Plombières to take the waters, Carrat showed her much attention, bringing her bouquets and paying her many compliments. He was so droll and amusing that Josephine resolved to take him into her service, where he became her *valet de chambre* and *coiffeur*. He was exceedingly frank with his mistress, and at times actually scolded her, especially when she made presents to her other dependants. On such occasions he would say: "You had better give this to me," and Josephine was so good-natured that she merely laughed at such conduct. Josephine's ladies were in the habit of playing practical jokes upon Carrat, and several of these are recounted by Constant as follows:

"At La Malmaison, one of Mme. Bonaparte's favourite amusements was to take a walk along the high road which skirts the park wall. She vastly preferred this promenade, where there was (sic) always clouds of dust, to strolling along the cool, green alleys of the park itself. One day, when going for this walk with her daughter Hortense, Mme. Bonaparte told Carrat to accompany them. He was delighted at such a mark of distinction, and with great alacrity complied, when suddenly, from one of the ditches by the roadway, there rose up a gaunt figure robed in a white sheet—in fact, a regular ghost, such as those of which I have read a description in translations of old-fashioned English novels. Needless to say, the ghost had been expressly put there by the ladies in order to frighten Carrat. The joke was certainly a most successful one. Hardly had he spied the apparition than Carrat rushed in abject terror to Mme. Bonaparte, and tremblingly exclaimed, 'Madam, madam, look at the ghost! It is that of the lady who lately died at Plombières!'

"'Hush, Carrat, what a coward you are!'

"'No, but I am sure that it is her ghost!'

"Hereupon the man in the sheet, in order worthily to play his part, rushed at Carrat and waved his white garments, which so terrified the unlucky valet that he fell down in a faint, and it needed every effort to bring him to.

"Another time—always while the General was away in Egypt, and I was not yet in the service of any member of his family—Mme. Bonaparte wished to give certain of her friends an exhibition of Carrat's cowardice. Accordingly, a plot was formed among the ladies at La Malmaison, Mlle. Hortense acting as chief conspirator. So often have I heard Mme. Bonaparte describe this scene that I am able to particularize its ludicrous details. Carrat slept in a room next to a small closet. A hole was made in the partition, through which a string was passed, at the end of which was a pot full of water. This was suspended right over the victim's head. The screws that fastened



## CASTALLA

Carrat's bedstead had been taken out, and, as he was in the habit of going to bed in the dark, he saw neither the collapsible couch nor the vase containing the water for his second baptism. All the conspirators waited for a short while until he jumped into his bed, which at once gave way, and, as the string was pulled, cool streams descended upon him from above. Bruised and dripping the wretched man began to scream loudly, while naughty Hortense, to add to his misery, called out, 'Oh, mamma! the frogs and toads in the water will fall on to his face!' This speech, uttered in the dark, only heightened Carrat's terror. He got very angry, and he exclaimed, 'It is horrid, it is disgraceful of you, madam, to play such tricks upon your servants!' I admit that his protests were not altogether unreasonable, but they only increased the mirth of these ladies who had thus made him a butt for their pleasantry."

**Castalla, Battle of.**—A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 13 April 1813 between an Anglo-Sicilian corps under Sir John Murray and a French army under Suchet. The battle itself was indecisive, but the French were forced to retreat.

**Castiglione, Battle of.**—A battle of N.'s first Italian campaign, which took place on 3 Aug. 1796 between 25,000 French under Augereau and the Imperialists under Wurmser. After a desperate struggle for the bridge of Castiglione, during which Augereau displayed the greatest bravery, the French were successful and eventually drove the Imperialists out of the town. After sustaining a loss of 2,000 men the Austrians retired towards Mantua.

**Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount (1769 - 1822).**—British statesman, an Ulsterman by birth, who entered the Irish parliament in 1790. He was Irish chief-secretary under Pitt (1797-1801), president of the board of control in Addington's ministry (1802), and war minister in 1805-6 and 1807-9. In this latter capacity he was largely blamed for the failure of the Walcheren expedition, though perhaps less deserving of

## CATERINA

blame than he is generally represented to be. In any case, his terms of office witnessed many more felicitous events, such as the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet. In March 1812 he became foreign secretary in Lord Liverpool's ministry, and conducted the campaign against N. with much vigour. As British representative he played a prominent part at the Congress of Vienna (1815), and later at that of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818). On 12 Aug. 1822 Castlereagh, while insane, committed suicide by stabbing himself with a penknife. Few ministers have been more heartily hated than Castlereagh. N. himself seems to have had a very poor opinion of him, as evidence the following words from his *Mémorial*:

"Lord Castlereagh, pupil of Mr. Pitt, whose equal he perhaps believes himself, is at the most no better than a monkey: he continually follows up his master's plans and plots against France; and his obstinacy and pertinacity are perhaps his natural and only qualities. But Pitt had large views; he placed his country's welfare before everything; he had genius and creative power; and from his island base he set agoing and directed at will the actions of the kings of Europe. Castlereagh, on the other hand, substituted intrigue for creative power, subsidies for genius; and, concerning himself but little with the good of his country, employed the credit and influence of these continental monarchs to preserve his power in Britain. However—and such is the way of the world—Pitt, with all his genius, has repeatedly failed, and Castlereagh, the incapable, has succeeded!"

**Caterina, "Mammuccia."**—The nurse and governess of the young Buonapartes. She was with the family for many years, during the period of poverty and struggle was, indeed, Letizia's only and faithful assistant at one time, and affectionate mention of her is frequent in the family letters. N. spoke of her to Antommarchi at St. Helena. The occasion was when he had once been maintaining that Antommarchi's views on medical subjects were unorthodox, and he

proceeded: "You think I accuse you of presumption; not at all. But you come from the Cape [the extreme north of Corsica] and you have the marks of your origin. Oh, I know you well, you *Capocorsini*. You are always dissatisfied, and see no good in anything but your own work. I was ushered into the world in the arms of the old Mammuccia Caterina. So, you may see, I know what I am talking about. She was obstinate, captious and fault-finding, continually at war with all around her. She was always quarrelling, especially with my grandmother, though they were very fond of each other. They were continually nagging; their disputes were interminable, and amused us very much. You look serious, doctor: the portrait displeases you. Never mind: if your compatriot was a shrew, she was affectionate and good; it was she who took us for walks, cared for us, made us laugh, and all with a solicitude whose memory remains to this day. I still remember what tears she shed when I left Corsica for France, though it was forty years ago."

**Catherine of Württemberg (1783 - 1835).**— Daughter of the King of Württemberg, and the second wife of Jerome Bonaparte (*q.v.*). When the latter, at the Emperor's command, relinquished his American bride Elizabeth Patterson, the hand of the Princess Catherine was sought in marriage for Jerome, in pursuance of N.'s scheme of matrimonial alliances for dynastic purposes.

The King of Württemberg could but acquiesce in view of the fact that he owed his crown and the stability of his throne to N. At first the Princess refused the honour for two reasons—her aversion to a French alliance, and also because she was already engaged to the Hereditary Grand Duke of Baden. After Austerlitz the demand was pressed and all other considerations had to give way before the grave political issues involved. On 16 Aug. 1807 the Emperor announced the projected marriage to the French Parliament, also that the kingdom of Westphalia would constitute his wedding gift to Jerome and his bride. To the

Princess Catherine N. sent some beautiful presents, as well as an affectionate letter of welcome in which he addressed her as "my dear sister." According to custom the marriage was first celebrated at Stuttgart by procuration, the brother of the Princess acting as proxy for Jerome. After this the bride proceeded to Paris. On 22 Aug. the young couple were civilly united by Cambacérès, and on the 28th they were married at the Tuileries by the Prince Primate.

The marriage proved to be a happy one despite Jerome's fickleness. His wife was affectionate and devoted, and loyal through all misfortune. On the downfall of N. the King of Württemberg did his utmost to separate Catherine from her husband. This she strongly opposed. Her family refused to give way, and it was only from the Tsar that she could obtain passports to enable her to join her husband in Switzerland. A troubled journey lay before her, a journey during which she met the Emperor on his way to Elba, who on their meeting took her into his arms. Catherine wrote of this, "that mute embrace was eloquent, and revealed the feelings of a hero who had been betrayed." Afterwards, at St. Helena, N. left on record his estimate of the nobility of her character, saying that with her own hands she had inscribed her name in the pages of history.

At the time of Waterloo Catherine was a prisoner in the hands of her father, who again tried to make her renounce her husband, whilst keeping all news of Jerome, whether wounded or dead, from her anxious heart. As before, she answered all these importunities in a dignified and loyal manner. At last Jerome was allowed to rejoin his wife, under certain restrictions, and they next took up their residence in Austria as the Comte and Comtesse de Montfort. In 1818 both husband and wife asked the British Government for permission to go to St. Helena in order to be beside their brother, but met with refusal.

This noble-minded woman died in 1835 at a château on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, whither she had been removed for the sake of her health.

## CAULAINCOURT

By Jerome Queen Catherine had three children: Jerome Napoleon, who died in infancy. Princess Mathilde (*q.v.*), and Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul (*q.v.*).

**Caulaincourt, Armand Augustin Louis, Marquis de (1772-1827).**—French general and diplomatist; was born of noble family at Caulaincourt, near Laon, in Picardy, in 1772, and at the age of fifteen entered the military profession. In 1792, while yet a captain, he was thrown into prison because he had rendered himself obnoxious to the democrats, and was only released on the condition that he would serve as a simple grenadier. This he did for three years, at the end of which he was restored to his former rank. After taking part in two or three campaigns, in Italy and Germany, he obtained the rank of colonel of dragoons, and was afterwards made aide-de-camp to Bonaparte. N. was not long in discovering Caulaincourt's talent for diplomacy, and on the accession of Alexander he was dispatched to St. Petersburg to negotiate an understanding between Russia and France. From this mission may be dated the esteem and confidence with which Bonaparte ever after honoured him.

In 1804, Caulaincourt was made general of division, master of the horse, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and not long afterwards Duke of Vicenza. It was rumoured, unjustly, however, that these honours were bestowed upon him in acknowledgment of his aid in the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien (*q.v.*)—he having been an unwitting instrument in that affair—but Caulaincourt never ceased to affirm his innocence and utter ignorance of the instructions given to his colleague Ordener; and it seems likely that his elevation was due only to his merit and attachment to N.

Caulaincourt was appointed ambassador at St. Petersburg in 1807, where he filled a difficult position, and strove, successfully for some time, to maintain peace. He was recalled, however, at his own request in 1811, having probably foreseen the storm that was gathering, and being unwilling to be left in the alternative either of betraying his duties or being ungrateful for

## CAVALRY

the many kindnesses shown him by the Tsar. He accompanied the Emperor on the 1812 expedition in Russia, after vainly endeavouring to induce N. to give up this campaign. After the burning of Moscow N. chose him as companion in his flight, and for fourteen days and nights they travelled *lôte-à-lôte* on sledges or in carriages. During the decline of N.'s fortunes Caulaincourt was employed to negotiate for a general peace with the Allied plenipotentiaries assembled at Châtillon. He had here to contend, single-handed, with the united diplomacy of victorious Europe. On the abdication of N. he went, as his personal representative, to the Allied sovereigns and negotiated the Treaty of Paris. Talleyrand (*q.v.*) would have included him in the provisional government, but he refused to desert his former chief. He is generally believed to have been privy to the return of N. from Elba in 1815, and was one of the first to hail him at the Tuileries. During the Hundred Days he was placed at the helm of foreign affairs, though with reluctance, as he was convinced of the futility of all the efforts that could be made to establish any diplomatic connexion. After the second Restoration Caulaincourt went into retirement on his estate in the department of the Aisne, and died in the year 1827.

From no one did N. hear more bold and useful truths than from this man. He often ventured to tell the Emperor that if he did not renounce his system of shedding blood he would be abandoned by the French and precipitated from the throne by foreigners. But he was nevertheless the Emperor's good friend and most faithful servant; and that N. understood and appreciated his diplomatic gifts may be gathered from the many difficult missions with which he was entrusted. Indeed, during the last years of the Empire, Caulaincourt practically controlled the diplomacy of the court.

**Cavalry.**—As has been pointed out in the article on Artillery (*q.v.*), N. usually employed cavalry to complete the rout made in the ranks of the enemy by a storm of grapeshot. The first essential in the Napoleonic handling of cavalry was speed and

precision of manœuvring to ensure their arrival at the right time and place. N. selected beforehand the point at which he intended to direct them, and so could bring them within striking distance at leisure. Again and again these tactics proved successful, but signally failed at Waterloo because of the heavy state of the ground, because the cavalry had to charge uphill, and because of the poor condition of the horses.

On the whole the efficiency of N.'s cavalry officers was very high, their swordsmanship was excellent, and their *esprit de corps* likewise.

In his *Memoirs* N. states that the administration of the corps of light cavalry depends upon that of the infantry. Light cavalry was instructed in tactics in the same manner as the cavalry of the line. They served as foragers, they were employed as advance guards, as rear guards, and upon the wings of the army. The heavy cavalry were generally kept in reserve. The light cavalry were always, to some extent, under the protection of the cavalry of the line. "Cavalry," says N., "requires a greater number of officers than infantry, and they have to be more specifically instructed in their duties." It was not swiftness alone which ensured the success of this arm, it was order, discipline, and the clever use of its services. In a general engagement its office was to guard retirements, undertake pursuits, and operate on the changing front, as well as upon the wings, with rapidity. But the duty of a cavalry advance guard does not really consist in advancing or retiring, but in manœuvring. It should consist of a force of light cavalry with a good reserve of cavalry of the line, backed by battalions of infantry and several batteries of artillery. Officers and soldiers should equally be apprised of the tactics in view; a troop which is not so instructed is merely an embarrassment to an advance guard. N. proceeds to say that all the cavalry of the line should not be equipped with cuirasses. Thus the dragoons were not so protected, but were armed with an infantryman's musket and bayonet, and wore the shako of the infantry

and the cloak with sleeves. All cavalry should be provided with fire-arms and know how to manœuvre on foot; three thousand cavalymen should not be held up by a thousand infantrymen posted in a wood or in country impracticable to mounted men.

The cavalry attached to an army should be about one-fourth of the number of infantry, and should consist of four descriptions of horsemen—light cavalry, heavy cavalry, cuirassiers, and dragoons, who were practically mounted infantry. Cavalry charges are of most effect at the commencement, in the middle, and at the end of a battle, and should be executed on the flanks, while the infantry charges in front. As showing the great importance which N. attached to cavalry, he made the excuse of "want of adequate cavalry" when he agreed to a six weeks' suspension of arms during the Allies' campaign of 1813. This has been alluded to as the gravest military error of his whole career.

**Cayenne.**—The capital of French Guiana. This seaport was taken by the British from the French on the collapse of N.'s naval plans in 1809.

**Champagny, Jean Baptiste Nompère de (1756-1834).**—Duke of Cadore, French politician; was born of noble family at Roanne-en-Forez, in 1756, and was educated for the naval profession. In 1789, however, he was returned by the *noblesse* of Forez as their deputy to the States-General, later passing into the Chamber of the *Tiers-État*. While a member he confined his labours especially to subjects connected with the improvement of the French marine; and on the Assembly having terminated their sittings in 1791 he returned into private life. In 1799 N. made him councillor of state for the department of the navy, and later sent him to Vienna as ambassador.

In 1804 Champagny became minister of the interior, and during the three years for which he held this office showed himself to be the possessor of great administrative ability. According to some authorities, however, Champagny did not use his

powers worthily, and it is said his official career was distinguished by mendacity, perfidy, injustice, and spoliation. However this may be, he succeeded Talleyrand (*q.v.*) as minister for foreign affairs in 1807, and assisted N. in the enforcement of the continental system. Besides his ordinary duties he directed the recruitment of the army, organized the industrial exhibition of 1808, and completed the public works undertaken in Paris and all over France. He helped to plan the annexation of the Papal States and the abdication of Charles IV. of Spain. In connexion with the latter, Southey states in his *Peninsular War* that Champagny in one of his reports laid down the principle, "that which policy rendered necessary, justice must, of course, authorize"—a despicable principle, but one which it has been demonstrated more than a hundred years later may still be used on the side of might.

In 1808 Champagny became a member of the new nobility with the title of Duke of Cadore. He was also concerned in the negotiations for the peace of Vienna (1809) and N.'s marriage with Marie Louise of Austria; but in 1811 he was deprived of his portfolio, owing, it is believed, to a disagreement with the Emperor. During the regency he filled the office of secretary, but on N.'s abdication in 1814 he joined the Bourbons, and was made a peer by Louis. In spite of this, however, it is said he was implicated in N.'s return from Elba, and there is no doubt that he joined N. during the Hundred Days, accepting, since he was offered no other, the minor position of surveyor of public buildings. For this conduct he naturally lost his peerage on the second Restoration, but in 1819 recovered this dignity. He died in 1834 at Paris.

**Champ-Aubert, Battle of.**—

One of N.'s most brilliant achievements from a military point of view. On 10 Feb. 1814 N., with his main army, fell upon one of the three divisions of Blücher's army and completely dispersed it, taking 2,000 prisoners and all the guns; on the 11th he met Sacken and defeated him at

Montmirail with a loss of 6,000; on the 13th he encountered General York with 30,000 Russians and Prussians, and succeeded in driving him out of Château Thierry with a loss of 3,000; and finally he attacked on the 14th the main army under Blücher, and compelled him to retire with 3,000 casualties.

**Chandelier, Jacques.**—A cook at Longwood. He had been in the service of the Princess Borghese, succeeded Laroche, and arrived at St. Helena in Sept. 1819. It is said that he gave great satisfaction as a *chef*.

**Charlemagne.**—During the earlier part of his reign, one of the chief ambitions of N. appears to have been the reconstitution of the ancient empire of Charlemagne, which spread itself not only over France but over a large part of Germany and Spain as well. It will thus be seen that N. considered the empire of Charles the Great to be an institution essentially French, whereas in our own day the ex-Kaiser seems to have regarded it as essentially Teutonic. Inasmuch as it was Frankish, it was, of course, originally German, but even in Merovingian times a process of disintegration had begun, and by the era of Charlemagne the central power was rather more Gallic than German, the bulk of the Germanic races of that day being pagans who constantly threatened the essentially Christian civilization which Charlemagne did so much to preserve. It is therefore hardly correct to regard the Carolingian era as the outcome of Teutonic civilization, so that N. had a better case than William II.

**Charles X. (1757-1836).**—King of France, brother of Louis XVI. and grandson of Louis XV.; was born at Versailles on 9 Oct. 1757. When only sixteen years of age he was married to Marie Thérèse of Savoy, and for some years lived an exceedingly dissipated life—the enormous debt (56 millions of francs) which he accumulated during this period becoming a burden on an already overburdened state. At the court of France he led the party which opposed revolutionary principles, and took command of the first band of emigrant

royalists, later visiting several of the courts of Europe with the object of raising sympathy with the royalist cause. In 1793 he was made lieutenant-general of the realm, and became known as "Monsieur." He sympathized with and tried to help the Vendéan rising of 1795, but feared to take a prominent part. Ere long he crossed to Great Britain, living first in London, then at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, and finally at Hartwell, where he remained until 1813, the various conspiracies which were set on foot for royalist restoration in France bearing no fruit. After N.'s abdication in 1814 he returned to Paris, and while his brother (Louis XVIII.) sat on the throne of France Charles was the chief of the ultra-royalist party. On the death of Louis XVIII. in Sept. 1824 he became king; and for a time was much in favour; but it soon became apparent that he meant to restore the "absolute" rule of former French kings. The feeling which this intention aroused culminated in the revolution of 1830, and Charles was compelled to leave France, his flight being accomplished with the dignity which characterized all his actions. He lived at Holyrood Palace for a time, dying of cholera at Goritz in 1826.

**Charles (Karl Ludwig) (1771-1847).**—Archduke of Austria, third son of the Emperor Leopold II.; was born at Florence when his father was Grand Duke of Tuscany. He fought as a young officer in the war of the French Revolution, commanded a brigade at Jemappes, and saw service in the campaign of 1793, at the action of Aldenhoven, and elsewhere. During the rest of the war he held high commands, and was present at Fleurus. In 1796 he took supreme command of the Austrian forces at the Rhine, operating against Moreau and Jourdan, his military reputation achieving a very high standard indeed. He defeated Jourdan at Amberg and Wurzburg, and forced him to execute a disastrous retreat into France, then turning upon Moreau he inflicted such a reverse upon him that his efforts to disengage himself amounted almost to a flight. This campaign has frequently been alluded to as one of the

most brilliant in modern history. In 1797 he was sent to stay the onward career of N. in Italy, and though he was outmatched in numbers he conducted his operations with masterly skill. Once more he faced Jourdan in 1799, and was further successful against him at Osterach and Stockach, afterwards invading Switzerland and defeating Masséna in the first battle of Zurich. Subsequently to this he re-entered Germany and again drove the French across the Rhine, but failing health reacted upon his abilities, and he retired to Bohemia, returning to his military duties after a brief rest in order to oppose Moreau's advance on Vienna. But the crushing defeat of Hohenlinden left him no option but to fight with the weapons of diplomacy at the armistice of Steyer. The highest honours were proffered him, but he refused them all, among them the title of "Saviour of his Country." In 1805 he commanded the main army in Italy. He obtained a success over Masséna at the battle of Caldiero, but the reverses of other Austrian leaders on the Danube went far to neutralize this. When peace was concluded, however, he laboured strenuously at the reorganization of the army. His newly trained forces were first tested in 1809. He was now field-marshal and president of the council of war, and was the only Austrian general who had proved his ability to defeat the French. This success, especially in his late campaigns, is probably due to the fact that he employed to some extent the French methods of tactics. When the new Austrian Army took the field in 1809 it had not yet undergone the full curriculum of training that he had mapped out for it, yet it had many more excellencies than its predecessor, and was beaten only after a most desperate resistance. It achieved one noteworthy success, the battle of Aspern-Essling, and made a notable stand at Wagram. At the end of this campaign the Archduke retired from the army and spent the rest of his life privately. He succeeded to the duchy of Saxe-Teschen in 1822. In 1815 he had married the Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg, and had four sons, the eldest of whom, the

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Archduke Albert, inherited his father's military gifts in a striking degree.

Charles was the author of a number of strategical works in which he laid down the necessity for caution in the conduct of a campaign; yet in practice he was not without much daring, and he may be said to have possessed a degree of tactical genius in handling troops second only to that of Napoleon himself. He was, however, rigid in his ideas concerning strategy, and at the close of his military career had become perhaps not a little old-fashioned. It must also be pointed out that he did not always adhere to the rules of caution he so strongly advocated. He lays down the law that it is not the defeat of the enemy's army which decides the fate of one's own country, but strategic points, which must constantly remain the general's main solicitude, and Clausewitz reproached him in the phrase that he attached more value to ground than to the annihilation of the foe. His influence was felt in the Austrian Army, even so late as the days of the Austro-Prussian war. Indeed, his theory was greatly divorced from his practice and much inferior to it in every respect. At the same time his dicta regarding the value of sound strategical conclusions have, to a great extent, been borne out by the circumstances of the late war.

**Charles; Hippolyte.**—A young French officer in the army of Italy, was attached to Lucien's staff, and later became aide-de-camp to Leclerc. Dispatched to meet Josephine on her arrival at Milan, he was graciously received, given a seat in the carriage, and was forthwith made constantly welcome at the Serbelloni Palace. On the intimacy coming to the ears of Bonaparte, Charles was dismissed to France. Josephine secured for him a remunerative connexion with the commissariat, and after her return to France and the purchase of Malmaison, Charles was installed in attendance there. Rumours of the relations existing between Josephine and the young officer reached Bonaparte in Egypt, and led him to consider seriously the question of obtaining a divorce.

## CHATEAUBRIAND

### **Charlottenburg, Convention of.**

—After the rout of the Prussians at Jena N. refused to grant them an armistice save on their compliance with certain exorbitant demands. Thus he asked that the French be allowed to occupy the territory between the Oder and the Vistula, that various fortresses on the Vistula should be given up to him, and that the Russian troops should be dismissed. The Prussian envoys, utterly crushed and servile, accepted the degrading terms, and on 16 Nov. 1806 a convention was signed at Charlottenburg. But the King of Prussia, fearing the withdrawal of Russia from the alliance, refused to ratify the convention at a council held at Osterode on 21 Nov. 1806.

**Charvet, Louise.**—Wife of Constant (q.v.) and daughter of the keeper of the Palace of Malmaison.

**Chateaubriand, François René, Vicomte de (1768-1848).**—This author and diplomat, one of the most interesting figures in the France of N.'s day, was the youngest son of the Comte de Combourg, and was born in 1768 at St. Malo, in Brittany, a region whose denizens are proverbially of imaginative if not æsthetic temperament. His parents desiring that he should take holy orders, he studied for a while at the College of Dinan; but, realizing soon that he had no inclination for the priesthood, he gladly accepted in 1786 the offer of a commission in the French Army. Three years later the Revolution broke out, and Chateaubriand, being at this time an ardent royalist, found it advisable to leave France for America. On his return to France in 1791 he was married to Céleste Buisson de Lavigne, with whom he now wandered to Brussels, to Guernsey, and then to England. During this period of travel he commenced writing, and the year 1797 saw the publication of his book, *Essai historique, politique et moral sur les révolutions*; while in 1800 he went back to his native country, and in 1802 he issued one of the most important of his writings, *Génie du Christianisme*. The general tenor of this last being curiously favourable to N.'s particular manner of statecraft, the writer was

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made attaché to the French legation at Rome; and, though he was recalled soon afterwards owing to an act of insubordination, he was sent subsequently as envoy to the canton of the Valais. Then, in 1806, he visited Palestine, a tour which at a later date he described in a book, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*; but meanwhile he had conceived a violent aversion to Bonaparte, nor was it long ere he began to express this dislike fearlessly. He had become part-owner of the *Mercur de France*, a journal which to this day enjoys a reputation for speaking freely, and in 1807 he published in its columns an article in which the Emperor was compared to Nero. So great was the turmoil created by this affair that in 1811, when Chateaubriand was elected a member of the French Academy, forcible steps were taken to prevent him reading an *essai de réception* to its members, it being known that the paper which he had prepared contained certain critical allusions to N.

The year 1814, so memorable for all Europe, was also an important one for Chateaubriand, for in that year he issued his book *De Bonaparte, des Bourbons, et de la nécessité de se rallier à nos princes légitimes*, a piece of writing which Louis XVIII. declared was as valuable an aid to the royal cause as a regiment of a hundred thousand soldiers could possibly have been. And though, only a little while after this, in his *De la monarchie selon la charte*, Chateaubriand showed that his devotion to royalty was beginning to wane, he was sent to Berlin as French ambassador in 1821, and in the following year acted as a plenipotentiary at the Congress of Vienna. In 1827, again, he enacted a diplomatic function at Rome; but this was his last service to the state, and thenceforth, until his death in 1848, most of his time was spent virtually in seclusion, Mme. Récamier being the one friend whom he saw constantly. During the last quiet years, however, Chateaubriand was far from idle; and, besides writing a large part of those memoirs of himself which were published posthumously, he achieved a French translation of

## CHAUMONT

*Paradise Lost*, Milton being a poet for whom he had always had a special fondness.

Devout Roman Catholic as he was, Chateaubriand appears to have been somewhat amorously inclined; yet his writings have much of that curious severity, alike as regards temper and style, which pertains so essentially to nearly all the painting and nearly all the sculpture of the French Empire. His works, so well known while he was alive, do not seem to be read much nowadays; and the author is remembered rather by virtue of his championing of the Bourbon cause, by his determined confronting of N., and by his friendship with Mme. Récamier and other luminaries of Bonaparte's day.

### Chatillon, Conference of (1814).

—Opened on 5 Feb. between the Allies and N., shortly after the Frankfort Proposals (*q.v.*). At this time the Allies were working together in a far from harmonious manner, and Castlereagh was sent from England to improve the *entente*, if possible, and take part in the negotiations. The Tsar, the King of Prussia, Metternich, Stein and others took part, Caulaincourt representing France. On the 7th the terms of peace were set forth, and included: (1) that France was to give up all conquered territories in Europe and shrink to her pre-revolutionary boundaries; (2) that England would restore some colonies by way of compensation. These conditions exceeded the former proposals at Frankfort, and although willing to accept the latter, N. could not bring himself to acquiesce in the present terms. Caulaincourt's powers of acceptance were limited, and no authority having come by 11 March, in spite of all his endeavours, the Conference was closed—N.'s note giving Caulaincourt *carte blanche* arriving too late. The principal effect of the Conference was to bring about a greatly improved understanding between the Allies. See CHAUMONT, TREATY OF.

**Chaumont, Treaty of (9 March 1814).**—As the result of the Conference at Chatillon (*q.v.*) the internal relations of the Coalition (Great Britain,



Austria, Russia and Prussia) against N. became much more amicable, and this improvement took tangible shape in the form of the Treaty of Chaumont. Its conditions were: (1) the above-named Powers agreed not to conclude a separate peace, but to prosecute the campaign until France was reduced to her former size; (2) the amount of each Power's liability as regards men was defined; (3) Great Britain guaranteed financial aid; (4) the campaign was to be offensive or defensive as necessity required; (5) meetings were to be held from time to time between the representatives of the Allies; (6) the political reunion of the Netherlands was considered. This treaty was signed on 9 March by Metternich, Nesselrode, Castlereagh, and Hardenberg; and was in effect of the nature of an alliance between Powers who had each taken the field to suit its own necessities, but who now united against the common foe.

**Chénier, Joseph Marie Blaise de (1764-1811).**—French poet and dramatist; was born at Constantinople, where his father was French consul-general. He received a commission in a dragoon regiment at the early age of sixteen, but in 1789 retired from the army and came to Paris, where his celebrated tragedy of *Charles IX* was produced at the Théâtre Française on 4 Nov. 1789. He had some influence in favour of the Revolution. In 1792 he was elected to the Convention, voted for the death of the King, and committed many extravagances. But at this time he was also writing the well-known *Chant du Départ* and other patriotic poems. He was accused of being an accomplice in the condemnation and execution of his brother André, but he succeeded in clearing himself of this charge if not of one of cowardice. He became a thermidorian, in 1795 was admitted to the institute and was elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred. He joined in the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, and was appointed to the Tribunat by special desire of N. in Dec. 1799. There he showed himself one of the most inveterate opponents of the overnment and was

eliminated by the Senate in 1802. He was then appointed to the education department. He incurred the violent anger of N. by his *Épître à Voltaire* (1806) and his tragedy of *Cyrus*, which was produced immediately before the coronation. His plays were prohibited from performance, and he was reduced to lecturing in a private school. Latterly N. bestowed upon him a pension of 8,000 francs, but he died in considerable want.

**Chinese Servant.**—Josephine took a fancy to a little deformed Chinese dwarf, who chanced to be the only Chinaman in France. She took him into her service, and he was usually to be seen perched behind her carriage. He accompanied her to Italy, but as he was in the constant habit of pilfering she wished to get rid of him, and N. took him with him on his Egyptian expedition. He was entrusted with the General's wine-cellar, but no sooner had N. crossed the desert than the little Chinaman sold no less than two thousand bottles of claret at a very low price. On N.'s return he came eagerly to meet him, and acquainted him, as he said, like a faithful servant, with the loss of the wine. In the end he confessed the robbery, and although N. was urged to hang him, he contented himself with discharging him and sending him to Suez.

**Chouans.**—The name given to the smugglers and dealers in contraband salt, who, rising in insurrection in western France, joined forces with the royalists of La Vendée at the period of the Revolution. The word, a corruption of the Bas Breton *chat-huant* (screech-owl) was given as a nickname to the four brothers Cottureau, who imitated the cry of that bird in order to recognise each other in the woods by night when on their smuggling expeditions. Jean Cottureau (1707-94), the eldest of the brothers and famous for his wild courage and physical strength, was originally an illegal manufacturer of salt, and with the others of the family had several times been caught and punished. The Revolution, in sweeping away the inland customs, destroyed the contraband trade. This was the

cause of the Chouans' rising; not any devotion to the King or his cause, as some romantic writers have endeavoured to establish, especially in their glorification of Jean Cottereau as a hero and martyr. Their warfare was revenge pure and simple, also a means of livelihood, their devotion to pillage being far greater than to royalty. In 1792, on 15 Aug., Cottereau and his following endeavoured to hold up the volunteers of St. Ouen near Laval. They took up their quarters in the woods of Misdon, living in caves and huts, being joined by the malcontents of other districts and many royalists. Assassination and brigandage were the terms applicable to their methods. From Lower Maine the disaffection soon included Brittany, the whole of Lower Normandy, Anjou and Touraine, and other provinces were sympathetic. The original band of five hundred had increased to a great strength, and became known as the army of La Petite Vendée. After the defeats of Le Mans and Savenay the Misdon woods were again their headquarters, from which they carried on a guerilla warfare. It was here their leader, Jean, fell into an ambuscade and received his death-wound, dying in Feb. 1794. Two of his brothers also fell, René alone surviving until 1846. After the action at Quiberon and the defeat of the Vendéans the Chouans treated with the Republic, and finally made their peace with the Directory, though small bands of them still continued their raiding and pillaging. These were reinforced by the remnants of the Vendéan forces, which gave them leaders whose attachment to royalty has shed on their wild following and their methods an undeserved glory. About the end of 1799 the party was again of a considerable strength, and boasted for leaders and chiefs, Frotté, Bourmont, Georges Cadoudal (*q.v.*), d'Authchamp, Chatillon, Laprévallaye and a man who was known by the name of Jambe d'Argent. Each chief had a district where he recruited and where he commanded those who were willing to join. This was called his government, though it might be covered with hostile troops and the

majority of the inhabitants against him. Their warfare was marked by many atrocious acts of ferocity and rapine. Under Bonaparte's orders negotiations were opened up with the Chouans, but finding them using the truce for treacherous purposes, he resumed hostilities against them, and about the end of Jan. 1800 the leaders accepted the conditions proposed to them and laid down their arms; the rest were dispersed. Their conspiracies, however, persisted until 1814 owing to royalist activities, and during the Hundred Days they joined in the Vendéan War, the repression of which weakened N.'s available forces for the northern campaign.

**Christophe, Henri (1767-1820).**—King of Hayti; was born a slave in the island of Grenada on 6 Oct. 1767. He was a man of gigantic stature and immense courage, so that when at Hayti he joined in the insurrection of 1791 he soon took a leader's place, and, attracting the notice and approval of Toussaint l'Ouverture (*q.v.*), was appointed brigadier-general. In 1802 he conducted a gallant defence of Cape Hayti against the French. With Pétion (*q.v.*) he overthrew Dessalines in 1806, and the following year was made president. Civil war ensued between the two conspirators, and one result of the conflict was the formation of two states, that in the north a kingdom under Christophe with the title of Henry I., and the one in the south a republic under Pétion. Christophe ruled with vigour and less savagely than Dessalines, but his avarice, cruelty and tyranny led to an insurrection, when, deserted by his army, he shot himself in despair on 8 Oct. 1820.

**Cintra, Convention of (30 Aug. 1808).**—After the defeat of the French at Vimiero (21 Aug.) Junot opened negotiations with Sir Hew Dalrymple (who was in chief command of the Allies) with a view to the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. Taking into consideration the fact that his army had met with severe treatment, Junot's conditions were exceedingly arbitrary: (1) the French were not to become prisoners of war; (2) they were to be transported to

France with all their effects (which included much booty); (3) any who remained were not to be molested, but were to be free to leave at any time within a year; (4) Lisbon was to be considered neutral, and the Russian fleet, which lay there, were to be treated as belligerent vessels in a neutral port; (5) all the horses were also to be conveyed to France. These terms, excepting the last, were agreed to by Dalrymple; and by the middle or end of Sept. Portugal was free from French troops. The conditions of the Convention were received with much indignation both in Portugal and England—while to the French the need of such an agreement came as a suggestion that the war in the Peninsula was not tending towards the further glorification of their arms.

**Cipriani.**—The maître d'hôtel at Longwood. Seized with sudden illness while attending at dinner one day, he died shortly afterwards, on 26 Feb. 1818. He enjoyed the confidence of N. to a considerable degree.

**Cisalpine Republic.**—A political division of northern Italy during the Napoleonic era, comprising (as it was finally constituted) the district between Lake Como and Verona on the north and Rimini on the south. N., commanding the French Army during the Italian campaign of 1796-97, did much to encourage the formation of a republic in the northern states, and gave his patronage to the Cispadane Republic, founded by the people of Reggio, Modena, and Bologna on 16 Oct. 1796. The Lombards, especially, groaned under the yoke of Austrian misrule, and hailed Bonaparte as their deliverer. During his few months of residence at the castle of Montebello, or Mombello, in the summer of 1797, he called together the leading men of Milan, and asked them to draw up a suitable constitution. Following this there was instituted on 9 July 1797 the Transpadane Republic, which shortly afterwards changed its name to the Cisalpine Republic. On 15 July the union took place of the Cisalpine and Cispadane Republics; a month later the Swiss territory of the Valtelline was included under the same government; while by

the Treaty of Campo Formio (17 Oct. 1797) the frontiers of the Cisalpine were extended to the banks of the Adige. Here, as elsewhere, Bonaparte had a settled policy, apparent in the various details of his organization. He desired by careful administration to satisfy the people, and yet, by giving authority into the hands of no one party, to preserve the republic dependent on France. To this end the constitution was modelled on the French Directory, and N. himself appointed the first deputies and administrators. The legislative assembly was practically voiceless, the real power being vested in the French agent, General Petiet, and an executive committee of nine members (the number was subsequently reduced to three). The financial condition of the Cisalpine was for a time deplorable. Heavy requisitions in money and in kind were made by the French treasury, and the republic was called upon to maintain the French army of occupation.

In 1801, after the Peace of Lunéville (which definitely placed the Cisalpine under the protection of France) N. announced that he purposed to reorganize the state on a permanent basis. The constitution which he proposed to submit to the Cisalpine was planned after the fashion of the French Consular Government. In the first place, the various bodies were to be chosen by a body of electors divided into three colleges—the proprietors, the learned classes, and the trading classes. A president and vice-president were to be charged with the executive authority, aided by a *consulta* of eight members; a court was to be established to maintain basic laws; while a legislative council of ten members, and a legislative assembly of seventy-five (the former to discuss new legislation and the latter merely for the purpose of countersigning such laws as were passed) completed the constitution. N. showed the draft to four of the most prominent of the republicans—Melzi, Marescalchi, Aldini and Serbelloni—and left it to their consideration. It was passed with scarcely any alteration, sub-

nitted to the *consulta* at Milan and adopted by that body. At the beginning of 1802 the First Consul invited 154 deputies from the Cisalpine Republic to a *consulta* at Lyons, in order that they might choose officials under the new constitution. These, however, were tutored beforehand in the course they were expected to follow, and despite the protests of the more democratic the will of N. was not seriously interfered with until the question of the election of a president was raised. The deputies nominated Count Melzi, the leading statesman of the republic, but N. protested strongly against Melzi's appointment—why, the Lombards could not understand, till Talleyrand suggested that they should nominate N. himself. The First Consul readily accepted the position, giving as his reason that he knew of no Lombard statesman who was qualified to hold the office.

Had the Lombards been left to their own devices they would undoubtedly have chosen a president from their own country. In order, therefore, to appease their not unnatural disappointment N. announced at the last sitting of the *consulta* at Lyons that the Cisalpine would henceforth be known as the Italian Republic, a statement which, with its underlying promise of a united Italy, was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Count Melzi was elected vice-president, but his authority was purely nominal. The legislature, too, was entirely subordinate to the executive body; and as the latter existed merely to express the will of N., the government was in all intents autocratic. The new régime promised well at the outset; within a year the various state departments were put in motion; the maintenance of the French army of occupation was placed on a more satisfactory basis, and the financial strain was eased somewhat; while Melzi, though himself of liberal tendencies, faithfully administered the constitution, and overcame the opposition of the nobles and clergy. A national army was created, military schools being set up at Pavia and Modena, and the fostering of educa-

tion was no mean part of the government's achievements. Yet in spite of these advantages discontent grew ever more bitter. There was no sense of unity among the various states; the districts south of the Po chafed under the Milanese supremacy, and gave but little support to the vice-president; the people demanded the withdrawal of the army of occupation. Melzi, though a man of gentle and attractive disposition, lacked the qualities of statesmanship necessary to cope with such a situation. Moreover, Murat, who commanded the French army in the republic and sent frequent reports to N., contrived to give him the impression that Melzi himself was a malcontent and a traitor to France. N. was enraged at this, and seized upon the first opportunity which presented itself (*i.e.*, the publication of some patriotic sonnets by an Italian soldier-poet, Ceroni) to rebuke him severely. Melzi tendered his resignation, which, however, Bonaparte declined to accept. Indeed, the First Consul planned to knit Italy still more closely to France, and until he saw his way to accomplish this it was to his interests that Melzi should remain.

In 1804 N. conceived the project of replacing the Italian Republic by a kingdom to be ruled over by his brother Joseph. Joseph, however, declined the proffered dignity, and N. himself, who was being pressed by the leading Milanese statesmen to assume the royal office, finally agreed to do so. On 26 May 1805 he proceeded to Milan and assumed the iron crown of Lombardy, and on 7 June he gave vice-regal authority to Eugène Beauharnais (*q.v.*).

**Ciudad Rodrigo, Siege of.**—The siege of this town, the garrison of which consisted of 18,000 men, was commenced by Wellington with an army of 40,000 combined English and Portuguese troops on 8 Jan. 1812, and was carried by assault on the 18th. The besiegers lost 1,300 killed and wounded, including Generals Crauford and McKinnon, while the French lost 300 killed and wounded, 1,500 prisoners and 150 guns.

**Clarke, Henri Jacques Guillaume** (1765 - 1818). — Duke of

Feltre, French general; was born at Landrecies on 17 Oct. 1765, his family being of Irish extraction. Clarke was destined for the army, and was educated at the military school of Paris. At an early age he entered the service of the Duke of Orleans, obtaining the rank of supernumerary-captain in the Duke's regiment of hussars, and during the early stages of the Revolution made himself subservient to the political principles of that prince. He received various appointments in the army, and under the Directory was placed at the head of the topographical department of the war ministry, thus becoming acquainted with everything that related to the military plans of the republic. In 1796 he was sent as an envoy to Vienna, and afterwards to Italy, to look into the military and political situation and if possible arrange terms of peace. At the same time he had secret instructions to keep an eye on N., who, however, readily saw through this ruse. Clarke, having conceived a great admiration for N., confessed everything and offered his services to Bonaparte. These were accepted, and N. kept him in Italy and employed him in various ways. After the Revolution in 1799, he was recalled to France by N. and appointed councillor of state, and later ambassador to the court of Etruria. On his return to Paris he was reinstated in the topographical department, had apartments given him at the Tuileries, and was appointed to other posts, which procured for him a salary of nearly eighty thousand francs.

In 1805, after the battle of Austerlitz, Clarke was made governor of Vienna, and grand officer of the Legion of Honour. A few days before the battle of Jena, N. is reported to have said to him: "In a month you will be governor of Berlin, and history will record that, in the space of one year, and in two different wars, you were governor of Vienna and Berlin; that is to say, of the Austrian and Prussian monarchies." And this prophecy was indeed fulfilled. After the peace of Tilsit, Clarke succeeded Berthier in the war department, was created Duke of Feltre, and was the

recipient of many favours from the Emperor. He had little capacity for the office of war minister, but he never disputed N.'s will, and pleased him by his inveterate flattery. Upon the occasion of Mallet's conspiracy in 1812, during N.'s absence in Russia, he lost all presence of mind, and showed himself alike destitute of courage and talent. He neither foresaw the danger nor could he repress it when it came to light; but after others had secured the safety of Paris, he endeavoured to make amends by the severity of his punishments.

In 1814, finding that N.'s situation was desperate, Clarke went over to the Bourbons, and was ranked among the new peers. On the disembarkation of Bonaparte from Elba, the King gave him the appointment of minister of war, but he was entirely at a loss how to act, and no one could have done less to impede the usurper's progress. After the second Restoration he was again made minister of war, but he became very unpopular and was dismissed in 1817, having been presented with a marshal's baton and appointed governor of the fifteenth military division at Rouen. He died on 28 Oct. 1818.

General Clarke's talent was certainly not military; but he is admitted to have been laborious and painstaking in his duties. He was pompous in manner, narrow-minded and vain, and is said to have boasted that he was a lineal descendant of the Plantagenets. He served N., according to his lights, faithfully; and the Emperor always refused to listen to any aspersions cast on his fidelity, although at the same time quite aware of his limitations and weaknesses. "Clarke's chief merit," he said, "was that of being a good man of business."

**Clary, Désirée-Eugénie (1777-1860).**—She became the wife of Bernadotte (*q.v.*) and subsequently the Queen of Sweden, and is known to fame chiefly by reason of her being the object of N.'s early love. She was born on 9 Nov. 1777, the daughter of François Clary and Françoise Rose Sornis. Her father is described as both a wealthy banker and silk merchant of Marseilles, while her elder

sister Julie had married Joseph Bonaparte. When N. was staying at Marseilles with his family in 1795, Joseph and his wife planned a marriage between N. and Désirée, aged eighteen. Apart from this, however, the two were mutually attracted, and when he left Marseilles letters passed between them. But when the tide in his fortunes arrived Josephine dazzled his vision, and Mdlle. Clary faded before the greater attraction.

N., however, was incapable of forgetfulness, and a certain remorse and desire to make reparation henceforth distinguished his behaviour to Désirée Clary. But on her part she was embittered and developed a petty spite, which no doubt largely influenced her husband Bernadotte, who could never forgive N. for having won his wife's love. But before this alliance N., when at Milan in 1797, devised a marriage for her with General Duphot. This arrangement was concurred with by the family, and Désirée was betrothed to Duphot. But tragedy intervened, and a few days before the marriage was to have taken place the young officer was killed in the riot at Rome (28 Dec. 1797) before the eyes of his betrothed. After this she rejected several suitors, but at last accepted General Bernadotte and married him. Though N. had never truly cared for this priggish yet astute man, he wished the bride all happiness, and thereafter looked upon Bernadotte as a member of his family, to have favours showered upon him and to be forgiven his many acts of duplicity. Meanwhile, Désirée called Josephine in public "that old woman," whom she could never forgive for her marriage with N., and when he returned from Egypt besought him to stand godfather to her son, to whom he gave the name of Oscar, in allusion to his admiration of Ossian.

The advantages of this connexion with N. were enormous for Bernadotte. N. himself said: "Bernadotte may thank his marriage for his marshal's baton, his principality of Ponte Corvo and his crown. His treacheries under the Empire were overlooked on the same grounds."

There is little doubt that Désirée

Bernadotte's love for N. never waned, but a revengeful feeling towards him certainly was also present. When Bernadotte was elected hereditary Prince of Sweden a peculiar lack of delicacy marked her conduct. To the unextinguished passion for N., Mme. de Rémusat attributes the fact of the Princess's refusal to leave France and her dislike of Sweden, where she was never a favourite. Regarding that country she said: "I thought that Sweden, like Ponte Corvo, was merely a place from which we were to take our title." As soon as possible she was back in Paris in her house in the rue d'Anjou, actually having the effrontery to stay there while her husband was plotting with Russia. N., with great delicacy, intimated his opinion of her conduct through the Minister for Foreign Affairs, saying he regretted she should have returned to Paris without permission, that her behaviour was contrary to etiquette, that her absence from her husband at such a crisis was unseemly. Of this message she insolently took no notice, but went on making her preparations for a prolonged residence. At last, however, on the eve of declaration of war N. sent a stronger message through her sister, the Queen of Spain, that her presence in Paris at such a time was scandalous.

With unsurpassed impertinence, and taking advantage of N.'s indulgence, Désirée remained, entertaining her friends with great parade, dressing luxuriously, going to drink the waters, staying at Auteuil, then back to Paris to the round of gaiety. She frankly said that she did not see why Bernadotte should be blamed for his attitude towards N. or called a traitor. Authorities, well informed of matters behind the scenes, state, however, that this ingenuousness of hers was but a mask to the fact that she was her husband's willing agent in Paris and intermediary between him and Talleyrand and Fouché.

She was gayest of the gay when Paris in 1814 received the Tsar; she was in the capital during the Hundred Days, and on the eve of Waterloo, according to Masson, ordered from Leroy "a nankeen riding-habit and a

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cambric dressing-gown trimmed with Valenciennes."

In 1820 Mme. de Rémusat wrote: "The Queen of Sweden is still living in Paris, though in strict retirement." And there in 1860, in the house given to her and her husband by N. she died at the advanced age of eighty-three. After her death her correspondence with N. was found among her possessions, evidently treasured by the woman who had never forgotten her love nor forgiven the slight.

**Clary, Julie Marie (1771-1845).**

Wife of Joseph Bonaparte; sister of the above. Her marriage took place on 1 Aug. 1794, the bride's dowry being £6,000. She was the favourite daughter-in-law of Mme. Mère, and according to the Duchesse d'Abrantes was a perfect angel of goodness. She was also highly thought of by N. because she was not of an intriguing disposition, besides which he had great respect for her judgment. She deprecated the advice given to Marie Louise to leave Paris, saying that this was a great mistake, for had the Empress remained she might have preserved the throne for her son, if not for her husband. After the downfall of N. Joseph went to America, but his wife, whose health was always delicate, could not accompany him. They were re-united, however, before his death. She died in 1845.

**Clausel, Bertrand, Comte and Marshal of France (1772-1842).—**

Was born at Mirepoix Ariège, and entered the army at an early age. Distinguished himself in the Spanish and Italian campaigns which followed quickly in succession from 1791 to 1802. His fighting qualities were of the first order, and his strategic skill ranked high. Brought to the notice of N., he was decorated, and served in the Peninsular campaigns of 1810 and 1811. At the siege of Burgos the following year he displayed much courage, and succeeded Marmont in command, conducting the retreat with marked ability. On the first Restoration in 1814 he submitted to the Bourbons, but very reluctantly, and when N. escaped from Elba Clausel hastened to join him. During the Hundred Days he commanded the army which

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defended the Pyrenees. After Waterloo he refused to recognise the Bourbon government, for which he was declared a traitor by the Royalists and condemned to death, but managed to escape to America. Permitted to return to France in 1819, he was re-instated, and created a marshal of France, and commanded in the Algerian Expedition. He resigned his post after the capitulation of Constantine, where his soldiers suffered great hardships and for which he was blamed. For the rest of his life he lived in retirement, and died at Secourrien, Garonne, in 1842.

**Clavering, Claire (1776?-1854).**

—Married to Sir Thomas John Clavering (1771-1853), eighth baronet of Axwell and Greencroft, Durham; was the friend of Las Cases (*q.v.*), and the one to whom N. addressed his *Letters from the Cape*. According to *Extinct Peerages*, Lady Clavering was the daughter of Jean de Gallais de la Bernardine, Comte de la Sable of Anjou, but contemporary English gossip, violently anti-French, said that she was the daughter of a wax-chandler, or, again, the daughter of the person who let lodgings in Angers to Thomas Clavering, living there to learn French. The marriage took place in Aug. 1791, and the bridegroom succeeded to the baronetcy soon afterwards. She befriended the Comte Las Cases when an *émigré* in England and in the depths of poverty. He became tutor to her children, and she assisted him in many ways, notably to publish his *Geographical and Historical Atlas*, which brought him financial return besides repute. When Las Cases became an admirer of N.'s and followed him to St. Helena, the friendship and correspondence between him and his benefactress was unbroken. It was a letter to her, besides one to Prince Lucien, which, being found on a servant of Las Cases, caused the latter's banishment from St. Helena. The letter was simply a friendly one, asking her to forward the other to Lucien, and is addressed to her house in Portland Place. Through Las Cases N. heard of Lady Clavering and her kindness, and conceived the idea of addressing what is really his defence to her. She

had three children, William Aloysius (1800-72); Clara Anna Martha, in 1826 married to General Baron de Kuyff of Brussels; and Anna Catherine, married in 1821 to Baron de Montfaucon of Avignon. Lady Clavering died in 1854, having seen the revolutions which placed Louis Philippe and later Napoleon III. on the throne of France.

**Cockburn, Sir George, Baronet (1772 - 1853).**—British admiral, who in 1815 was appointed to command H.M.S. *Northumberland*, which conveyed N. and his suite to St. Helena. Before transferring N. from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland* the admiral ordered his secretary to examine the effects of the ex-Emperor and those of his suite. This was done with the utmost delicacy, but was looked upon as an unnecessary and insulting act by N. and his followers, N. observing that he would rather his belongings were thrown into the sea. Las Cases repeated this statement to Cockburn and implored him to use his discretion. But the admiral was inexorable, taking up from the first the part he meant to play with deliberate intent. He had had his orders to disarm N.'s suite, search their baggage, and seize any money or papers which might aid Bonaparte to escape a second time. Cockburn carried out his instructions to the letter; and, moreover, added a few further restrictions of his own. The respect which had been shown to the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon* had been severely condemned by the English ministry, and Cockburn's orders were more stringent than those formerly issued. The ex-Emperor was nevertheless treated with humanity and consideration, and is known to have held discussions both political and personal with the admiral. Las Cases, whose account of this period can be most relied upon, deals very thoroughly with the character of the treatment inflicted by the admiral. The familiarity he endeavoured to affect towards N. and the numerous slights and embarrassments he put upon him were never forgiven, and, indeed, these unpleasant episodes, recorded by every historian up to the present day, still remain in evidence against him.

On arrival at St. Helena he conducted the ex-Emperor to a little cottage known as "The Briars," where he remained for two months while the residence destined for his future accommodation was being renovated. To Longwood then they soon repaired, and Cockburn marked out a triangle covering some twelve miles of area as the extent of N.'s recreation grounds. This step was very necessary, but it provoked the warmest censure from Las Cases and other members of N.'s suite, who declared that the admiral took these precautions for "his own personal caprice." N., however, the chief personage concerned, seemed pleased with Longwood, and from Cockburn's own description it does not seem to have been the most unpleasant of places of detention. The admiral caused a British flag to be hoisted on their stepping ashore, to prevent any American ship effecting the prisoners' escape. He also dispatched seventy-five foreigners to the Cape whose presence at St. Helena was undesirable. He set himself early to the task of silencing any manifestations of undue respect which the demonstrative attendants surrounding N. might essay to show. The title of "general" was substituted for that of "emperor," and individuals who dared to oppose this order were immediately arrested. On the arrival of the governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, Admiral Cockburn's responsibilities came to an end. In spite of Cockburn's unbecoming qualities, N. had a marked predilection for the admiral, while Las Cases impartially sums up his characteristics and ascribes to him generous and delicate sentiments, but condemns his capricious, irascible, vain and overbearing manner. "He is a man who is accustomed to authority and who exercises it ungraciously, frequently substituting energy for dignity." During his sojourn on St. Helena Cockburn entertained on a large scale, and his departure on 19 June 1816 was universally regretted, crowds flocking to the seashore to see the last of the *Northumberland*.

**Code Napoléon.**—This scheme of laws, which was known first as the *Code Civil des Français*, was in-



stituted on 30 Ventôse in the year XII. (31 March 1804). Three years later, in Sept. 1807, it was entitled the *Code Napoléon*. Once more in 1818 its former name was bestowed upon it, but in 1852 the title of *Code Napoléon* was again restored to it, although N. himself cannot be said to have taken a very important part in its framing. Such a code was part of the programme of the constitution of 1791, but the Revolutionary assemblies were not successful in framing more than a few laws, which were afterwards incorporated in it. No coherent scheme was formulated until the Convention, when the material which had been collected in Royalist times was sifted and such parts of it as seemed desirable adopted. What was common to the whole of French law was extracted from a vast mass of legal literature.

The Roman law, upon which French jurisprudence was, of course, based, had been considerably simplified in the works of Dornat, and to some extent in those of d'Auguesseau, the framer of the *grandes ordonnances*; but the laws preserved in these works did not agree with revolutionary ideas, especially as regards the holding of properties, inheritance and so forth. Cambacérès instituted two schemes for the *Code Civile*, and under the Directory was responsible for a third, and it may be said that the Code in some measure traces its evolution back to these. The very day succeeding the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire, provisional councils and two legislative commissions were appointed to draw up a scheme for the *Code Civile*. For this Code Jacqueminot was largely responsible. Under his scheme the government was responsible for all laws which were prepared by the council of state, practically all of whom were men well suited to codify legal measures. The texts of the various measures were discussed competently and sufficiently. N.'s part in the codification took place in the discussions of the general assembly of the council of state, of which he was chairman. The suggestions he made are of abiding interest, but although this great body of law bears his name, it is an

error to consider its provisions as being his personal work.

It may be said that the Code successfully combines the two somewhat incongruous elements of ancient French law and revolutionary law. It is by no means a compromise. Adverse criticism has discovered in it a lack of method, and has stated that its logic is not at all strong, but it cannot be said to be weaker in this respect than any other juridical system. As the work of men whom the Revolution powerfully influenced, it is naturally weak in its provisions regarding personal property. The relations between master and servant are also by no means strongly represented in it. In 1904, on its centenary, a commission was nominated to revise it, especially as regards its provisions concerning modern economic questions.

Not only has the *Code Civile* powerfully influenced French law, but it has served as a model for numerous foreign systems of jurisprudence. Thus Belgium has preserved it, and the Rhine provinces adhered to it until the institution of the German Empire. The clearness of its provisions and the spirit of equity which runs through them have inspired its adoption by many later codes, as, for example, those of Portugal, Italy, and Holland. Spain and some of the South American republics have also framed their legal standards upon it.

A period of calm followed the battle of Marengo, and N., seizing the opportunity, resolved to draw up a project of a Civil Code. To this end he appointed a committee of four lawyers, Tronchet, Portalis, Prémeneu and Maleville. The first two may be said to have represented the driving force of the committee; Maleville was a capable and even distinguished lawyer, but his powers lay in the direction of legal commentary; Prémeneu, on the other hand, was adroit and pliant. Tronchet was president of the *Cour de cassation*, and was a man of sound learning and perspicacity, gifted with considerable caution. The draft of the *Code Civile* was completed in four months, and printed on 1 Jan. 1801. By N.'s orders it was then sent to the law-

courts, which were invited to submit their criticisms and observations in the course of the next three months. The revised result was then sent to the legislative section of the council of state, of whom Portalis and Thibaudau were members. Then it was submitted title by title to the council. It was at this stage that its provisions first came under the notice of N., who presided over thirty-five of the eighty sittings devoted to the Civil Code. He had little legal learning, but his luxuriant intelligence and lively power of concrete vision, no less than his political insight, permitted him to contribute to the discussion in a most trenchant manner. Nothing that he proposed but bore the mark of genius; sometimes, perhaps, his imagination spurred him to the proposal of measures which however altruistic were little suited to the purpose of everyday legislation. We can hardly expect the language of Loaré, the clerk of the council, in its meticulous correctness to have been the current phraseology of N. It is not likely that in his cold and precise language we can find the ardent spirit of genius which animated the First Consul in these days of law-making. Thibaudau relates with what ease N. seized the point of a question, how just were his ideas, how forceful his reasoning. He frequently surpassed the great jurists by which he was surrounded by the turn of his phrase and the originality of his expressions. Behind the dreamer all the same was the hard-headed man of common sense, who would not permit himself to be bound by mere legal rule, but who kept constantly in view the gain and loss of the state, the political advantages and disadvantages to France. "You act as law-makers," he cried once, "not as statesmen. It is by speaking to the soul that men are electrified. I first thought," he continued, "that it would be possible to reduce laws to simple geometrical demonstrations, so that whoever could read and tie two ideas together would be capable of pronouncing on them, but I almost immediately convinced myself that this was an absurd idea."

As each title of the Code passed the

council it was submitted successively to the tribunate and the legislature. Many objections were made, so many in fact that the First Consul was deeply chagrined, and an end was put to open debate in the House. The titles of the Code were henceforth to be submitted to the legislative section of the tribunate, which was to comment upon it to that section of the council responsible for that portion of the draft. Should there not be agreement a conference was to be held under the presidency of Cambacérès, and the clauses there settled were to be remitted to the council, once more discussed, and then in their final shape expounded to the legislature by three councillors. This method hastened the whole work, and on 21 March 1804 the Civil Code became law.

The first book of the *Code Civil* treats of "persons," the second of "goods and the various kinds of property," and the third of the "various modes in which property is acquired." Under the first laws of marriage, those regarding children, judicial separation and divorce are treated with great fullness, as are those of civic right. It is impossible in such an article as this to debate the separate details of law which compose the Code, and it must suffice to remark that although the groundwork of the law of "persons" is coloured by revolutionary ideas, it is still founded on common sense and equity. It is, indeed, astonishing that, considering the haste with which it was framed, the Code exhibits such a largeness of view and such wisdom as regards its minutiae. It has been criticized upon economic grounds as too favourable to the sub-division of property, but one must recollect in such a connexion the state of public opinion of the period, which was still strongly revolutionary, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that N. was enabled to preserve for inclusion the permission of entail to one degree. Privileged inheritance of every kind was an abomination in the eyes of the French people of the time. Nor is the position of women very strong in the Code. Thus a widow was not permitted to succeed to her husband's property until all his relations had taken

their share. There is also much disproportion and omission, and there were cases of a subject being discussed in the council and then permitted to lapse. But haste, negligence and other considerations notwithstanding, the achievement is undoubtedly a great one.

Without the personal force of N. it may well be said that the *Code Civile* could never have come into existence. Well estimating the nature of the legal mind, he clearly saw that if he were to remit the framing of its provisions to a body of professional lawyers, it would not have been completed in his time. His impatience is fully justified in this respect. To his intelligence and to his knowledge of humanity are due several alterations in the code of a humanitarian character, such as "the well-to-do father always owes maintenance to his children." He also eloquently protested that the deaf and dumb should be permitted to marry. He framed the definition of domicile. He advocated a more advanced age for legal marriage than that of the old French law. The general interests of the people and of the state were ever in his mind in the framing of the Code, and it is not too much to say that his influence stamped itself upon French family life, civil equality, and national security.

#### *Code of Civil Procedure*

At the time the council of state was elaborating the *Code Civile* a commission was at work upon civil procedure. The deliberations of this body were published in 1804, submitted to the courts of appeal and the *Cour de cassation*, and after revision by the commission examined by the legislative section of the council of state, then submitted to the full council, placed before a section of the tribunate, and finally voted on in the legislative body in April 1806. The council showed but little interest in the work which had been framed by a number of practising judges and lawyers, whose aims were narrow, and the result of whose deliberations was not a little obscure. All questions relating to judicial competence had been excluded by the commission, and it did not attempt to

settle the procedure of the commercial courts nor that of the *Cour de cassation*. Its task was to bring the civil procedure of the ordinary courts into harmony with the Civil Code, to simplify and revise older formations of law, to review revolutionary legislation and processes of restraint. The first part of the work is entitled "Procedure before the courts," and the second "Diverse procedures"; the first lacks system, while the other deals with so many varied subjects that its arrangement appears extremely faulty. Yet it is not without merit, especially as regards the innovations it brought about. The great part of it is founded on the rules of the old *régime*, and perhaps the only revolutionary influence that may be observed in it are the provisions relating to conciliation proceedings. It is very full of precautions, and enjoins a profusion of documents, together with extreme slowness and costliness. It is to a great extent a reversion to the cautious formalism of the seventeenth century. One of its chief framers, Pigeau, was a lawyer of extreme wisdom, who practised in the *chatelet* which had been abolished by the Revolution; but notwithstanding an enormous amount of attempted revision, the course of business in the French civil court is still substantially determined by the provisions here laid down.

#### *Criminal Code*

In May 1801 a commission had been appointed to draw up a Criminal Code. Its labours culminated in a draft which comprised both penal law and criminal procedure, which preserved the jury and which had many points of similarity to English law; but out of seventy-five courts only twenty-six pronounced in favour of the retention of the jury. A list of fundamental questions was prepared by order of N. relating to criminal law and procedure. Some of these were: Should the jury be preserved? How should it be constituted? On what grounds should objection be taken to a juror? And so forth. An animated debate followed upon these points. Capital punishment and imprisonment for life were passed without discussion. Confisca-

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tion was advocated by N. and carried, but the main debate centred round the jury question. Most of the speeches were adverse to the retention of the jury, but N.'s personal views on the subject were final. He showed how a tyrannical government could influence a jury more easily than it could a judge; that given public trial and counsel for the defence it was superfluous. Organized crime would always require exceptional courts. The retention of the jury was voted in principle, but it was decided that its members should be named by the prefect from the electoral colleges, and that its verdict should go by an absolute majority. The council then set to work to discuss the draft code. Twelve of its sessions had been held when it was disturbed by the intervention of N. He had pleaded before for the establishment of courts like the old *parlements*, but his idea did not find favour with the council. "It is necessary," said N. "to form great corporations, strong in the reputation conferred by a knowledge of civil law, strong in members above private fears and considerations, in order that they may cause the guilty to turn pale and may communicate their energy to the prosecution. It is necessary, in fact, to organize the prosecution of crime." But the council stated that in their view the proposed change would kill the jury idea and that the jury was working better as time advanced. N. then withdrew his plan. Twenty-five sittings of the council had been held, over eleven of which N. had presided, and after 20 Dec. 1804 the work of the commission was intermittent, and it was not ordered to resume its labours until Jan. 1808. The questions which it had adopted in 1804 were renewed. N. criticized the Jury of Accusation out of existence, but the Jury of Judgment was permitted to remain. The great question of the amalgamation of civil and criminal justice remained. N. was bent upon the institution of judges of assize, and determined that the powers of the prefect, which were very great, should be curtailed. Decentralization was his plan. In dealing with this Code, N. not only theorized with the greatest brilliance, but even proposed

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two laws which he had personally drafted. Day by day he presided until the scheme passed in Oct., 1808.

### *Penal Code*

A Penal Code had, of course, to be instituted before the Code of Criminal Procedure could be put into force, and in Oct. 1808 the government addressed itself to this task. Some penal questions had already been settled; for example, capital punishment and imprisonment for life had been admitted as necessities. Minimum and maximum penalties had also been fixed for each crime. The task now taken in hand was the revision of the Code of 1791, which was accomplished in forty-one sittings, and the Penal Code was decreed on 2 Feb. 1810. N. presided on one occasion only, and gave it as his opinion that laws briefly stated, leaving considerable discretion to the judges and the government would be a good policy to go upon, as "men had compassion and the law had not." It cannot be said, however, that N. erred on the side of clemency, for the Penal Code is stringent and even in places barbarous. It must be borne in mind, however, that it was compiled when the memory of the crimes of the French Revolution were fresh in the minds of men. The penalty of confiscation which had been excluded from the Code of 1791 was restored, as was that of "branding." The hand of the parricide was to be cut off before the death sentence. Those condemned to hard labour were given the most arduous tasks. They were to be tied two and two, dragging a ball at their feet. The death penalty was to be inflicted not only for murder, but for theft and brigandage, for corruption and perjury where the lives of innocent people were imperilled by such. The horror of crime in this Code is well balanced by the horrors of the punishment inflicted. It is such a Code as could never have been instituted under popular or democratic government, and displays in nearly every line of its provisions the hand of the despot.

### *Commercial Code*

Commercial courts had long sat in France, and a commission had been

sitting in 1789 to investigate the commercial law of the country. The Revolution had, of course, put a period to its labours, which were resumed by command of N. in 1801, when a committee of six was appointed to prepare a sufficient Code. The draft arranged by them was submitted to the law courts and to the commercial councils and tribunals, who revised it, and then remitted it back to the committee. By an error, however, the revised Code was handed to the section of the Interior instead of to the legislative section of the council of state, and was pigeon-holed for a number of years, only to be pulled out after the commercial scandal which arose upon the failure of the firm of Récamier in 1806. In Aug. 1807 it was finally completed. Four sessions, held at St. Cloud, beginning at 7 a.m. and lasting till the evening, gave N. a good opportunity of addressing himself to this task, and of applying his natural wisdom, insight and common sense to the affairs of civil life. At the first session the question whether the commercial courts should take cognizance of all cases arising out of promissory notes where the signatories had declared themselves of their intention of being bound by the law of commerce. The Emperor argued powerfully that merchants only should be liable to imprisonment for failing to meet such an obligation. "Bankruptcies," said N., "take away men's fortunes without destroying their honour, and that is what it is important to destroy." Several members of the council pointed out that every failure could not be supposed to be the result of fraud, and the Code sets forth that the administration of the debtor's affairs is entrusted first to agents designated by the court of commerce, and then to syndics designated by the creditors, until and except such evidence emerge during the proceedings which may lead the presiding magistrate to consider that the bankrupt should be sent before the correctional or criminal court. This Code has required more amendment than any other part of Napoleonic legislation. For example, in the Fourth Book there is no clause dealing with imprisonment for debt.

A sixth, the *Code Rural*, was drafted but never passed. All together represent a great idea—the unity of French law. It is necessary to recall the excitement, strain and almost hysteria of the times in which these Codes were drawn up ere due justice can be done to their contents. There is a great deal that is *bourgeois* about the Codes, and their spirit is more massive than spacious. The position of women in them is that of a child or a semi-slave; she has practically no rights. Again, company law is an appendage of the middle-class. The interests of the working people are by no means well provided for, and that in an age when the echo of the revolutionary cry for liberty was still ringing in men's ears. But religious toleration, civil equality, the emancipation of land, the public trial are retained by them.

**Concordat.**—See RELIGION.

**Condé, Louis Henry Joseph, Duke of Bourbon (1756 - 1830).**—The last Prince of Condé. When quite a young man he married Louise of Orleans, and became the father of the Duc d'Enghien (*q.v.*). He fought on the Royalist side at the Revolution, and during the Hundred Days was the leader of a rising in La Vendée. He was found dead on 27 Aug. 1830—hanged on the fastening of his window—and it is suspected that he may have been assassinated.

**Consalvi, Ercole (1757-1824).**—Italian cardinal and diplomatist; was born at Rome on 8 July 1757, and educated at the college of Cardinal York at Frascati. His promotion was rapid, and in 1800 Pope Pius VII. made him a cardinal and secretary of state. Consalvi's royalist tendencies made him an enemy of N., but one which even the Emperor himself could not regard without fear and respect. He it was who concluded the Concordat with N., and it was mainly through his influence that its terms were as favourable to Rome as they actually were. However, increasing friction between the Emperor and the Cardinal resulted in the latter's resignation in 1807, though ere long N. was constrained to offer an apology. At the Congress of Vienna,

whither he went as papal representative, Consalvi's diplomatic skill was evident, though it did not avail him much. Thereafter he helped the Pope in the government of the Papal States. He died on 24 Jan. 1824. A man of wide culture and outstanding abilities, he was worthy of the age in which he lived.

**Constant, Benjamin.**—N.'s valet, a servant much favoured by Josephine, whose private life and that of N. he illuminated in his *Memoirs*, a sketch of which follows this article. Constant, regarding whose career little is known, exhibits all the assurance and self-satisfaction of the typical manservant in his writings, which are nevertheless replete with the worldly wisdom of his class and age, and sparkle with genuine humour and native brilliance.

*Memoirs.*—The *Memoirs* of the vivacious yet sensible valet are perhaps among the most entertaining biographical matter which deals with N. and those surrounding him. Constant passed from the service of Eugène de Beauharnais to that of N. himself, but one will find little of history in his writings, which confine themselves almost wholly to the domestic life of those whom he served and their satellites. Constant's attitude towards N. is that of a devoted servant and not that of a critic. He does not praise or blame, but simply narrates facts in a most interesting manner. Even at the outset Constant was inconsolable, left behind, as he was, when N. proceeded to the Italian campaign. When he rejoined N., after whom he had hastened, at the hospice of St. Bernard, he followed him through Italy. The Battle of Marengo and the death of Desaix, at which N. showed so much grief, are alluded to in this part of the book. Subsequent to the conspiracy which nearly cost N. his life by the exploding of an infernal machine, he asked Constant on going to bed if he had been at all afraid, and laughed when the valet told him that he had been much more put out than the First Consul himself. These reminiscences bristle with minor points of interest, such as that relating to

the poor madman who fell in love with Hortense; and the meeting of the First Consul and his old writing-master, who turned up one day at Malmaison. The First Consul asked him who he was, and he replied: "General, it was I who had the honour to give you writing lessons at Brienne." "And a jolly bad pupil you turned out," cried the First Consul gaily. "I must compliment you upon your success!" The old man, it is pleasant to relate, was pensioned off.

As becomes a valet, Constant has much to say about the dress of the various dignitaries who surrounded the consular court. The First Consul's uniform, we are told, was a red coat without facings and braided with gold. He retained his black military stock, and would not wear a lace cravat. His hat was graced with flowing tricolour plumes.

Insensibly we enter Imperial times in these *Memoirs*. Constant became head valet, and therefore more intimately acquainted with his master. He got a day's leave, the first since his attendance upon N. began. At this point, chapter xix., he interpolates the *Memoirs* of a certain lady, which take up a good many chapters, and which there is no necessity to outline in this place. N.'s stay at Munich and Stuttgart is next described. Portraits of the German princes are cleverly drawn, especially that of Prince Louis of Bavaria, who on a visit to Paris went to sleep at the theatre. The enormous size of the King of Württemberg also affords a butt for the kindly humour of Constant, as do the antediluvian dresses of the German princesses at state functions. The Empress Josephine had much ado to keep from laughing when among the German princesses one was announced "*Cunegonde*": the mediæval ring of the name appears to have been in keeping with the lady's costume, and the Empress added that when she saw this princess sitting down she kept imagining how she would look if leaning on one side, so absurd were the Gothic panniers some of the German ladies affected, and the huge wigs they still wore.

Constant, of course, followed his master in his various campaigns, and when the army of Boulogne marched towards the Rhine he saw much there which was to occupy his pen in the future. The great surrender at Ulm, when the immense army of over 30,000 men laid down their arms at N.'s feet as they filed past him, strongly affected his imagination. Some of the regiments were by no means well fed, and once when visiting the lines, where for over forty-eight hours no rations had been served out, the Emperor noticed some of the soldiers baking potatoes in the ashes. His Majesty took up one of the potatoes and began to eat it, saying to the grenadier: "How do you like these roast pigeons?"

The Polish campaign, the Battle of Eylau, and the events which followed these, with all their mingled misery and brilliance, are picturesquely set forth by Constant, who tells, among other things, how the Emperor cheated at cards and shared his winnings with his valet; how Prince Jerome fell in love with a Breslau actress, who married his valet; the Emperor's merriment during the Battle of Danzig; and describes the interview between the Tsar and the Emperor at Tilsit. A sad note is struck by the chapter on the death of the young Napoleon, the son of the King of Holland. The visit of the Emperor to Italy is most strikingly drawn, especially those parts which deal with the regatta at Venice in honour of N., and the view of the piazza at night. Returning to Paris, the vast building schemes of the Emperor were minutely inspected. The magnificent fêtes and masked balls which now took place, and the disguises which N. assumed at some of these, are cleverly described. All through this period of comparative peace the sayings and doings of the Emperor are carefully and skilfully collected. His campaign in Spain is the subject of some vivid pages. Constant tells how once while in Spain he was roundly abused by Duroc, then grand marshal, in the most harsh and insulting manner. Constant appealed to the Emperor, who sent for the marshal. "Look, Marshal," said N., pointing to the valet, "look into what

a state you have thrown that poor fellow. What has he done to be treated thus?" Then, turning to Constant, the Emperor said: "M. Constant, rest assured that this shall not occur again." Shortly after this Constant had a violent attack of fever at Valladolid, where he had to be left behind. He reached Paris a few days after the Emperor, just as Talleyrand had been thrown into disgrace. The campaign of the Rhine and the wounding of the Emperor, which was kept dark, is then alluded to, as is the attempt upon the Emperor's life by Staps. The death of Lannes at Essling and the distress of N. are beautifully told. The dreadful sufferings which followed the Battle of Essling and the fortitude of the sufferers occupy some space.

The next point of real interest in the Memoirs is the divorce of Josephine, which Constant shows to have been a painful sacrifice to the Emperor. The dreadful scenes which followed his decision are touchingly portrayed. N.'s second marriage is described in full; the birth of the King of Rome is touched upon and synchronized with the death of Constant's son by croup. N.'s little-known journey through Holland and Flanders is interestingly written up, and throws light on a part of Napoleonic history which has been strangely neglected. The great Russian campaign is described from the point of view of one who was close to the Emperor at all times, and so on until the date of the first abdication, through the horrors of Leipsic, and the invasion of France.

Constant's grief at having been charged with the embezzlement of 100,000 francs, which he had buried by the Emperor's command, and his disgust at the charge, made him refuse to follow his Imperial master to Elba. The false construction put upon his conduct he strongly resents in his Memoirs, and furnishes many examples of his disinterestedness. Thus end these Memoirs, which are replete with the most amusing and interesting anecdotes relating to the Imperial career, and which it is impossible to do more than glance at in such a brief survey as the present. Constant

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appears to have been honest, honourable and unselfish, and it is not difficult to trace his character in his writings, through which flow a veritable stream of simplicity, good nature and naïvety.

**Constant de Rebecque, Henri Benjamin (1767 - 1830).** French author and politician. This French politician, usually spoken of simply as Benjamin Constant, and who was an important figure in the literary world of N.'s day, was born at Lausanne, but received his education in Brussels and Oxford, subsequently spending some time in Edinburgh. In 1794 he became acquainted with Mme. de Staël, with whom he formed what was more than a platonic friendship. Two years later he attracted some attention by his first publication, in book form, a pamphlet in defence of the Directorate; while he was appointed, not long afterwards, a member of the Tribunal. Whilst acting in this capacity, however, he repeatedly showed himself hostile to the growing power of N., his attitude in this respect being no doubt traceable in some degree to his intimacy with Mme. de Staël, and the result was that Constant not only forfeited his position, but was ordered to quit France. Going accordingly to Germany, he lived for a while at Weimar, where he grew friendly with Goethe and Schiller; while in 1813 he published, at Hanover, a book which augmented his reputation in France, *De l'esprit de conquête et de l'usurpation dans leur rapports avec la civilisation européenne*. The débâcle of the Empire in 1814 made it possible for him to return to Paris, where he was received in friendly fashion by the Tsar Alexander, who was then staying in Talleyrand's house, opposite the Place de la Concorde; and now Constant plunged into a fresh love-affair, the object of his adoration on this occasion being Mme. Récamier, at this time at the height of her fame in Parisian society. Then, in the year of Waterloo, the author issued in London his *Adolphe*, which was probably the first real psychological novel, and which exercised so profound an influence on Mme. de Staël; in 1825 the first volume of another book

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from his pen was published, *De la religion considérée dans sa source, ses formes, et ses développements*. This is the longest of his works, but he is remembered rather by his *Journal Intime*, which was not published in its entirety till after his death. It is strange that N., with all his anxiety to enact the part of Mæcenæ, should have failed to agree with Constant, and his treatment of the author must ever be a matter of regret with the Emperor's countless devotees.

**Constantine, Pavlovich (1779-1831).**—Grand Duke and Tsarevitch of Russia; was born on 27 April 1779, the second son of the Tsar Paul, many of whose characteristics he inherited. He was brought up by his grandmother, the Empress Catherine II., who carefully planned his education, and married him at the age of seventeen to Juliana of Coburg. This union turned out most unhappily, and his wife returned permanently to Germany in 1801. Constantine served in his first campaign under Suvarov, and so distinguished himself at Novi that his father conferred on him the title of Tsarevitch. For some time after Tsar Paul's death he led a very dissipated life. In the 1805 campaign he held the command of the Imperial guards, was present at the Battle of Austerlitz, and the retreat of his men in this conflict was the beginning of the rout which followed. After the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Constantine came under the influence of N., whom he greatly admired, and he did everything in his power to bring about a Franco-Russian alliance. He did not realize that N. only desired this alliance for political reasons, and even after the disasters which fell upon the French Army in 1812 he still worked for this end. During the 1812 campaign he did not show to advantage in the battles in France and Germany, and at Dresden he failed conspicuously; but at La Fère Champenoise he demonstrated his personal bravery. He was later entrusted with the discipline of Poland by his brother Alexander, and was made commander-in-chief of the Polish Armies. In 1820 he married a Polish lady, and relinquished his right



to the succession of the Russian throne, spending the remainder of his life within the confines of his adopted country. During the insurrection in Warsaw of 1830, Constantine proved himself unable to cope with the situation, and so far forgot his birth as to rejoice in the defeats of the Russians. He died of cholera at Vitebsk in 1831 before the suppression of the rising.

**Consulate, The.**—N.'s joint and singular occupancy of the office of consul was embraced by the years 1799-1804. In Nov. of the first year he formed with Ducos and Sieyès "an executive consular commission, invested with the full powers of the Directory." All three held equal powers, and the presidency was to fall to each in alphabetical order. It is plain that such a commission was, in reality, nothing more than a Directory of three. In effect the triumvirs exercised the sway of an almost unlimited oligarchy, and from their cabinet collectively controlled the governmental departments, the holders of the several portfolios retaining office at their pleasure. Furthermore, the Consular Commission laid before the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients resolutions which it became incumbent upon these bodies to cast into a legislative mould.

#### *Supremacy of the Triumvirate*

The trend of the national legislation was thus definitely fixed by the three. The councils might only modify the original provisions of the consuls without substantially interfering with their specific character. A spirit of detachment from party animated the consular policy, and its efforts were directed towards the establishment of a lasting internal peace. N. took upon himself the active administration of affairs, while Sieyès undertook to plan the constitution. The labours of the consuls were hampered at the outset by the state of the national finances, which was deplorable. But pacific influences were at work, and had been set on foot prior to the termination of the Directory on 18 Brumaire. The Chouans (*q.v.*) were temporarily pacified by d'Hédouville (24 Nov. 1799).

Prior to this the consulate had been regarded as a merely provisional government, the Directory only standing adjourned to 20 Feb. 1800.

#### *N. Hastens the Constitution*

Sieyès adumbrated but slowly his constitutional alterations, and N., impatient at the delay, drew matters to a head by insisting upon the immediate signature of articles which would serve as a basis for discussion. These included the appointment of himself, Cambacérès and Lebrun as consuls, whilst Sieyès and Ducos were merely alluded to as "future senators." Briefly, the new constitution was framed under three heads: the electoral system, the assemblies, and the executive. No legislation could be originated save by the consuls, who also controlled foreign policy and finance. The constitution of the council of state was left in an inchoate condition, and, in short, the final veto remained with the Tribunal.

#### *N. as First Consul*

The consuls were appointed by the senate for ten years—N., the First Consul, had practically unlimited sway in the matter of suggested legislation, the other two merely existing for purposes of consultation. The members of the senate, tribunate and legislative body were then nominated, the final appointments confronting the revolutionary party with a strong bureaucracy. The ministry was again reconstructed under the personal supervision of N., whose invariable policy it was to consult with his ministers in private, avoiding anything like a cabinet council. There was (significantly) no premier. On 18 Feb. 1800 the result of the national plébiscite for or against the new constitution was published, the constitution being adopted by 3,001,007 votes against 1,526.

#### *Local Administration*

The organization of local administration then proceeded apace. The cantons were grouped into arrondissements, 398 in number. Local autonomy ceased. "The administration and the administered were brought

together." Men of all parties and of a superior type were appointed as administrative officials, and on the surface the machine of internal government worked smoothly. On 19 Feb. 1800 N. established himself at the Tuileries. In Dec. of that year negotiations were once more entered into with the Chouans, ending in a consular proclamation that all of that party who did not lay down their arms within ten days would be regarded as rebels. Severe measures followed the expiry of this period, namely, the occupation by troops of the affected districts, which were subjected to all the horrors of war. Brune succeeded d'Hédouville, and with his occupancy of the Chouan districts the movement collapsed. In Jan. 1800, in the tribunate and the press, pointed allusions were made to the autocratic tendencies of N., who suppressed no less than sixty newspapers in Paris alone, although he himself made use of the press to reply to his critics in the tribunate. In May 1800 N. set out on the second Italian campaign (*q.v.*). The victory of Marengo added greatly to his popularity. Returning to Paris in July, he busied himself with keeping a watch upon the numerous parties which composed his legislature. Through an admirable system of police he rendered constitutional opposition impossible, so that nothing was left to his rivals save conspiracy. Many plots and counterplots were unmasked, and not a few more organized by the police in order to entrap the less wary enemies of the First Consul. On 24 Dec. 1800 an attempt was made upon his life at the opera by Chouan leaders, but, although many were killed and injured, he escaped scathless. Above 130 suspects were condemned to deportation, but only a moiety of these suffered it. This incident greatly increased the popularity of N., who added fresh laurels to his fame by the Treaty of Lunéville (*q.v.*).

#### *N.'s Policy as Consul*

It was now obvious that his policy was to weld the aristocracy of the *ancien régime* with the bureaucracy

of the France of the Revolution. In this he had to contend with the legislative assemblies. But on 18 Jan. 1802 it was decided by the senate that the eighty tribunes and 240 legislators who were to continue in office on the partial renewal of these bodies should be named by vote instead of being selected by lot. The result was that all the leaders of the opposition left the tribunate. An extraordinary session of these affected bodies was convoked, and the Concordat (*q.v.*) and the Articles Organiques were adopted as law, 8 April 1802. The Peace of Amiens (*q.v.*), 25 March, also rendered N. still more popular than before. On 26 April 1802 an amnesty was granted to the *émigrés* by a *senatus consultum*, specifying those classes of *émigrés* who were not to profit by it, those not to exceed a thousand.

#### *Consulate for Life*

N. had by this period made up his mind that he should be created First Consul for life. The senate agreed, as a reward for the Treaty of Amiens, to appoint him First Consul for the ten years following his then existing term of office, but on 10 May 1802 the assemblies yielded, and the consulate for life was bestowed upon him. The opposition now consisted of republicans alone, and N., who aimed at personal power, more and more aware that the army was still deeply imbued with republicanism, dispatched those regiments most attached to it to San Domingo. The generals were all strenuously opposed to the First Consul, to whom they alluded as "the Sultan." The military malcontents were reinforced by civilians and intellectuals like Mme. de Staël and Cabanis. Bernadotte controlled the group of generals, seconded by Moreau. N., aware of the growing danger, set the police to work, and a conspiracy was engineered, duly "discovered," and two officers were executed. The generals became active, and France was deluged by pamphlets emanating from the military party and denouncing N. as a tyrant. The real heads of the conspiracy were then arrested,

but with characteristic tact N. hushed the matter up and dismissed them unimpeached. The plébiscite for or against N.'s appointment as Consul for Life was now published (2 Aug. 1802), and showed 3,568,885 votes in his favour against only 8,374 "noes." N., now in supreme authority, and elected by the voice of the nation, drew up a new constitution, which was approved by the council of state (2 Aug. 1802). The senate accepted the measure without discussion on the same day.

The Tuileries now witnessed the revival of an almost royal state, and a regular court was established therein. The salons were re-established on the semi-philosophical basis which had marked them before revolutionary times. The *nouveaux riches* of the Directory were discredited. Paris became once more the repository of European culture, art, and fashion, and foreigners swarmed in her boulevards. Much yet remained to be done in the provinces, however, but work was abundant and well remunerated.

#### Finance

Financial operations were badly hampered by the existence of floating paper, and securities had depreciated. These the treasury commenced to exchange for consols. This resulted in an increase of the public debt by 9,000,000 francs, justified, however, by the exigencies of the situation. But much money was entering the treasury through war contributions and indemnities, and from extraordinary internal receipts alone the consulate received at least 300,000,000 francs. War with Great Britain broke out afresh in May 1802, and a great army was concentrated at Boulogne. The royalists again conspired. A general board of public safety was opened at the ministry of justice on 1 Feb. 1804, and Moreau, who was in reality guiltless, was arrested. Georges Cadoudal and Pichegru, the royalist conspirators, were arrested. A royalist prince was expected to arrive in Paris. The Duc d'Enghien (*q.v.*) was suspected, and his "arrest" was resolved upon. This was effected at

Ettenheim, in Baden, and the Duc was brought to Paris, and, after a short trial, shot at Vincennes. An immense sensation was created, and, profiting by it and posing as a bulwark against conspiracy, foreign or native, N. resolved upon grasping the sovereign power. On 3 May the tribunate, and on 4 May the senate, hailed him as Emperor, and on the 18th his status as such was ratified. The consulate had come to an end.

N.'s labours towards the reorganization of France were not disinterested, but were undertaken with a view to his own exaltation. Created consul at a time when the country was worn out by intestine strife, he easily succeeded in gaining public favour, and by degrees forced his way to ever-advancing public promotion. Attaching himself to no party, he gained a reputation for disinterestedness which was totally misplaced. There but remains to remark that the genius by which he succeeded in reorganizing a shattered France was of the highest possible order. Both the manner and the speed with which it was accomplished excite unbounded surprise and admiration, and if the solidity of the work has been called into question it can but be indicated that after more than a century much of it remains unaltered. N. was undoubtedly the creator of modern France, but it is possible that during the nineteenth century she was hampered in many ways by the legislative legacy he bequeathed to her, which was in some ways more suited to the exigencies of personal control than to that of a purely democratic government.

**Continental System.**—See EMPIRE.

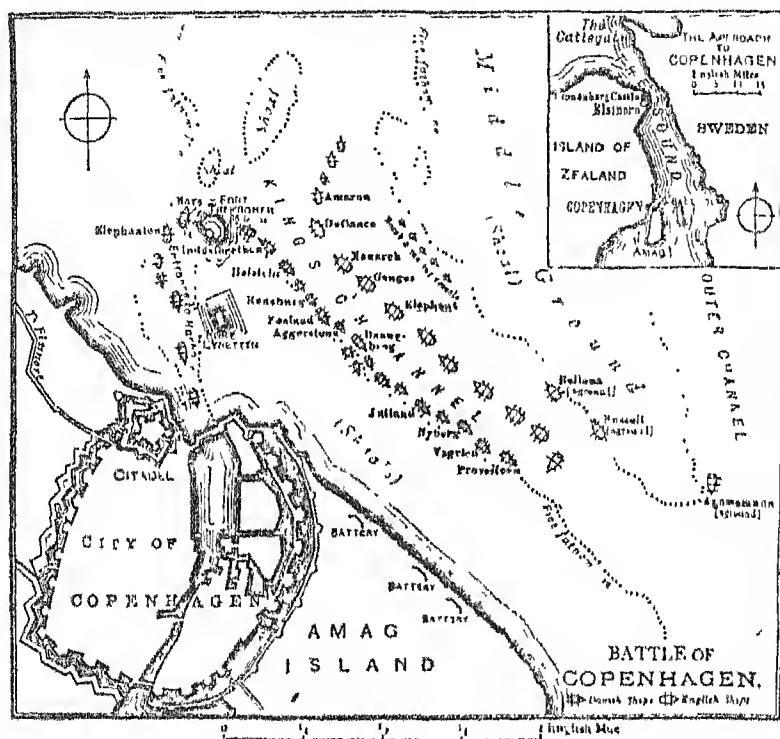
**Copenhagen, Battle of.**—In consequence of the *Freyr* incident (see ARMED NEUTRALITY), in which a Danish frigate of that name, conveying merchantmen, had refused the right of examination to British warships and had been captured with the convoy, hostilities broke out between Great Britain and Denmark. Admiral Parker, with Nelson as second in command, was dispatched to Danish waters, where he arrived in the Catte-

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gat on 30 March 1801. The Danes had concentrated all their means of defence almost before the city of Copenhagen, a policy which obliged the British to make an attack upon a well-defended position. Numerous vessels of war had been turned into floating batteries, and ten sail of the line accompanied these. The Swedish and Russian fleets, which were to have assisted the Danish sea-armament, lay ice-bound and useless in the harbours, a circumstance much in favour of the

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of the allied fleets. On the 26th Parker attempted the passage of the great Belt, but several of his vessels ran aground. On the 30th, however, he resolved to force the passage, Nelson leading the van, Parker the centre, and Graves the rear. The ships of the line formed a single column in the middle of the Channel, whilst the lesser vessels sailed on either side for the purpose of combatting the enemy's batteries on the opposing coasts. When the fleet neared Elsinore



British. On 21 March the British Government had delivered an ultimatum to the Danish authorities demanding the withdrawal of Denmark from the maritime confederation of the neutral powers, and the opening of Danish ports to British vessels. The reply vouchsafed was to the effect that Denmark would not commence hostilities, but would meet force by force. On the 24th the British ambassador went on board the fleet, and a council of war was held, at which Nelson advocated appearing before Copenhagen in order to prevent the junction

the fortress of Cronenburg opened a heavy fire, but as a comparatively weak cannonade came from the Swedish batteries on the opposing coast-line Parker steered thither, and, avoiding the Elsinore batteries, anchored off the Island of Huen in the middle of the gulf. Parker and Nelson were aware that the Danes thought more of the defence of Copenhagen than of preventing the entrance of the British fleet into the Baltic, but dared not risk leaving such a strongly fortified place behind them. The city was defended not only by the strong

Fort Trekroner (Three Crowns) on the right, but also by twenty hulks of large vessels, and land batteries on the Island of Amag to the left. On 2 April, Nelson, with nine sail of the line, anchored right opposite the Danish line, having left three sail aground in his progress up the Channel. He was met with and returned a dreadful fire, no less than 800 pieces of artillery being brought to bear on the British line. Nelson converged his fire upon the *Provesteen*, which he silenced after killing 500 out of a crew of 600. Several other of the floating batteries struck him. At the other end of the line Captain Riou was strongly opposed, and Parker, seeing the damage inflicted on his division, ordered the battle to cease; Nelson, however, ignored the signal, placing his glass to his blind eye and affecting not to observe it. In the event the rapidity of the British fire gave Nelson the victory, and he burned, sunk, captured, or drove on shore the entire Danish line, leaving Copenhagen at the end of the day open to bombardment. He then communicated with the Crown Prince of Denmark, threatening to sink the vessels which still resisted unless they ceased firing, which the Prince agreed to do. Negotiations were entered into for a suspension of hostilities, and an armistice was concluded by which Denmark quitted the armed neutrality for the truce. (*See ARMED NEUTRALITY.*) The British loss was 20 officers (including Riou) and 234 men killed, and 48 officers and 641 men wounded. The Danish loss was estimated between 1,800 and 2,000.

**Corbineau, Dahlmann, and Hautpoul.** — Three of the commanding chasseurs of the guard in the charge on the Russian infantry at Eylau which saved the battle. N. wrote to Admiral Decrès to have three frigates put on the stocks to be named *Dahlmann*, *Corbineau*, and *Hautpoul*, and in the captain's cabin was to be placed a marble inscription recounting the brave deeds of the hero from whom the vessel was named.

**Coronation of Napoleon.** — There is no reason to suppose that Bonaparte had more than the most casual interest

in religion, yet he realized very fully that, would he make the ceremony of his coronation impressive and solemn in the eyes of France and of Europe in general, it was essential that the Pope should play a part therein. His Holiness having been approached, he consented to come, though it appears that he gave this consent rather reluctantly and largely because he dreaded the consequences of a refusal. Feeling that the meeting between himself and the Pontiff might be somewhat embarrassing for both parties, N. arranged that it should take place on the road between Fontainebleau and Nemours, as a chance incident in the course of a day's hunting; and while Pius VII. was on his way thither, great preparations for the coronation were going forward in Paris, the prospective sovereign manifesting a rare shrewdness in his conduct of these affairs. For instance, he caused the sword and insignia of Charlemagne to be brought from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris, arranging that they should figure prominently among the decorations at Notre Dame, where the coronation was to take place; and by thus honouring these sacred and significant relics he made a strong appeal to royalists, in fact, to all people with a sense for the romantic and for the glamour attaching to the remote days of chivalry. Nor did the Emperor spare money, his own and his wife's coronation robes alone costing 1,123,000 francs; while the advice of his new master of ceremonies, M. de Ségur, was carefully collated with hints given by many scions of old houses now rallying to the new dynasty, counsel being also gladly taken from Louis David, who, appointed chief painter-in-ordinary to their Imperial Highnesses, was charged to paint a vast picture of the spectacle.

On the most memorable day of his life, 2 Dec. 1804, N. and his consort drove to Notre Dame, vast crowds flocking to see and applaud the new sovereigns of France. Josephine bore on her head a costly diadem of pearls and diamonds, her shoulders likewise being decorated with jewels; while beneath a gorgeous velvet cloak, lined with ermine, she wore a dress of white satin, lavishly embroidered in gold

## CORONATION

with bees, for the bee is the crest of the Bonapartes. This dress was made in Greek style, being gathered in immediately beneath the breasts, and it showed the Empress' slim and graceful figure to full advantage; while the Emperor's smallness of stature, always so noticeable when he was seen on foot, passed almost unobserved as he sat in his carriage. In the hilt of his sword flashed the famous Pitt diamond, and he wore a red velvet coat, not of any modern pattern, but of a shape in vogue in the remote times of Henry IV.; while over this coat he had a cloak embroidered with bees. He wore the collar of the Legion of Honour in diamonds, and a wreath of laurel encircled his grave and beautiful brow.

The cheering grew louder and louder as the procession made its way along the Rue Nicaise, and the Rue St Honoré, over the Pont Neuf, and finally to Notre Dame. Here the Pope was ready to receive the pair, and, having anointed Emperor and Empress with the holy oil, he gave them his pontifical blessing, and offered up prayers on their behalf. Then he made as if to lift the two crowns, with intent to place them on the heads before him, but at this juncture a strange emotion thrilled all the onlookers—an emotion which had not been evoked in France for many centuries past—for now N. rose from his knees, gently waved His Holiness aside, and placed the crown proudly on his own head. He then crowned the Empress.

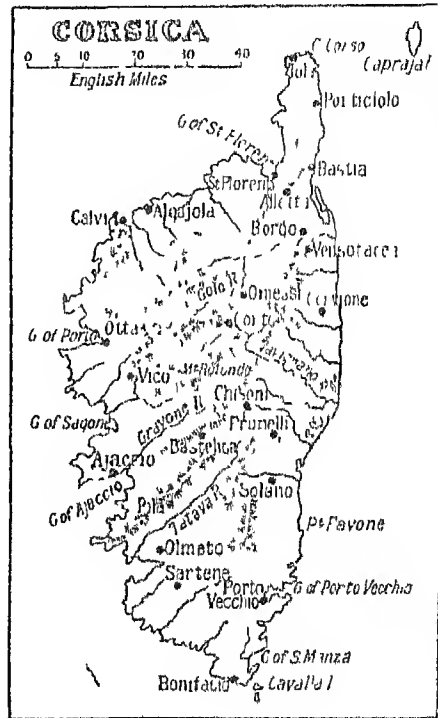
It would be wrong to suppose that the French populace were unanimous in approving Bonaparte's coronation, bewitched though they were by the pride, pomp, and splendour accompanying it; while in England the affair was looked on chiefly with scorn, and elsewhere many people derided it.

**Coronation, First Anniversary of N.'s.**—The first anniversary of this event (2 Dec. 1804) was Austerlitz, the "Battle of the Three Emperors," 2 Dec. 1805. At midnight, when the Emperor returned from visiting the round of outposts, his soldiers, whom he had taken into his confidence as to plans for the impending struggle, greeted him in their excitement and

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ardour with flaming torches made of the wisped straw which had roofed their shelters. As N. passed in his well-worn grey coat the thousands shouted in wild ardour, "This is the anniversary of the coronation; *Vive l'Empereur!*" The illuminations died away with the dawn, and in that dawn rose "the sun of Austerlitz."

**Corsica.**—This island of the Mediterranean and its chequered history must be studied if a correct understanding of its great son Napoleon



Bonaparte would be arrived at. Despite his Ligurian blood he was a true Corsican, in virtues as in faults, and the environment had moulded him, for his family had been settled there since the early part of the sixteenth century.

Corsica's geographical position furnishes the key to its racial and political history. It lies in the Mediterranean, 9 miles north of Sardinia, 56 miles west of Italy, but 110 miles south-east of Cap Martin, France, the country in whose history Corsica counts for so much. In area

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it is 3,356 square miles, in length 114 miles, and 52 miles in breadth. In N.'s time the population numbered about 200,000, now it is 300,000. Boswell, who visited the island only four years before the birth of N., gives in his *Account of Corsica* descriptions of its natural features. "The interior parts of the island are, in general, mountainous, though interspersed with fruitful valleys, but have a peculiar grand appearance and inspire one with the genius of the place, with that undaunted and inflexible spirit which will not bow to oppression." The wild and uncultivated districts are overgrown with tangled underwoods, a riotous growth of arbutus, myrtle, thorn, broom, laurel, and various other fragrant shrubs called the *maquis*, the fragrance of which floats out to sea, and by this sailors would know when they were near Corsica if no other sign were to offer itself. This fragrance N. recalled at dismal St. Helena, and said that by it alone, even with blinded eyes, he would know his birthplace.

Cyrmes was the classic name for the island, and under this name much may be read of it in Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus, and others, amongst them the younger Seneca, who spent eight years of exile there (A.D. 41-49). Among the many derivations given for the name Corsica is that of *cor*, a heart, and *sica*, a stiletto or steel, doubtless suggested by the character of its inhabitants; but a more likely origin is its association with the legend of a Ligurian woman named Corsa who saw a bull swim over to the island and on his return noted that he was much bigger than when he went. This symbolises the noted fertility of the island.

The original population was Ligurian, and the first civilized people to reach Corsica were those merchants of the early days, the Phoenicians, who, with a keen eye for markets, opened trading-centres on the coasts. Then followed Etruscans, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Goths, Lombards, and Saracens, all of whom left some mark on race and country, the last-named in especial leaving considerable traces. The flag of Corsica, which the French

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tried to ban, bears a Moor's head bandaged over the eyes, while many of the island's dances and songs have a Moorish atmosphere. Out of this welter and clash of conflicting races was formed the Corsican of N.'s day. Even in Seneca's time he could write thus of Corsica: "This island has often changed its inhabitants. Passing over the more ancient events which are encrusted with the rust of antiquity I will only mention that the Greeks who now inhabit Massilia (Marseilles) settled first on this island after leaving Phocæa." And then he proceeds to give what was then known of the people who had tried to make Corsica theirs. N. in 1789, his twentieth year, wrote his *Lettres sur la Corse*, and says: "This history of Corsica is nothing but that of a perpetual struggle between a small people which wishes to live in freedom, and its neighbours who wish to oppress it."

The Etruscans during their domination drew from Corsica supplies of honey, wax, timber for ships, and slaves. Then came the Carthaginians, more warlike, though also keen traders, but in the Punic Wars Rome wrested their booty from them. The tribes of the interior were never conquered, and Roman generals learned defeat from Corsican hands. One of those generals paid with his life for his failure, for when he returned to Rome he was strangled and thrown out on the Gemonian Steps. In A.D. 469 Genseric the Vandal was master of the island, then it was ravaged by the struggle between Vandals and Lombards under Cyril, the lieutenant of Belisarius. Next came the Byzantine rule, with its oppressive taxes, then an irruption of Mussulmans followed by the appearance of Charlemagne and the Franks, and in their turn came the Moors from Spain. After them the island was divided between foreign nobles and became the scene of internal feuds. Finally, in 1098 Urban II. placed it under the Archbishop of Pisa, and Corsica remained under that rule for 200 years until Genoa, victorious in the naval battle of Meloria (1284), demanded the island as the fruits of her victory.

Genoese rule was to become synony-

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mous with oppression and injustice, but even under them the Corsicans were not broken. There arose a line of national leaders who struggled hard against oppressive rule. To the Bank of Genoa, whose rule was supreme in Corsica, the island only represented an investment, and their only interest was in its yield of taxes. All national institutions were reduced to a shadow, and the defence of the coasts so neglected that the Barbary pirates there found easy prey. Plagues and floods further reduced the population, and their misery was extreme. Sambuccio Guidice della Rocca, Vincetello d'Istria, and Sampiero di Bastelico are names well-loved in Corsica as names of those who loved and fought for liberty. The last-named, chief of the Corsican regiment in France, helped to drive the Genoese from the island, but he was done to death by an assassin, and his native land was to know another 150 years of foreign rule. Internal animosities were fostered by Genoese and of set purpose they never interfered with the vendetta, for the issue of firearms was a fruitful source of revenue. Again in 1729 the Corsicans rose under Andrea Colonna, Ceccaldi, and Gaffori, the greatest of national heroes. Austrian soldiers purchased from the Emperor Charles VI. had almost suppressed the revolt, but only with difficulty, when there came the strange interlude of the German baron, Theodore Neuhof of La Mark, Westphalia, who, within a month of his appearance with his promises of help and valuable gifts, was proclaimed King of Corsica. The story of his adventure is one of the strangest in history. Genoa now sought the assistance of France, and Louis XV. sent troops. The Corsicans were defeated, but under Gaffori the spirit of national resistance rose again. Treachery in the camp led to his assassination, and after his death came Paoli (*q.v.*) with whose life the history of Corsica is bound up from this time to its final incorporation with France in 1796. It was occupied by Great Britain for a short time in 1814, but in 1815 was restored to the French crown. Out of this welter of conflicts and races was moulded the Corsican character to be-

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come synonymous throughout the world with superhuman will, valour, and fierce love of liberty. The darker side was there, as shown by the famous *vendetta*, but this was a product of the very conditions which formed the finer qualities. In N., Corsica's greatest son, the same light and shadow may be found; the national character is well exemplified in him. That this is true may be found by reading descriptions of the Corsican character written before he had dazzled the world—descriptions that also apply to his personal appearance, notably his eyes and their keen glance that all remarked and so many feared. Brave, lovers of war, sober, proud, intrepid, keen of intellect, all this may be found in N., and finally the old Corsican saying may be quoted, "A Corsican never forgives, neither alive nor dead." And yet what man in the world's history can show such a record of magnanimous deeds as N. The influence his country wielded over his fate is incalculable. Apart from the curious circumstance that he was born on an island (Corsica), was first imprisoned on an island (Elba), conquered by Great Britain, another island, and, again defeated, dying on sea-girt St. Helena, the history of his country formed his dreams and ambitions. As a child he listened eagerly to the tales of its heroes, as a youth he burned to emulate their deeds. In the days of the Revolution the fact that he was a Corsican, therefore a "lover of liberty," was a protection, and gave him an immunity that nothing else could have done in the time of the Terror. In his last days his thoughts constantly reverted to Corsica, and again, Corsicans played a fateful part in his life. It was a Corsican, Paoli, who, whatever his motives, decided N. to find his career in France; it was a Corsican, Pozzo di Borgo, who moved behind the scenes, patiently planning his downfall; it was a Corsican, Antommarchi, who was with him in those days of suffering at St. Helena; it was a Corsican who gave him the last sacraments when his life was ebbing fast to its close.

**Corunna, Battle of.**—A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 14 Jan. 1809. The opposing forces



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were 15,000 British under Sir John Moore, and 20,000 French under Soult, who was endeavouring to prevent the British from embarking. The British were safely embarked with a loss of 1,000 men, while the French lost about 2,000. In the moment of victory Sir John Moore was mortally wounded. He died the same evening, and was buried at midnight in the citadel.

**Corvisart des Marets, Jean Nicolas (1755-1821).**—N.'s physician; was born at Dricourt, dept. Ardennes. His father destined him for the bar, but he preferred medicine, in the study of which he persevered under poverty and other disadvantages. Coming to Paris, he steadily made his way, and was appointed physician to the hospitals of La Charité. In 1787 he received a chair at the Collège de France; was created a baron in 1805, and became a member of the Institute six years later. He made some valuable improvements in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases of the heart and chest. Corvisart enjoyed N.'s high esteem and complete confidence, and his morning visits to the Emperor's bedside were very cordially received; he was, however, frequently twitted with the "quackery" which N. professed to believe inseparable from his profession. He was the author of several medical works.

**Craonne, Battle of.**—Early in March 1814 an army composed of 25,000 Russians under Blücher, the advance-guard of the Allied Army, occupied the plateau of Craonne. On the 7th they were attacked by about 30,000 French under N., who, after a desperate and costly struggle, finally forced the Russians to retreat on Laon, but not before they had held out for a whole day and inflicted heavy losses on the attackers. The French lost 7,000 killed and wounded, among the latter being Victor, Grouchy, and six of N.'s other generals; and the losses of the Russians were almost as severe.

**Crescentini, Girolamo (1760-1846).**—Italian singer, a soprano, detained by N. in Paris from 1806 to 1812.

## DARLING

### D

**Danzig, Siege of (1).**—On 26 May 1807, after two months' siege, this city was surrendered to the French under Lefebvre. It had been garrisoned by 12,000 Prussians and 6,000 Russians under Marshal Kalkeuth, and on 15 May an attempt was made by 6,000 Russians, under General Kamenskoi, to relieve it. The French army numbered 20,000 men, while Marshal Lannes, with the grenadiers of the Guard, formed the covering force, which frustrated Kamenskoi's attempt to relieve the city. At the time of surrender the garrison's effective strength was reduced to 7,000 men, who were permitted to retire with their arms and the honours of war.

**Danzig, Siege of (2).**—From 24 Jan. 1813 to 29 Nov. of the same year this city was besieged by Allied forces; at first by Count Platoff and his Cossacks, but in June the Duke of Württemberg assumed the command of the besieging army, which numbered 30,000 men. It was garrisoned by 35,000 French and men of many other nations, mostly survivors of the retreat from Moscow. General Rapp, commander of the garrison, made a brave defence which included several daring sorties for forage, but, finding his numbers rapidly diminishing from starvation, disease and exposure, he at length consented to capitulate. The garrison had been reduced to 16,000 men, of whom about one-half were French, and these were taken to Russia as prisoners of war.

**Darling, Andrew.**—Upholsterer at St. Helena. He was the representative of a London firm of upholsterers who had undertaken to furnish Longwood. His diary was discovered in St. Helena by Maj. M. F. Foulds, who was in medical charge of the troops' quarter in the island in 1915. He copied it and transmitted it to Dr. Arnold Chaplin. It is drily and unemotionally written, for Darling was not in the least affected by the Napoleonic glamour, and it throws light on certain points, among others the question of the famous death-mask of N. (*q.v.*). Darling constructed

the coffin which held the Emperor's remains.

He states that, on viewing the body of N., he "was much astonished to see him so much wasted in the body, 'but at the same time look so well, so young, and with such a pleasing countenance.'" Montholon gave him the order for the coffins in writing, and, "to be more particular to his exact size," assisted him in the measurement of the body. "The net size was as follows: Length 5 feet 7 inches, only 18 inches barely across the shoulders, and scarcely 10 inches deep."

Darling's account of the final scene is interesting, if only as showing the severely professional interest with which he regarded the business and his entire absence of any feeling for the historic nature of the occasion. Caesar dead and turned to clay was nothing to him but a lifeless man: "The bust having been taken, the Governor and Sir Thomas Reade having asked me what the delay was, I told them the French people did not seem much inclined at that time to have him put into the coffin. I afterwards mentioned that it was proper he should be soldered up to-night, to Countess and Count Bertrand, with General Montholon and Mr. Marchand, who set about preparing various articles for the purpose. I having then brought in Abraham Millington and Samuel Ley, the men who made the tin coffin. Dr. Rutledge, of the 20th Regiment, being then in attendance (he having relieved Doctor Arnott), had orders not to let his heart be taken out of the room, I having received the same orders, the reason of this, as I was informed, was owing to Dr. Antommarchi wishing to have his stomach in his own possession to take to Europe with him, but the other French people did not wish that to be the case.

"I believe they wished his heart to be taken home with them, but did not get permission: therefore they wished to preserve it, which was accordingly done in the following manner: His heart and stomach, as I have already mentioned, was in a silver vase or tureen, having been part of his plate, with a cover to it, on which was his coat of arms with an eagle on the top,

which unscrewed with a nut; this having been soldered on fast, and then the heart having been put into the tureen by Dr. Rutledge, in presence of Count Montholon, etc., etc., the top having been soldered on and a hole having been made in the bottom of the vessel, the spirits was then poured in by Dr. Rutledge, and an old shilling soldered on the hole; a considerable delay having taken place owing to the construction of the vessel, it was past eight o'clock before the two men finished, and during the time the different things were preparing, or, I may say, lay on the table in the library room ready, a silver spoon, fork, and knife, with silver handles, one silver ewer or cream jug with rich workmanship on it, one of his silver plates, one of the same as now in my possession, a silver canister or mug with a top to it, in which was the stomach, the silver dish with his heart, two double Napoleons coined during the Republic, two ditto during Bonaparte's first Consulship, two ditto during his Emperorship, and two ditto during his Imperial reign, with four single and three silver coins: I having had time to look at all the various articles while the men were soldering the rim of the top of the dish where the heart was, and likewise having put the coins and plate in to the coffin myself."

**Daru, Pierre Antoine Noël Bruno, Count (1767-1829).**—French soldier and statesman, born at Montpellier. He entered the artillery early in life, but began to take an interest in literature. On the outbreak of the Revolution he became Commissary to the army protecting the coasts of Brittany. He was thrown into prison on a charge of assisting the royalists, but after the fall of Robespierre was released. He rose greatly in the service, until in 1799 he became chief Commissary to Masséna's army in Switzerland. There he showed great organizing capacity and an anxiety that was rare in the French ranks in those days. During that campaign, so wonderful was his power of work and detachment from his official duties that he was able to compose two poems. After the accession of N. he

became chief Commissary to the army of reserve intended for North Italy. He was one of the signatories of the armistice of the Austrians which closed the campaign in Italy in 1800. After this he returned to private life for a while and entered the tribunate as a democrat when war with England was renewed. In 1803 he resumed the duties of chief Commissary for the army in the north of France. N. placed great confidence in him and promoted him to be Commissary with the Grand Army, which in 1805 marched against the forces of Austria and Russia. After Austerlitz he assisted in drawing up the treaty of Presburg, and became Intendant-general of N.'s military household. He accompanied N. in the Prussian and Russian campaigns and assisted in drawing up the Treaty of Tilsit in July 1807. He thus supervised the administrative and financial duties in connexion with the French Army in occupation of Prussia, and may be said to have acted as N.'s chief agent in that country. He was strongly of opinion that N. should marry a Frenchwoman instead of the Austrian Archduchess, and, indeed, told him so. In 1811 he became secretary of state, and evinced remarkable ability in the administration of the forces of the Empire. In 1813 he was minister of war, and after the abdication of N. he retired into private life, but assisted his old master during the Hundred Days. After the second Restoration he became a member of the chamber of peers, but always remained a democrat, and unhesitatingly combatted the measures of the ultra-royalists. On one occasion he expressed to N. his fears that he did not make a very good courtier, whereupon the Emperor replied: "What I want is an enlightened, firm and vigilant administrator, and that is why I have chosen you." As has been said, the Emperor had the highest admiration for his abilities and excellent qualities, praising his judgment, intellect, his power for work, and more than once saying that he had a body and mind of iron. He was almost as active in a literary capacity as in politics and administrative work, and published a history of Venice in seven volumes, a

history of Brittany, a translation of Horace in verse, discourses in verse on the faculties of man, and a didactic poem in six cantos upon astronomy. He died at Meulan on 5 Sept. 1829.

**David, Jacques Louis** (1748-1825).—French artist. See PAINTING.

**Davout, Aimée.**—Princess of Eckmühl, née Leclerc, was the sister of General Leclerc, brother-in-law of N. It was through his interest that the marriage between Davout and Mdle. Leclerc was arranged, and the story of this was related by herself. At the time of the San Domingo Expedition N. gave the command to Leclerc, who, when told, said that a tie and responsibility necessitated his presence in France. N. questioned him. "Your love for Pauline? She will accompany you. Change of air will do her good." The General pointed out that it was his sister who needed him and who otherwise would be left alone in the world.

"We must have her married directly—to-morrow, for example."

"But I have no fortune to give her!"

"Am I not here? To-morrow your sister shall be married. I don't know exactly to whom."

A little while after Davout entered to inform N. that he was about to be married.

"To Mdle. Leclerc? I find the match very suitable."

"No, General; with Mme. . . ."

"To Mdle. Leclerc."

And Davout was hurried off to Mme. Campan's to interview the young girl who was to be his bride. The marriage took place, and for some time Mme. Davout was very unhappy, but at last her husband could not but appreciate her many estimable qualities. She was a great favourite of the Empress Josephine.

**Davout, Davoût, or Davoust, Louis Nicolas.**—Prince of Eckmühl, marshal of France; was born at Annoux on 10 May 1770. He first encountered N. at Brienne (*q.v.*), and after having passed through the curriculum provided there, he entered the army when only seventeen years of age. He served with distinction under

Dumouriez in Belgium, took Luxembourg, and played a brilliant part under Desaix at the passage of the Rhine in 1797. He followed N. to Egypt, won many victories over the Arabs, especially at Aboukir, and on his return to France was made a general of division, and in 1804 a marshal. He distinguished himself in the German campaign of the following year, and took a prominent part at Austerlitz. By defeating the Duke of Brunswick at Auerstadt in 1806 he contributed to N.'s great victory over the Prussians at Jena, and was created Duke of Auerstadt. He shared the glory of Eylau, Eckmühl (after which he was created a prince) and Wagram; was made Governor of Hamburg; accompanied N. in his Russian campaign, and then returned to his government of Hamburg. He made it a vast camp, and defended it against the Allies for ten months. But his treatment of the town, his seizure without compensation of private property, his demolitions of large portions of the place and expulsion of 25,000 of the citizens, led to temporary disgrace and retirement.

The military character of Davout, like that of so many of the revolutionary generals, must suffer from charges of cruelty and rapacity. His iron discipline, like that of Masséna, made him feared but not loved by his men, who were, however, more exact than those of any other corps in the performance of their duties, and they were usually called upon to bear the most difficult part of the work in hand. Davout was admittedly one of the most, perhaps the most, able of N.'s marshals. Although he displayed open hostility to the Bourbons after N.'s banishment to Elba, he was not interfered with, and his powers of organization were afforded full play on his master's return. So far was he indispensable to the war department that during the Waterloo campaign he remained at Paris, a move for which N. has often been adversely criticized. Latterly he became reconciled to the monarchy, and in 1817 his title was restored, while in 1819 he became a member of the chamber of peers. He died on 1 June 1823 at Paris.

**Death-Mask.**—The death-mask of N. was taken by Dr. Burton (*q.v.*) and Antommarchi on 7 May 1821, two days after death. Burton had been anxious to take an impression of N.'s features in plaster of Paris, and tried to purchase some in Jamestown. But none was to be had, and the necessary gypsum was obtained by boats of the fleet on certain parts of the coast. On the morning of the 7th Burton went up to Longwood with his material ready for use. His story, which was reported by Lowe in a dispatch to Bathurst, was that Antommarchi first tried to produce a death-mask with the material supplied by Darling (*q.v.*), the upholsterer, but failed. Then Burton offered to make the attempt with his material, though Antommarchi declined to have anything to do with it, declaring that success was impossible. Burton, however, persisted, and records that "with little difficulty I succeeded in forming the mould, but at so late an hour that a second could not be taken." Darling's own account in his recently published diary is that both Antommarchi and Burton were engaged under his own eyes in taking the mask. What is now certainly established is that the mask was taken. Whether it was taken with Darling's material or with Burton's is a question of no great moment. The authenticity of the death-mask was long disputed. Darling's narrative sets that question at rest once for all, though not, perhaps, the question of Burton's or Antommarchi's hand in its making.

A few days afterwards Mme. Bertrand purloined the front part of the mask and refused to return it to Burton. It descended to Hortense, Mme. Thayer, and from her to Prince Victor Napoleon.

**Decrès, Denis, Duc (1761-1820).**—French admiral, qualified for the army but entered the navy instead at the age of eighteen and made rapid progress. Serving in India at the beginning of the Revolution he was promoted and became rear-admiral in 1797. In 1801 he left for Egypt under the command of Villaret-Joyeuse (*q.v.*). Decrès, rather than surrender his ship, blew it up at Aboukir. For this he was deco-

rated and received a sabre of honour in 1804. He was appointed vice-admiral, grand officer of the Legion of Honour, and president of the electoral college of Haute Marne in succession. On his marriage with Mme. Saligny, Duchesse de San-Germaine, the Emperor created him a duke, thereby making their union complete. At the return of the Bourbons, Decrès deserted N., but this ungrateful act only brought upon himself the hearty dislike of the public. He was assassinated in 1820, it is thought, by his valet, who placed gunpowder under his bed. The attendant then destroyed himself.

**Delaborde, Henri François, Count (1764-1833).**—French soldier; was born on 21 Dec. 1764 at Dijon, was the son of the town baker. In revolutionary times he joined the local volunteers and was rapidly promoted, soon becoming a general of brigade. He was present at the siege of Toulon as chief of staff, and after being promoted general of division was for some time governor of Corsica. He served on the Spanish frontier in 1794, and distinguished himself at the Bidassoa and Misquiriz. He had a command on the Rhine, and during the campaigns of 1795-7 was at the head of a division, accompanying Moreau into Bavaria in 1796.

During the consulate and the early empire he was in constant employment, and in 1804 was made commander of the Legion of Honour, and received the dignity of count in 1808 when serving in Portugal under Junot. He extricated his men most skilfully in the rear-guard action of Rolica against Sir Arthur Wellesley. In 1812 he headed a division under Mortier in the Russian campaign, and next year was appointed grand cross of the Legion of Honour and governor of the castle of Compiègne. During the Hundred Days he joined N. and was a marked man by the Bourbons, who court-martialled him, but he escaped through a technical flaw in the charge. He retired into private life and was not heard of again publicly. He died on 3 Feb. 1833.

**Delaroche, Paul (1797-1856).**—French painter. See PICTURES, NAPOLEON IN.

**Delavigne, Casimir (1793-1843).**

—This French author, whose name is closely associated with Bonaparte's, spent his childhood at the seaport of Havre, where he was born on 4 April 1793; while at the age of ten he went to Paris, there to enter the college subsequently known as the Lycée Napoléon; and here his chief comrades were his brother Germaine Delavigne and Eugène Scribe, both destined to be distinguished men later on. It would seem that Casimir was originally something of a royalist, but ere long he fell under the spell of the Emperor, and he was among the many who celebrated in verse the birth of the King of Rome. This poem and further things from the budding author's hand soon came under the notice of N., ever quick to recognize and reward young men of talent; and we are told that, when conscription was eventually founded throughout France, Delavigne was exempted owing to the personal influence of the Emperor, who realized that the poet was unfitted by his delicate health from doing military service. However, it is only right to say that this story rests on tradition, and has been gainsaid by several writers.

Delavigne won a wide fame during the Napoleonic régime, largely by poems on national events; while fortune continued to favour him after the Restoration, Louis Philippe himself becoming one of his avowed admirers. He gained a special triumph in 1833, with his play *Les Enfants d'Edouard*, which is concerned with the smothering of the little English princes in the Tower, an episode which the author was induced to handle by seeing a painting of the same theme by Paul Delaroche (q.v.), an artist chiefly remembered by his picture of N. in his study at Fontainebleau. He died at Lyons on 11 Dec. 1843.

**Delmas, A. G. (1768-1813).**—French general; served with distinction under Schérer in Italy and Moreau on the Rhine. He was exiled to Porrentruy, Switzerland, where he remained until 1813, when he was permitted to offer his services to the Emperor. Delmas owed his banishment to two reasons. Firstly, because of his

general conduct in opposing all the measures taken up by the government; and secondly owing to a duel which he fought with General Destaing. On the occasion of a state function to commemorate the establishment of the Concordat, Delmas, in reply to N.'s question: "Well, what do you think of the ceremony?" said, "It was a pretty capuchinade. Nothing was wanted except the million men who have died to put an end to what you have just set up again." This is believed to have been another good reason why Delmas was banished. It is Thibaudeau's version, and Mme. Junot confirms it. Delmas was killed in action at Leipsic in 1813.

**Denina, Carlo Giovanni Maria (1731-1813).** — Italian historian and librarian to N.; was born at Revello, Piedmont, on 28 Feb. 1731. He was educated at Saluzzo and Turin, and in 1753 was appointed professor of Humanity at Pignerol, but having incurred the animosity of the Jesuits he was forced to resign the post. He subsequently became professor of Rhetoric at Turin University, and there wrote his chief work, *Delle Rivoluzione d'Italia* (1769-72), and also his *Discorso sull' Impiego delle Persone* (Florence, 1777), which again roused clerical animosity and cost Denina his chair. Not only that, but he was banished from Italy. In 1782 he went to Berlin at the invitation of Frederick the Great. While there Denina published *Vie et règne de Frederic II.* (Berlin, 1788), and *La Prusse Littéraire sous Frederic II.* (1790-91). In 1804 he published *Delle Rivoluzione della Germania* (Florence), and in the same year was invited to Paris by N. and appointed librarian, besides being the recipient of many honours at the same hands, though always pursued by the hatred of his clerical foes. Denina died at Paris on 5 Dec. 1813. Among his other works are *Tableau de la Haute Italie et des Alpes qui l'entourent* (1805), *Storia dell' Italia Occidentale* (6 vols., Turin, 1809-10), and *La Rusiade* (Berlin, 1799-1800), an heroic poem in honour of Peter the Great.

**Denmark.** — In 1800 the Tsar had persuaded the Danish Government to

join the Second Armed Neutrality League which Russia and Prussia had just concluded with Sweden. Great Britain retaliated by laying an embargo on the vessels of the three neutral powers and by sending a fleet to the Baltic under the command of Parker, with Nelson second in command (*see COPENHAGEN*). The Danes made a gallant resistance, but their fleet was destroyed, and they were compelled to submit to a peace which was much to their disadvantage. A second attempt to preserve her neutrality once more brought Denmark into collision with Great Britain. After the peace of Tilsit she found herself unable to retain her neutrality any longer, as N. was determined to close her harbours along with those of Sweden and Portugal to British ships if Great Britain refused to accept the mediation of Russia. Although the Danish Government would have preferred an alliance with Great Britain to one with N., and had assembled its army in Holstein to repel him by force of arms if necessary, Great Britain did not consider Denmark strong enough to resist France, so dispatched a fleet with 39,000 men to the Sound to compel Denmark to unite her fleet with the British fleet. She was offered an alliance, the complete restitution of her fleet after the war and other compensation, but the Prince Regent, before whom these terms were placed, was a person of invincible obstinacy, and although the terms were liberal and even generous, they were not placed before him in a very tactful way. Frederick therefore refused to negotiate, and a British army was landed on 16 Aug. 1807. It immediately invested Copenhagen, and on 2 Sept. began a bombardment of the city which lasted for three days, and ended with the capitulation of the capital and the surrender of the fleet intact. Denmark, henceforward regarding Britain as an enemy, entered into a league with N., whose faithful ally she was until the end of the war. As a result of this policy she lost Norway (*q.v.*), which she was compelled to surrender to Sweden by the terms of the treaty of Kiel (1814), but she received a money compensation and Swedish Pomerania, with the island of

Rugen, which afterwards she ceded to Prussia in exchange for the duchy of Lauenburg and 2,000,000 rix-dollars.

**Dennewitz, Battle of (Leipsic Campaign).**—On 6 Sept. 1813, after some preliminary skirmishes in which the advantage sometimes lay with the French under Ney and sometimes with the Prussians under Bulow and Tauenzin, the French Army lay with its centre on the village of Dennewitz. The Prussian left advanced and drove Bertrand's men back, but the arrival of French reinforcements gave them great superiority in numbers. Ney, however, threw away his chance of victory by reinforcing the troops to the north instead of those in the south, and the Prussians captured an important position at the latter point. Strong reinforcements of the Allies came to hand, and the French were crushed. Night alone saved them from utter rout, and their losses were enormous—9,000 killed and wounded, 15,000 prisoners, and 80 guns, while the Prussians lost about 6,000 men.

**Deogaon, Treaty of.**—The Treaty of Deogaon (12 Dec. 1803) was signed during the Mahratta War, in which the opposing parties were the British (under Arthur Wellesley) and the Indians of the Mahratta states, aided by the French. By the terms of this treaty Bhonsla, one of the powerful Indian chiefs concerned in the war, made peace with Britain, gave up Katak, agreed to receive a British resident, and promised to clear his dominions of foreigners whose countries were at war with Great Britain.

**Desaix de Veygoux, Louis Charles Antoine (1768-1800).**—French general; was born at St. Hilaire-d'Ayat, in Auvergne, on 17 Aug. 1768. He was of noble birth, and his family had been connected with the army for generations; was educated at Marshal d'Effiat's military college; and at the age of fifteen entered the regiment of Bretagne as sub-lieutenant. At the outbreak of the Revolution he espoused the cause of liberty, and attracted much attention by his valour and discretion, his prompt measures and almost unvaried success. In 1792 he served on Broglie's staff, and very nearly lost

his life when Broglie was denouried and guillotined. Now, however, Desaix became a servant of the Republican government, and his ability ensured rapid promotion, so that by the year 1794 he had become general of division in the army of the Rhine. Count Lavalette, in his *Memoirs*, paints a telling portrait of Desaix as he appeared to his contemporaries at this time. "His stature was tall and his figure singular. He had fine, black, fiery eyes, and a nose that seemed to descend from the top of the forehead; his thick and usually separated lips showed a set of teeth of sparkling whiteness; his hair, flat and black as jet, shaded his dark face. His gait was embarrassed, but still without awkwardness, and betrayed bashfulness and want of knowledge of the world. Altogether he resembled a savage of the banks of the Oronoko dressed in French clothes. But one soon got accustomed to him. His voice was soft, and, when once drawn out of his usual reserve, he delighted by the variety of his information and the simplicity of his manners. He had none of the faults of men accustomed to camp life: I never heard him utter a vulgar expression—an indecent word made him blush. As he was constantly easy and kind, his staff led a merry life, and the pretty girls of the Palatinate used frequently to visit his headquarters. He smiled at our pleasures without sharing them, but with the indulgence of a father who shuts his eyes on his children's wild tricks. I do not think I ever saw him dressed in the uniform of his rank; he usually wore a blue coat without any lace, and the sleeves of which were so short that we used to say in jest he had certainly worn it when he first took the sacrament."

In the campaign of 1795 Desaix commanded Jourdan's right wing. After the battles of Amberg and Wurtzburg he was in charge of Moreau's rear-guard in the retreat, and the defence of Kehl was entrusted to him. In these positions his wisdom and decision marked him as one of France's most scientific officers. During the preliminaries of Leoben, he went to Italy to visit N. and his

battlefields of victory; and from that date until his death a great friendship existed between the two men. N. took him with the expeditionary force to Egypt, and he was charged with the conquest and subjection of Upper Egypt. Here he added greatly to the successes of his chief: his division was conspicuous at the battle of the Pyramids, and he won many victories over Murad Bey and the other Egyptian chiefs. At the same time he gained the hearts of the inhabitants of the country, and Denon says that "his mild and unvarying equity obtained for him the title of 'The Just Sultan.' How many wise ideas on civil government and philanthropy," adds the Baron, "suggested themselves to his mind when the sound of the trumpet and the roll of the drum ceased to give him the fever of war!" Kléber (*q.v.*) succeeded Desaix in the command in Egypt, and about the time of the signature of the treaty of El Arish, Desaix returned to Europe. He joined N. in Italy, where he was given command of two divisions of infantry. Arriving with his men on the battlefield of Marengo at the moment when the Austrians were seemingly victorious, he exclaimed: "There is yet time to win another battle!" and by his magnificent charge he turned the tide of the battle. While leading this charge he was struck through the heart by a bullet, and he fell to rise no more. Two monuments were erected to his memory by N.—one on the Place Dauphiné, and the other in the Place des Victoires, in Paris.

N. considered Desaix and Kléber to be "his most distinguished lieutenants, both possessing great and rare merits, though their characters and dispositions were very different." He further said: "The talent of Desaix was always in full activity. He loved glory for glory's sake, and France above everything. Luxury he despised, and even comfort. He preferred sleeping under a gun in the open air to the softest couch. He was of an unsophisticated, active, pleasing character, and possessed extensive information. The victor of Marengo shed tears for his death." N. believed

Desaix's death to be the greatest loss he could possibly have sustained.

**Dessalines, Jean Jacques (1758-1806).** — Emperor of Hayti; was born in Guinea but taken to Hayti, and there sold as a slave to a French planter whose name he assumed. In the insurrection of 1791 he served under Toussaint l'Ouverture (*q.v.*), who trusted and advanced him. Undoubtedly he possessed remarkable military genius and enormous energy, but of the same strength were his passions, his rapacity and cruelty. He betrayed Toussaint, his benefactor, and after the first compromise became governor of the southern part of the island. He then renewed the war, and after horrible cruelties compelled the French to evacuate St. Domingo (*q.v.*) in Oct. 1803. In the course of the year (1804) the independence of St. Domingo was declared, and to Dessalines was given the supreme power. This was not sufficient for him, however, and he proceeded to get himself crowned as Emperor of Hayti, taking the name of Jean Jacques I. But even his staunchest supporters were soon disgusted by his utter savagery, debauchery and bloodthirstiness, and a conspiracy, headed by a negro, Christophe (*q.v.*), and a mulatto, Pétion, was formed. While trying to suppress this revolt, Dessalines was killed by Christophe, who succeeded him.

**Divorce of Josephine.** — See JOSEPHINE.

**Douro, Passage of the.** — A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 12 May 1809, when a French Army under Soult tried to prevent a British force of 16,000 men under Sir Arthur Wellesley crossing the Douro. By the employment of boats, however, the British succeeded in crossing the river in defiance of the galling musketry fire of the French, and after a stubborn resistance Soult was compelled to evacuate the town of Oporto. It was in this battle that General Rowland Hill, afterwards Lord Hill, first rose to eminence.

**Dove.** — A postilion at Longwood so addicted to drink that it was considered unsafe for N. to take carriage exercise when he drove.



**Dresden, Battle of (Leipsic Campaign).—**This great battle took place on 26 and 27 Aug. 1813, beginning late in the afternoon of the first day. The French under N., to the number of 120,000, occupied the entrenchments and redoubts which defended Dresden, while they were fronted by nearly 200,000 Allies—Russians under Wittgenstein, Prussians under Kleist, and Austrians under Colledero, and the Tsar, the King of Prussia and Schwartzberg also watched the fighting. On the evening of the 26th the French remained unshaken, and the Allies had to draw off with serious losses. On the 27th N. attacked both flanks, and the Allies were completely beaten. During the battle Moreau was fatally wounded by a French shell while talking to the Tsar. The Allies' losses amounted to 38,000 men, 14 colours and 26 guns, while the French lost about 10,000. The battle of Dresden was the last of N.'s great victories.

**Driving.**—N. is said to have been a most reckless driver. Constant relates how on one occasion, when out in the park with his wife and Cambacérès, he took it into his head that he would like to drive the four horses harnessed to his carriage, which had been presented to him by the inhabitants of Antwerp. Taking the reins from Cæsar, the coachman, he mounted the box, when immediately the horses, which were young and fresh, started off at a gallop. Cæsar shouted "Keep to the left," and Cambacérès, turning even paler than usual, roared out "Stop, stop, you will smash us up!" To these exclamations, however, the First Consul paid no heed, for the horses were already beyond his control and were dashing along at a frantic rate of speed. As they neared the iron gates one of the wheels struck a milestone and the carriage was upset. Luckily the horses stopped. The First Consul was thrown violently upon his face and fainted, but Mme. Bonaparte and Cambacérès escaped with slight bruises. N., who had had a nasty shaking, turned the matter off as a joke, and merely had his bruises treated with eau-de-Cologne, his favourite remedy. Cambacérès' terror amused him hugely, and alluding to

the coachman he remarked, "One must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's! Let him keep his whip. Everybody to their trade." At the same time he admitted that he had never felt so near death before, and that for a few seconds it really seemed to him as though he were dead.

**Dubois, Louis Nicholas Pierre Joseph (1758-1845).—**Made prefect of police in 1799. It is believed that he owed his long term of office in this capacity to the fact that N. found him useful as a spy on the doings of Fouché, of whom he was a bitter enemy. In spite of Bonaparte's aversion to Dubois, he created him a count in 1808, and a member of the council of state, which seat he occupied until the fall of the Empire. After being a member of the Chamber during the Hundred Days, he retired to Vitry-sur-Seine, where he died in 1845. He was succeeded by Pasquier, whom N. warned regarding the "abominable state" in which he would find his subordinates.

**Ducrest, Georgette.**—Was a relative of Mme. de Genlis, and author of *Memoirs*, which have been much read and quoted, and derive their value from the fact that after Josephine's divorce she occasionally played and sang for the ex-Empress. She married M. Bochsas, the then celebrated composer of *Dansomaine* and *Noces de Gamache*. He deserted her, and her voice failing, she turned, as a means of livelihood, to the pen and the *Memoirs*, of which effort M. Masson says: "In the midst of apocryphal documents, uncontroverted anecdotes, impossible situations, there are yet to be found some first-hand personal observations." The letters from N. to Josephine that she "quotes" are not authentic.

**Dugommier, Jean François Coquille (1736-94).—**The general under whom N. served in his first engagement; was born at Martinique in 1736. The family had been settled in the colony for some little time, and before the Revolution owned property there worth two million livres. Dugommier entered military service at an early age, but owing to some injustice abandoned his career

and retired to his plantation. In 1789 he was, however, appointed colonel of the National Guards of the island, and took part in the defence of Fort St. Peter. In the year 1792 he went to France as representative of the colony of Martinique to the National Convention, and among other things sought the aid of that body for the patriot colonists who were then suffering great distress. In Sept. 1793 he was appointed general of brigade, and later commander-in-chief of the army in Italy, where he gained some notable successes over the Austro-Sardinians, almost always with inferior forces, especially at Gillette (18-19 Oct.) and on the 22nd of the same month at Huel. In Nov. he succeeded Carteaux in the operations at Toulon, behaved there with conspicuous bravery, and took possession of the place after five days and nights of fighting and fatigue. In this engagement Napoleon Bonaparte served under him as *commandant d'artillerie*; he was then for the first time under fire, and displayed much of the ability which afterwards made him famous. In Dugommier's report to the Convention occurs the following: "Among those who most distinguished themselves and gave me most assistance in rallying and leading the troops were the citizens Bonaparte, commander of artillery, Arèna, and Cervoni, adjutants." It is further stated that when Dugommier met the representatives he presented Bonaparte to them with the words: "He is an officer of the greatest merit, and if you do not advance him he will know how to raise himself." In 1794 Dugommier was appointed commander-in-chief of the army of the Pyrénées Orientales, and soon gained over the Spaniards advantages equally rapid and decisive. On 27 and 29 April he defeated them at Orma and drove them from Céret; in May he gained the battle of Albudes and carried the post of Montesquieu, an advantage which gave into his hands nearly 200 cannon and 2,000 prisoners. On the 4th of the month he blocked up Collioure, after two engagements at Cape Bearn and Puiz-de-las-Doines. He was wounded before this town on the 16th and took it on

the 26th, after having entered the forts of St. Elme and Port Vendre. In Aug. he was at St. Laurent de la Monge, where he defied the Spanish Army, a force of 50,000 men, while in Sept. he took possession of Bellegarde, the last French town occupied by the enemy. The same month he captured their camps at Costouges, but at Sierra Nigra, while forcing back the left wing of the Spanish troops, he was killed by the bursting of a shell. The Convention decreed that the name of Dugommier should be inscribed on a column in the Pantheon. He left three sons: two were adjutants-general in his army, one of them being taken prisoner and dying in an English prison; the third was lost on a voyage to America.

**Duhesme, Philippe Guillaume, Count (1766-1815).**—French general; was born at Bourgneuf (Saône-et-Loire). He fought in the Peninsular War, and led an army corps of 14,000 men to Barcelona in 1808. The chief forts and the citadel were seized, and Duhesme carried all before him. He occupied the stronghold, but during the spring of that year became cut off from the main body stationed at Madrid and subsequently from all communication by a general rising of the province. To make a way through to Perpignan he attacked the fortress of Gerona. Failing in this, he was obliged to retreat to Barcelona, where he remained blockaded during four months. Gouvion Saint-Cyr was finally sent to succour Duhesme, and their united armies defeated the army of Catalonia at Molins del Rey, just outside Barcelona on 21 Dec. 1808. He was killed at Waterloo, where he was in command of the Young Guard.

**Dumas, Guillaume Mathieu, Count (1753-1837).**—French general. He joined the army in 1773 and served in the American War of Independence as aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. From 1783 to 1786 he undertook the exploration of the coasts of Turkey. At the Revolution he assisted Lafayette and his party, and the Assembly gave him the command of the escort which conducted Louis XVI. to Paris from Varennes. In 1791 the

Legislative Assembly had chosen him as a member, and twelve months later he was elected its president. When the extreme Republican party overthrew the Assembly Dumas was forced to make his escape to England. He returned in the midst of the Revolution, but had to retire to Switzerland. He was proscribed as a monarchist, and afterwards lived in Holstein. When N. became First Consul, he was recalled to France and entrusted with the organization of the army of reserve at Dijon. He became councillor of state in 1801, contributed to the victory at Austerlitz, and in 1806 was dispatched to Naples as minister of war to Joseph Bonaparte, on whose transfer to the throne of Spain Dumas rejoined the French Army. He served in the Peninsula during 1808 and in Germany in the following year, negotiating the armistice after the battle of Wagram. In 1810 he was appointed grand officer of the Legion of Honour and granted the title of count. During the Russian campaign of 1812 he had charge of the administrative department, a post which he also held in the German campaign of 1813, but on the capitulation of Dresden he fell into the hands of the Allies. On the restoration of Louis XVIII. Dumas was retained as administrative adviser to the army, and rendered important service in this connexion. On N.'s return from Elba, Dumas remained in retirement, but Joseph Bonaparte prevailed upon him to present himself to the Emperor, who straightway appointed him to organize the National Guard. When Louis XVIII. was restored he again took up some literary work which he had commenced while living in Holstein, and this resulted in his *Précis des événements militaires* in nineteen volumes, which embraced the history of the war from 1798 to the peace of 1809, and which appeared between 1817 and 1826. He was prevented from carrying the work further by blindness, but as a species of continuation of it he translated Napier's *Peninsular War*. In 1818 he was once more recognized by the court and made a member of the council of state, from which, however, he was excluded in 1822. He took an

active part in the Revolution of 1830, after which he was created a peer of France and re-entered the council of state. He died at Paris on 16 Oct. 1837.

**Dumouriez, Charles François (1739-1823).**—French general and politician. This French soldier, remembered chiefly as a powerful foe of N. first distinguished himself in the later German campaigns of the Seven Years' War; while subsequently he travelled in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Corsica; and, having drawn up an able memorial concerning Corsican affairs, he received from Louis XVI. an appointment in the secret service. On the dawn of the Revolution he joined the Jacobin Club, at the same time growing friendly with Mirabeau; while having attached himself to the Girondist party, he reverted to soldiering, and commanded an army successfully against the Prussians in 1792, defeating them at Valmy on 20 Sept. In the following year, however, he was severely defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden; and the Convention, suspecting him of treachery, summoned him to Paris, and to save his head he crossed over to the Austrian camp along with the Duc de Chartres, afterwards King Louis-Philippe. Thenceforward he wandered from country to country, eternally occupied with plots against N., who suspected him of being implicated in the Cadoudal-Pichegru conspiracy of 1803, which led to the judicial murder of the Duc d'Enghien. Whether the First Consul's suspicions on this occasion were correct or not, Dumouriez certainly entered the service of England in 1804; and from that time until 1815 he proved most useful to the British war office, furnishing information about N.'s plans, in return for which labours he received £1,209 a year. His *Mémoires*, published at Hamburg while he was alive, were reissued at Paris in 1823; and in 1908 there appeared an interesting book about him, *Dumouriez and the Defence of England*, by Holland Rose and A. M. Bradley.

**Duphot, Léonard (1770-98).**—French general; was born at Lyons. Adopting the military profession, he

rose rapidly, being adjutant-general of the army of the Eastern Pyrenees in 1792 and assisting at the capture of Figuières. He commanded Augereau's advance-guard in the Italian campaign of 1796, and in the following year was sent with Joseph Bonaparte upon his embassy to Rome. During a disturbance in that city in Dec. 1798 Duphot was killed by a shot from the Papal troops whom he was endeavouring to prevent from firing on the mob.

**Dupont De L'Etang, Pierre Antoine (1765-1840).**—He entered the army and distinguished himself at Valmy, capturing an Austrian force in 1793. He was made general of brigade and, in 1797, general of division. He came under the notice of N. while engaged in the *coup d'état* of Brumaire; and in 1800 fought in the battle of Marengo under Berthier, and at Pozzolo, where he gained a brilliant victory. In 1805, under Ney, he won further fame in the Austrian campaign, and in 1807 at Friedland, while in 1808 he commanded a corps in the invasion of Spain. He was created a count after the occupation of Madrid, and dispatched to subdue Andalusia, but fell into disgrace for capitulating to the Spaniards at Baylen. This catastrophe, through little fault of his own, caused his downfall. He was recalled and court-martialled, bereft of his rank and title, and imprisoned for two years. On the eve of N.'s exile to Elba he was released and employed by Louis XVIII., but lost this position during the Hundred Days, only to regain it at the second Restoration. He was elected to the *Conseil Privé* of Louis XVIII., and during thirty years was deputy for the Charente. Dupont wrote several military works, among which *Opinion sur le nouveau mode de recrutement* (1818), *Lettres sur l'Espagne en 1808*, and *Lettre sur la campagne d'Autriche* appeared successively. A few poems and verse translations from Horace were also published during this period (1818-38), while his *Mémoires* were on the point of completion at his death in 1840.

**Duroc, Géraud Christophe Michel, Duc de Friuli (1772-1813).**—French general; was born at Pont-

à-Mousson, received the usual education for a military career, and entered the artillery in 1792. Upon his meeting N. at Toulon the two men formed an intimacy which endured through life. Duroc accompanied Bonaparte to Italy in 1796, and distinguished himself at Gradisca. In Egypt he took part in the battles of Aboukir, Jaffa, and St. Jean d'Acre. Following on 18 Brumaire he was made general of brigade; in 1804 he was promoted general of division and made grand marshal of the palace, a post which, including as it did constant attendance on N. and responsibility for his safety, Duroc filled with consummate discretion and success. At Austerlitz he commanded the Guard, and was present at Wagram and Essling. He was also entrusted with many diplomatic missions, including negotiations at St. Petersburg, Vienna, Stockholm, and Copenhagen. He treated with Frederick William, and in 1808 concluded the armistice of Znaim. Duroc was made a duke in the same year, and senator in 1813. After the battle of Bautzen, while riding into the village of Mackersdorf at N.'s side, the grand marshal was mortally wounded by a chance shot. N. felt deeply the death of his old friend and companion; he erected a monument on the scene of his death, and in the will made at St. Helena he left numerous legacies to the family. Duroc's remains were ultimately placed in the Invalides beside those of the Emperor.

**Dürrenstein, Battle of.**—A battle of the Austerlitz campaign, which took place on 11 Nov. 1805 during N.'s advance on Vienna. A French division numbering about 5,000 under Mortier, when emerging from the defiles of Dürrenstein, was suddenly attacked by 30,000 Russians, both in front and in rear, and had it not been for the timely arrival of Dupont's division Mortier's little force would probably have been annihilated. As it was he lost 3,000 men, and the Russians suffered as heavily. This untoward affair greatly annoyed N., for it completely upset his plan of campaign. In addition to this it was a blot on his arms, for his troops had been outgeneralled.

## E

**Eagle, The French.**—When N. became Emperor one of his first acts was the selection of armorial bearings to replace the Phrygian cap and Roman axe and fasces of the Republic. This task occupied a session of the Imperial Council, the Gallic cock was the suggestion of some, this only arousing the contempt of N. At last the symbol of the lion was adopted provisionally. Yet this did not please him, and striking his pen through the report of the committee he wrote above it "*un Aigle déployé*," the symbol that was destined to become so famous on the battlefields of Europe. Jean Baptiste Isabey (*q.v.*) was entrusted with the design. The new standards were presented to the troops at a grand review in the Champ de Mars—the standards that carried N.'s fame at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Wagram, in Spain, and in Russia. At the end of the Hundred Days many of the Eagles were broken up publicly by the colonels at a last parade, others were given into the keeping of officers, whilst a few are preserved at the Invalides, including three that were carried at Waterloo. Upwards of a hundred and thirty, found on the various battlefields, hang in the cathedrals, chapels and arsenals of different European capitals. Only one French Naval Eagle, however, is in existence, that of the "Atlas" and which is now preserved in Madrid. See *The War Drama of the Eagles*, by Edward Fraser, Murray, 1912.

**Ebersberg, Battle of (Wagram Campaign).**—At Ebersberg, on 3 May 1809, the left wing of the Austrian Army under Hiller made a splendid stand against the French advance-guard under Masséna. Owing to the gallantry of the French, however, the Austrians were overwhelmed after fierce fighting, and Hiller was obliged to fall back towards Vienna. During the storming of the bridge over the Traun and afterwards of the castle of Ebersberg the slaughter was frightful, 6,000 men on each side being sacrificed. The number of troops engaged was about equal—35,000 men.

**Eckmühl, Battle of (Wagram Campaign).**—Fought on 22 April 1809 between the French under N. and the Austrians under the Archduke Charles. The Emperor ordered Vandamme to seize the town of Eckmühl; Lannes was sent to outflank the enemy, while Davout threw his men upon their right. After two hours' hard fighting the Austrians were forced to retire. N. then sent his reserve cavalry forward to harass their retreat, and a desperate action took place between the Austrian and French cuirassiers, which terminated in the Austrian cavalry being driven in disorder towards Ratisbon, whither the Archduke withdrew his vanquished army, a disaster being probably averted by N.'s decision not to follow up his victory owing to the tired condition of his own troops.

**Ecole Militaire de Paris, Life of N. at the (30 Oct. 1784—28 Oct. 1785).**—This school, founded by Louis XV., and at first failing in its primary object by reason of undue liberty and luxury, was in 1776 completely reorganized by the Comte de St. Germain, to whose zeal the other military schools, of which Brienne (*q.v.*) was one, owed their existence. In founding the provincial schools, which educated six hundred pupils, St. Germain had designed that the best of these should supply the students for the Ecole Militaire. There, as at Brienne, were the royal pupils, sons of poor nobles forming the majority, and the minority composed of pensioners, sons of the greatest families in France who held certain positions in the army as if by hereditary right. The cost of each pupil was £170 per annum. At St. Helena N. described the living there to Las Cases as follows: "At the Ecole Militaire we were served and fed in a sumptuous manner and treated always like young officers brought up to the greatest luxury, far exceeding the condition of most of our families." Thus the courses at dinner were soup, meat, two entrées, two helpings of dessert; at supper, roast, two entremets, salad, three helpings of dessert; always with a mixture of half wine and water. Their linen was changed by the

students three times a week, and twice a year, spring and autumn, they received new uniforms. During N.'s sojourn there these were blue with red facings. The attendants of the establishment, from professors to grooms, numbered 111.

The riding-school attached to the college was reputed to be the best in Europe, and the masters of this, as of fencing, were men well known in their professions; while there were also teachers of dancing.

The professorial staff consisted of five for the teaching of mathematics; three, history and geography; two, French grammar; three, German; one English master; three for fortifications; drawing three, and writing one.

N.'s sojourn was spent in preparation for the examination by which he hoped to gain admission into the artillery. The chief study for this was the *Cours de Mathématiques* by Bezout, who was also one of the examiners, together with Laplace, of the artillery school at Metz. N. devoted himself to the study of the four volumes of Bezout, and he celebrated the finishing of the course by the following lines scribbled on the fly-leaf of the fourth volume:

"Grand Bezout, achève ton cours.  
Mais avant, permet-moi de dire  
Qu'ans aspirants tu donnes secours.  
Cela est parfaitement vrai.  
Mais je ne cesserai pas de rire  
Lorsque je l'aurai achevé  
Pour le plus tard au mois de mai  
Je ferai alors le conseiller."

N.'s social character was of much the same tenor as at Brienne, his friendship being at first confined to his four Brienne schoolmates, though it was here that he met Desmazis, who was to become his best and closest friend. Strange to say, he also met here that enemy of his, Phélippeaux, two years older than himself, whose dislike seemed to be instinctive, for they fought when seated on the school-forms in class-time, as later when they were ranged against each other at the siege of Acre.

It cannot be said that N. specially distinguished himself while at the Ecole Militaire, for he never became sergeant-major or commander of a

division in the military organization of the school, but in the final examination he was successful the first time though only a year under tuition. In the second week of Sept. 1785 N., with seventeen others, was presented for examination by the Ecole Militaire, Laplace being the examiner. The results were known about a fortnight later, and out of the fifty-eight successful candidates from all schools N. was one of the four from the Paris school. N. was third of these four, but both Peccaduc and Phélippeaux, who came before him, were older by a year or two. The order was: Peccaduc, 39; Phélippeaux, 41; Bonaparte, 42; and Desmazis, 56. This success was due, it is stated, to his gift for mathematics, and undoubtedly he worked hard at that subject, perhaps more seriously after the death of his father and the consequent realization that he must rely more than ever on his own efforts to carve out a career in the world. A few weeks after this success, N., together with Desmazis, left Paris for Valence, where the regiment of La Fère, to which they were gazetted as second lieutenants, was in garrison. See *The Growth of Napoleon*, by Norwood Young.

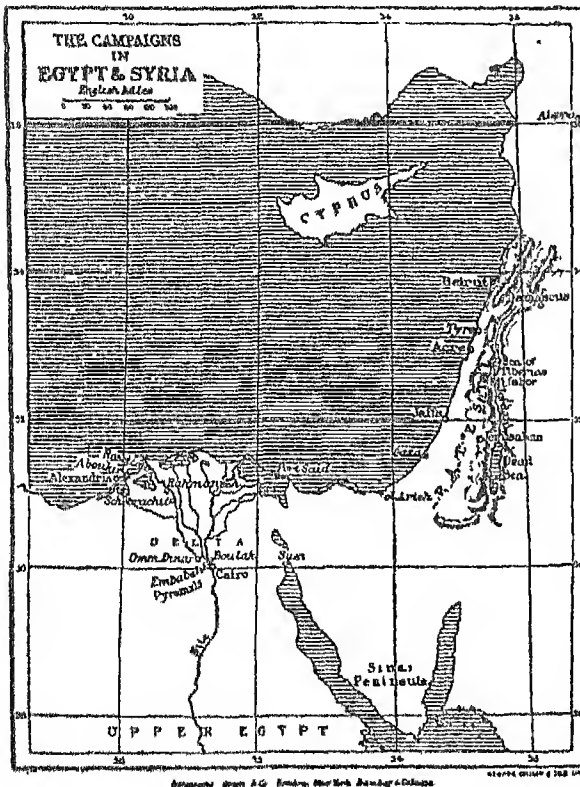
#### **Egypt, N.'s Occupation of (1798).**

—N.'s object in occupying Egypt in 1798 was ostensibly to liberate it from the thrall of its Mameluke usurpers. It was as revolutionists that the French were to undertake its liberation, and N. declared to the Egyptians in his propaganda that he revered the Prophet and the *Koran* far more than did the Mamelukes. The French, he told the natives of the Nile country, were sincere Moslems, and had overthrown the power of Rome. The expedition appealed greatly to the imagination of Bonaparte. The treasures of Italy and Switzerland were spent in his own preparations. Every general of ability and every regiment of excellence was destined for Egypt; the national treasure was depleted; inferior troops were left at home; and it was a large and well-ordered host that set its face eastwards to the land of the Pyramids. N. hazarded much in this throw, which appealed to the oriental and

romantic side of his temperament. Matters were working well for him in France, and public opinion was ripening in his favour; but the process was a slow one, and, ere matters came to the pass he desired, he might have to wait, as he said to Bourrienne, "for a few months or for six years." What, then, could he do better than to embark on such a picturesque crusade, where he had every hope of gaining fresh laurels? Nelson had been on the look out for the expedi-

probably unparalleled in history. The Mamelukes, mostly men purchased as children in Georgia or Circassia, had formed themselves into a warrior caste which obeyed no authority save that of its officers, and which numbered some 8,000 men. It had been reduced to a nominal submission in 1517, but it still governed the land with despotic power, and bade defiance to the rule of the Porte. Arriving in Alexandria on 2 July, the French Army suffered a bitter disillusionment, for the once rich and far-famed city had

shrunk into insignificance. No booty was to be found in its squalid streets, and the march to Cairo was a dreadful ordeal, tramping, as they did, through the dry hot sand, harassed by mounted skirmishers on every side. On 13 July at Shebreket they were attacked by the outposts of the Mamelukes under Murad Bey, and easily repelled the attacks of the gorgeously attired horsemen. The enemy withdrew and concentrated their force at Om Dinar, before Cairo, and on 21 July N. attacked in squares, so as to cut off the enemy's retreat southwards, ordering his men to halt only when necessary to receive a charge. It was on this occasion that he made his memorable address to the troops which commences: "Soldiers, forty centuries look down upon you from the



tion off the French coast, but had been driven from his position by a storm, and took refuge in the lee of Sardinia, and the Armada passed him. Learning this, he hastened to Egypt only to find the roadstead of Alexandria empty. He then sailed for Syria, but had once more passed his foe, for N., learning off Crete that he was pursued, sailed northwards through the Candian Sea, while Nelson took the direct line on the other side.

Bonaparte found Egypt in a state

summit of the Pyramids." Murad and his men dashed upon the ranks of Desaix, only to be crushed. Murad retreated in a southward direction, while Ibrahim, his fellow-leader, fled eastwards across the river. The Egyptian infantry scattered and ran; many of the Mamelukes were drowned in the Nile, and as it was their custom to cover themselves with jewelry and other trophies, the French soldiers dragged their corpses out of the water and stripped them of their finery.

Later N. was wont to smile at the mention of the Battle of the Pyramids, and his proclamation, which he admitted contained the elements of charlatanism. But the results were not without importance. It meant the surrender of Cairo, the capital of Egypt, and the achievement of victory in such circumstances and in such an atmosphere thrilled the heart of France and added fresh lustre to N.'s laurels. Only thirty French soldiers were killed, and 120 wounded. There was no more loot to be found at Cairo than at Alexandria, and the soldiers were disappointed. Egypt was subdued, but the army of occupation was in a desperate condition indeed, for the defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir left it no alternative but to remain where it was. But it did not diminish the activity of Bonaparte. He made as if to occupy the country for the rest of his life. The utmost respect was paid to its institutions and its religion. Menou and a number of other generals made an open profession of Islam: indeed, N. on one occasion pretended to a mufti that he was a proselyte to his creed, which he pronounced with an air of conviction. The captured Mamelukes and others were enrolled in the French battalions, drilled and disciplined. All this was part of a scheme to effect a religious and political revolution in the East on the plan of the revolution in France. Resistance of any kind met with speedy punishment, and executions were numerous; but this sort of policy was understood in Egypt, and flourished exceedingly. The Turks, however, were mustering in Syria, and it was necessary to squash them. Kléber was put at the head of 12,000 men and sent on in advance, followed by N., who arrived at El Arish on 17 Feb. 1799. He left Egypt behind him in quite a settled condition. Unwelcome innovations on the part of the conquerors had irritated the Egyptians, and the relations between them and the French had grown daily more strained, until at last on the occasion of the introduction of a house tax an insurrection had broken out in Cairo in Oct. 1798, but it had been met promptly, and a native

*divan* had been reconstituted to deal justice open-handedly. A bad taste had been left in the popular mouth, however, by the stabling of French cavalry in the mosque of Azhar.

With Kléber, N. invested El Arish, which in three days surrendered. Gaza fell shortly afterwards, and surrendered important munitions of war. Three days sufficed to take Jaffa, where 2,000 troops surrendered on promise of their lives. But a council of war unanimously voted that the old rule under which no quarter is given to defenders at an assault should be applied to them, and they were shot. Eye-witnesses placed their number at from 1,200 to 4,000. There is no mention of or excuse for the fact in N.'s correspondence, but it would seem that he intended to deal as an oriental with orientals. In Jan. he had ordered Murat to kill all the prisoners of a hostile tribe in the desert whom he could not bring away, and in the same month similar orders were issued to Berthier concerning another tribe. It has been said that the men thus slaughtered had been found again with arms in their hands, that there were no French prisoners for whom to exchange them and no provisions with which to support them, that they could not be left where they were nor marched along with the army; but there cannot be any excuse or palliation for such an abominable act of barbarism.

Foreseeing a severe resistance at St. Jean d'Acre, the Pasha's capital, N. provided himself with a siege train, which he dispatched by sea from Alexandria, but this was captured by Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who sent Phélippeaux, a French *émigré* and an old schoolmate of N.'s, to the city in charge of the captured artillery, which he mounted on its ramparts. Acre was thus supported by an English fleet, protected by artillery and easily provisioned, whereas N. had no siege batteries whatsoever. After nine days' fighting he effected a breach by means of a mine, but the assault which followed was repulsed. Three weeks later an army of 25,000 men under Abdullah approached from Damascus to relieve Gezzah. Kléber was sent



to check their advance, and he met them at Nazareth. The Turks were in overwhelming numbers, and N. was forced to go to the assistance of his advance-guard. On 16 April he drew up his army on the plain of Esdracelon. Hidden by the sand, he advanced until close up to the Turks, when he charged and threw them into utter rout. Returning to Acre, he resumed the siege in the most resolute manner. He succeeded in bringing up some heavy guns from Jaffa, effected a breach, seized the tower which controlled the outworks, only to have his storming-parties thrown back. During the first fortnight in May a succession of assaults were hurled at the devoted walls of Acre. The loss of life was appalling. N. had had news from France regarding Austrian activity in Italy, and he also now learned that reinforcements were being hurried from Constantinople to the city he was beleaguering. Pestilence also broke out in the French camp, and worked dire havoc among his men. On 7 May, however, Kléber's division succeeded in carrying the first and second works in the teeth of a terrific fire from Sir Sidney Smith's ships and the guns of the forts, but this attempt also was doomed to disappointment, for although the troops scaled the outworks they were forced backwards by the truly terrific fire with which they were met from the houses inside the walls. On the 17th the siege was abandoned: it had lasted sixty-two days; forty assaults had been made, and 4,000 men and four generals had been sacrificed during its continuation. His army was now reduced to 8,000 men, and after nine days' march through burning sand this force succeeded in reaching Cairo, where they were soon refreshed by rest and proper food. A great deal was made of the expedition by its leader, who told his soldiers that but for the terrible climatic conditions, the pestilence and the lack of artillery, they would have taken Acre; and, indeed, the return of the French to Cairo had all the appearance of a triumphal entry.

Twelve thousand Turks had sailed from Rhodes, and on 20 July appeared

in transports off Alexandria, but the ships which brought them were repulsed by the forts, so that they were forced to draw off and affect a landing at Aboukir. They at once commenced to entrench themselves, hoping that they would be joined by Murad, but he could not effect a junction with them. A Syrian contingent also disappointed them. N. marched out to meet them with 9,000 men, and on 25 July gave them battle. Outflanking them on the left and then on the right, he drove them into the sea, but 3,000 of them took refuge in a citadel which they had constructed at the head of the peninsula of Aboukir. On 1 Aug. 1799, however, these surrendered, so that none escaped.

The French Army had now received no news from Paris for nearly six months, and when it did come it was by no means heartening unless to N. himself. For no sooner was he convinced that the crisis he had long foreseen was actually occurring than he told Marmont that the state of things in Europe would compel him to return. He took his measures promptly and secretly, placed Kléber at the head of the army, and, preparing the two frigates which lay in the harbour of Alexandria, in the early hours of 22 Aug. embarked, accompanied by Murat, Lannes, Marmont, Berthier, Duroc, Bessières, Lavalette and others, and set sail.

The army he had left behind—"abandoned" might be a better word to use—was now reduced to half its original numbers, was destitute of provender and ammunition, surrounded by a population which thirsted for its blood, and cut off from all likelihood of escape by a powerful fleet. A better example of how honour may become subservient to ambition the world has perhaps never witnessed. Possibly N. considered that it was his mission to save Corsica. Kléber, whom he had made an appointment with to say farewell—an appointment which he had failed to keep—entered an angry protest against the position in which he found himself deserted, but it was intercepted by English cruisers and did not reach its destination. Sir

Sidney Smith had betaken himself to Cyprus to renew his water supply, and the French frigates took this opportunity of slipping past him. They coasted along the northern shores of Africa, and with lights out they crossed from the vicinity of Tunis, skirted Sardinia and reached Corsica early in Oct. This was N.'s last visit to the island of his birth.

But to return to the army in Egypt: Kléber, left in charge of it, speedily recognized the desperate situation of the soi-disant French "colony," and early in 1800 concluded with Sir Sidney Smith at El Arish a treaty for honourable withdrawal. There was considerable delay in acceptance of these terms in London, and in the interval Kléber, alarmed by the gathering masses of Turkish troops, attacked the command at Heliopolis, an army of no less than 70,000 men, with the 12,000 at his command. After a fierce battle he succeeded in almost sweeping it out of existence. With admirable strength of purpose and a heroic determination to make good his position at all costs, he turned his attention to the administration of the country, and was proceeding vigorously to reorganize its institutions on a sounder basis than they hitherto had been under the rule of the French, when he was assassinated by a Mahomedan fanatic on the very day when Desaix was killed at Marengo. The French occupation of Egypt dragged on for another miserable year. Menou succeeded Kléber, but he found the position untenable, and at the end of the term stated surrendered as had been originally agreed upon. One disaster after another overtook Menou, so that his surrender was by no means to his discredit. On 1 Oct. 1801 the preliminaries of the treaty by which the French agreed to withdraw from Egyptian territory were ratified, and Egypt was restored to Turkey's suzerainty.

In 1803 Sebastiani (*q.v.*) in a long report published in the *Moniteur*, set forth the possibility of re-establishing French colonies in Egypt. "Six thousand French troops," said he, "could now acquire Egypt." This was really a political offset to England's deter-

mination to retain the island of Malta. But not again did N. desire to set foot in the land of the Pharaohs, or to dispatch an expedition thither. Such a scheme depended entirely upon his ability to maintain command of the seas, and by that time such hopes had completely vanished from view.

**Eichsfeld.**—A town in Prussia; one of the bishoprics which was handed over to Prussia by France through a treaty in 1802 in compensation for the territories which surrendered on the left bank of the Rhine.

**Elba, N.'s Captivity in.**—N. abdicated on 11 April 1814, and on the same night he attempted to end his life by means of poison (*see* SUICIDE). On the 20th of the month he bade farewell to his Guard, and set out from Fontainebleau for Elba, which, through the good offices of the Tsar, the Powers had awarded to him as a possession. He was to retain the title of emperor, and his wife, Marie Louise, was to have the duchy of Parma for herself and her son. On the way to the coast the defeated Emperor had to run a gauntlet of hostile powers. He was accompanied by General Koller, representing Austria; Colonel Neil Campbell, representing Great Britain; General Schouvaloff, Russia; and Count Truchsess-Waldburg, Prussia. These did their best to make matters easy for N., who asked Campbell to be allowed to make the sea voyage to Elba on a British man-of-war, saying to him: "I am at your disposal; I am your subject; I depend on you." Campbell obtained permission from Castlereagh to make use of a British man-of-war. At Lyons he was met with cries of "A bas Napoléon." Meeting Augereau on 24 April, and being upbraided by him for having sacrificed the welfare of France to his insatiable ambition, N. brought the interview to a close. But Augereau's troops did not share their leader's contempt for their old master, and greeted him with enthusiasm. At Avignon, where they arrived at six in the morning, the carriage was surrounded by a furious mob, who threw stones and even attacked the coachman with drawn swords; but the horses were changed,

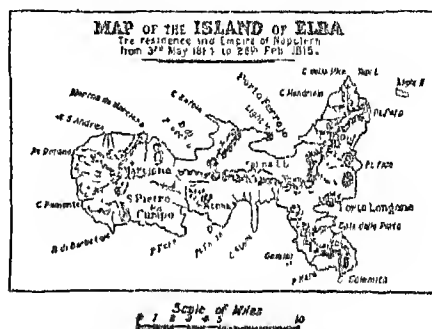
and started off at a gallop, getting clear of the crowd. At Orgon, which they reached about noon of the same day, they passed an effigy of N. hung on gallows, with the inscription: "Such will be, sooner or later, the fate of the tyrant." Here N. showed his first signs of fear—pale and terrified, he crouched behind Bertrand in a corner of his carriage. The commissioners, with their attendants, placed themselves in front of the carriage, and Schouvaloff addressed the crowd, telling them that they ought to be ashamed to insult the fallen. When beyond Orgon N. put on a plain blue overcoat and a common round hat with a white cockade, and thus disguised as a courier rode on horseback in advance, accompanied by one of the outriders. On his arrival at Calade the Emperor burst into tears because of the abuse of the landlady at the small inn at which he put up: she had thought him a courier, and on mention of his name had used threatening language. After this N. chose the name of Lord Burghersh, who had originally been selected to act as British commissioner, thinking that it would be safer for him to adopt a British name. He was in constant fear of being poisoned unless his own cooks prepared the meal. At the least noise he started up in terror and changed colour. On the 26th he donned a dress made up of the various parts of the uniforms of the commissioners. Passing through Aix and other small towns cries of "À bas le tyran" and "Vive Louis XVIII." were sent up, but without any violence being offered. Reaching Luc in the afternoon of the 26th, the danger was passed. "The depths of cowardly collapse to which he sank made a very bad impression on all who were present," says Norwood Young in his *Napoleon in Exile*. "Would Cæsar or Charlemagne, with whom he had compared himself, have exhibited such poltroonery? Any common king, Louis XVI., for example, would have put him to shame." It would seem, however, that our authority has laid undue stress upon the condition of mind displayed by

the Emperor on this occasion. The names of scores of great men and women can be adduced who lived in fear of poison or the assassin's dagger. It is a physiological fact that if the nervous system becomes shattered control is almost impossible, and such was probably the case with N. Some men can, of course, rise superior to shattered nerves, but these are indeed few and far between, and prolonged practice is required ere a courageous front can be shown under such circumstances. In the initial stages of the complaint resistance is almost a physical impossibility.

Campbell reached Marseilles on the evening of the 25th, and there he found H.M. frigate *Undaunted* under Capt. Ussher. On reaching Fréjus, to which port the *Undaunted* sailed, N. found also the French ship *Dryade*, but he chose to embark on the British ship for very obvious reasons. He invited the four commissioners and Capt. Ussher to dine with him at the inn. There he was once more the Emperor, and gave the commissioners a taste of Imperial arrogance. On the following morning (28th) there was a rumour abroad that the soldiers of the Army of Italy were entering France, declaring that they would free the Emperor. N. had designed to meet these enthusiastic adherents by begging to be sent through Italy to Piombino. Ussher told the Emperor that if the wind were to change he would have to put out to sea for the safety of his ship, leaving him on the coast. N. consented to embark that day, but asked that his departure be made in the evening. He passed through the people of the town, and, taking carriage, set off at a great pace for the harbour of St. Raphael. His voyage on the *Undaunted*—his first on a British vessel of war—was commenced with a salute of twenty-one guns. The commissioners, of course, accompanied him with their suites, and Peyrusse, treasurer of the crown, Beauregarde, a physician, Deschamps and Baillon, grooms of the bedchamber, Gatti, an apothecary, Colin, controller of the household, and Rathery, secretary to the grand marshal, along

with twelve other officials and ten domestics. N. slept in the after cabin, and was usually on deck by seven. He breakfasted at ten and dined at six with the commissioners and the captain. Throughout the voyage he was cordial and in good spirits, and seemed in the best of health: in fact, he almost behaved like a man on holiday; and in effect he was so, for he was now enjoying the first real leisure of many years. His conversation was so free as almost to be garrulous, small talk and gossip taking up much of his time. At table he confined himself chiefly to Campbell and Ussher, acquainting them with the most intimate secrets of his relations with England. He also revealed to them his expectations of being able to return one day to France, saying that the Bourbons would make themselves intolerable within six months. At first the voyage was rough, and shelter was taken off Calvi, on the coast of Corsica. Whilst there N. suggested to Koller a walk on the shore to stretch their legs, but the Austrian declined the invitation. N.'s position at this time was undoubtedly strange, for he was by no means a prisoner, being virtually sovereign of Elba and being escorted to his own dominions. On 3 May they passed Capraia, and steered directly for Elba. N. seemed impatient to reach his new domains: these lying between Corsica and Italy in the Tuscan archipelago, with Capraia to the north and Pianosa to the south. Strangely enough, whilst a lieutenant in an artillery regiment at Auxonne, N. had written a little story relating to Gorgona, the farthest north of the group, in which he relates a conversation between a shipwrecked Englishman and a Corsican hermit who dwelt on the island. Next to Pianosa is Monte Cristo, the picturesque scene of the treasure hunt in Dumas' novel of that name. Elba itself is the largest of the group, and is sixteen miles in its maximum length and ten miles in maximum breadth, with a circumference of about sixty miles. It is only six miles from Italian soil, being separated from it by the *Canale di*

*Piombino*. Its appearance from the sea is arresting and romantic, its peaks rising from the ocean in picturesque columns to a height of from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. Some of these acclivities are bare of vegetation, whilst on others tamarisk, box and myrtle grow freely, and in the valleys vines are cultivated. The climate is equable, but here and there are, or were in N.'s time, malarial patches. It is populated, for the most part, by fishermen and miners, the latter quarrying the serpentine, granite, marble, and other minerals to be found on the island. The Elbans differ from the Corsicans, being mild and agreeable; but the same inter-family feuds are occasionally met with, and on the whole the population is by



no means industrious. Portoferraio, the capital, is built on a promontory jutting into the sea, but is sheltered by the surrounding hills except to the north. It was well fortified by Fort Stella and many other batteries, one row of which was known as the *Linguella*. The town, like many others built on the mountainous islands of the Mediterranean, rises from the harbour in ascending terraces. The principal street is the *Piazza Cavour*, at the rear of which is a square called in N.'s time the *Place d'Armes*, where his soldiers drilled daily. One side is occupied by the cathedral and another by the town hall. The population in the time of N. was about 3,000.

The Emperor arrived at Portoferraio on 3 May 1814. He had sent on a letter to the sub-prefect of Elba, announcing that he had chosen the island as his future home. A deputation was sent on board the *Undaunted*

to meet him, consisting of Dalesme, the commander of the Elba National Guard, and Pons de l'Hérault (q.v.), administrator of the mines at Rio. The latter, who was a native of Cette, born in 1772, had been a merchant sailor, afterwards entering the French Navy. In 1793 he became a captain of artillery, and had met N. at Toulon. He came to Elba in 1809. The Emperor was wearing the grand uniform of a *chasseur* of the Imperial Guard, with the star of the Legion of Honour; his expression was benevolent and he had a dignified smile on his face. He held in his hand a small round sailor's hat, which, says Pons, rather astonished those who met him. He was greeted by General Dalesme in faltering accents, and the Emperor replied precisely that he intended to consecrate himself henceforth to the welfare of the Elbans, who were highly delighted that the hero had come to dwell amongst them. At night every house was illuminated with candles, and the natives of the place thought their fortunes were made, as the name of Napoleon would bring so many distinguished persons to the island as would enrich them all. The Emperor decided to take up his residence at the Hôtel de Ville. In preparation for the celebration of his taking formal possession of the island on the following day, couriers were sent in haste to all the neighbouring districts to collect as many people as possible. A high-sounding manifesto was sent forth by the commandant of the island, embracing N.'s words to him to the effect that he had reserved for himself the sovereignty and the property of the island of Elba. The vicar-general Arrighi, who was a cousin of N., also issued a manifesto. On 4 May N. arose at daylight. The *Undaunted* moved into the harbour and anchored there amidst festive sounds of music and cheering. At eight o'clock he embarked on one of the boats of the *Undaunted* with Ussher, Campbell, Bertrand and others, remarking that he was unarmed and asking if the Elbans were addicted to assassination. He was greatly alarmed by hearing a peasant shouting "Long live the King of England," an incident caused by Ussher, who had attempted

to ride one of the island ponies, and, being thrown, had given a guinea to the boy who had brought the animal: the boy at once concluded that Ussher was the King of England, hence the salute. The party returned on board for breakfast, and N. selected a national flag for Elba, choosing a pattern which had been used by Cosimo de Medici, which had a white ground and red diagonal stripe, on which the Emperor superimposed three golden bees, remarking that they would symbolize peace, harmony, and industry. Elba still retains these arms. Entering the barge of the *Undaunted* with the commissioners and others, to the roar of a royal salute of a hundred and one guns and the ringing of the church bells, N. rowed to the shore and landed. The quays and ramparts of Portoferraio were crowded with masses of people, and the whole place was en fête, the inhabitants being dressed in their best, and brilliancy being lent to the scene by numbers of gaily coloured shawls and fabrics which were hung from the windows. N. was received by the civil and military authorities, and the keys of the town were presented to him by Traditi, the mayor, on a silver plate. He was then conducted by his cousin, the vicar-general, under a red canopy. Notwithstanding that he was well guarded, a dense crowd pressed around him, but he had not far to go to the cathedral, the portals of which he soon gained. There he heard Mass, after which he proceeded to the town hall. At that place a couch had been placed upon a raised platform, an attempt being made by decorating it with scarlet cloth and gilt paper to render it as much like a throne as circumstances permitted. Here were assembled the aristocracy of the island, who were presented to their new ruler, who made them a little speech. They were amazed by the knowledge he had of their insular abode, and he acquainted them with many facts concerning it that they themselves were unaware of. After this reception N. took horse and proceeded to inspect the fortifications.

He was so afflicted at night by the constant indifferent serenading that at last he stated that he disliked music.

He rose early, about 4 A.M., an hour which permitted him to escape from the crowds which surrounded him whenever he took the air. He was busy selecting a country house. He took a dislike to the Hôtel de Ville, and chose the barracks of St. Francis instead. He first desired that Bertrand should live with him, but later, when that marshal stated that he would prefer to live within his own domestic circle, he gave way at once. At last he selected a house above the town close to Fort Stella. The central part of this residence was of one storey only, but it was flanked by two wings, each of which possessed two storeys. The central part consisted of a large single apartment, and this was divided by a partition, one half of the saloon being utilized as the Emperor's dining-room, and the other as that of his suite, but the partition was movable, so that if necessary the entire room could be used. He took a great deal of interest in these alterations, and even assisted in mixing the paint with which the partition was to be stained. His bedroom was on the ground floor, and had two french windows and a bathroom next door. Close by were two smaller rooms, a library and a study. The kitchen was rather unhandily placed, as all dishes had to be carried through the garden to the dining-room. Furniture for this residence was brought from the palace of Elise at Piombino, on the mainland. But a ship which had on board furniture belonging to Prince Borghese, Pauline's husband, was driven into Portoferraio by stress of weather, and this was taken over by N. without further inquiry. Most of the Imperial apartments were simple, not to say shabby, in appointments: the paper on the walls was worn out, and the carpets patched in several places. But N. had a good library from Fontainebleau. He was extremely particular about the appearance of his books, insisting that they should be suitably bound, with an "N" stamped on the back. On no account would he have books which were in bad condition. The house had been surrounded by windmills, and these he removed. The guardhouse he changed

into a theatre for amateur performances. In front of the house he built two rows of rooms for his orderlies and guards, and he made a carriage road between the entrance to the forts and the door. Behind the house he made a small garden, at the most remote end of which was a paved walk about 150 feet in length, and a parapet overlooking the sea. From this point of vantage he would eagerly scan the horizon for the ships which were to bring those for whom he watched. This residence he entered on 21 May. On the 16th he had given his first social reception at the Hôtel de Ville. The *élite* of the place seem to have been very simple in their habits, and ceremony was to a great extent dispensed with; but at his private residence the etiquette of the Imperial court was carefully preserved, and all audiences had to be arranged with Bertrand, who now ranked as chief of the civil administration with a salary of 80,000 francs. He and his family kept very much to themselves, and seem to have been weighed down by the thought of the sacrifice they were making in accompanying their late master to such a place as Elba. Peyrusse acted as paymaster and receiver-general, and Drouot, the most faithful of all, as governor of the island and director of military affairs. Fourreau de Beauregard was N.'s physician-in-chief, and loved to bring his master the scandal and gossip of the neighbourhood. The other members of the suite were Deschamps and Baillon, who were called prefects of the palace; four chamberlains, Lapi, Vantini, Traditi, and Gualandi, all Elbans, with the meagre salary of £48 apiece. There were five orderly officers, and Arrighi was nominated private chaplain. There were also a *maitre d'hôtel*, a *chef*, a butler and a steward, and other household functionaries, as well as two valets from Fontainebleau, who soon tired of Elba, however, and were replaced by Marchand and Jilli. There were grooms, gardeners and other supernumeraries. N. insisted upon the strictest etiquette being maintained, and set the standard of this at that of the Tuileries. When he drove out

it was invariably in state, with positions, outriders, staff, and Polish lancers complete.

N. had not been long on the island when he made a journey to the mines at Rio for the purpose of inspection, riding across the mountains on Elban ponies and passing the romantic fortress of Volterraio. They were met above Rio Montagne by Pons and Gualandi, the mayor. Preceded by guides with torches, they entered the upper mine, which they duly inspected. The examination concluded, they entered the little town of Rio Marina, where they were enthusiastically greeted. N. took umbrage at the fact that some lilies, the crest of the Bourbons, were growing near the house of Pons, to whom he was afterwards extremely rude. Returning home in the evening on horseback, as they had come, they completed their journey by water to Portoferraio. N. continued to visit outlying parts of the island throughout the month of May, and, indeed, thoroughly explored its western portion, being everywhere received with much enthusiasm. About this time he gave orders to Lieut. Larabit, a young officer of engineers, to fortify the island, as he appeared to be in dread that Moorish corsairs might once more make it a rendezvous. In this task he took a great deal of interest, but Larabit came into collision with Gottmann, N.'s commander at Pianosa, who insisted that he should proceed with the fortifications before he built barracks. He was afterwards replaced by Monier, an adjutant of engineers. There was a great deal of grumbling amongst both soldiers and officers regarding the loneliness of the insular situation in which they found themselves. In fact, the only person who does not seem to have grumbled was N., who was full of brilliant schemes for the exploitation of the island, and desired to found a model colony. He intended to divide it into farms, upon which he would settle farmers, who would be provided with all the necessities of agricultural existence. Fruit culture and horse breeding were the two outstanding industries he proposed to favour. He found a Genoese capitalist willing to

assist him with these projects, but this man failing him, nothing came of the various schemes for colonizing Elba and Pianosa, the adjacent island. On 25 May the brig *Inconstant*, which N. was to retain as his own private vessel, arrived. Shortly afterwards the Guard were landed at Elba, nearly 700 in number. Cries of "Vive l'Empereur" resounded on all sides. They were headed by General Cambronne (*q.v.*), who is frequently credited with uttering the high-sounding challenge at Waterloo: "La garde meurt et ne se rend pas." Ussher and the *Undaunted* now quitted the island, the former with a snuffbox set in diamonds in his pocket. N. had now quite a small fleet of his own: the *Inconstant*, a brig of about 300 tons, carrying eighteen guns; the *Etoile*, of eighty-three tons, which carried six 4-pounders; the advice-boat *Caroline*, twenty-six tons, armed with one 4-pounder; two feluccas, the *Mouche* and the *Abeille*; and three barges, the *Ussher*, the *Hochard* for his own exclusive use, and a third boat of six oars for the use of his suite. Besides the Guard, he had a squadron of Polish lancers; but it was not easy to make use of mounted men in Elba, and they were turned into garrison artillery, excepting for twenty-two of them, who furnished a mounted escort for the Emperor when driving. He had also two battalions of 400 men each, called the Corsican and the Elban, so that in all he had a force of nearly 1,200 men.

On 29 May N. heard of the death of Josephine at Malmaison: he was greatly distressed at the news. She had desired to join him at Elba, but he felt it impossible to accept her proposal in view of his relations with the royal house of Austria. On the 31st of the month his sister Pauline arrived: her health was at this time by no means good. N. had hired for her a house adjacent to his own at the moderate rental of £8 a month, but she stayed in the Mulini Palace until such time as it was put into proper order for her. About the end of May and the beginning of June several festivals of a picturesque character were celebrated on the

island. On 29 May, the fête of San Cristino, the patron saint of Portoferraio, the festival of reception was held in honour of N. In the morning he heard high Mass, and in the evening attended a ball given him by the municipality of Portoferraio. He was also present on 4 June at the fête given on the British frigate *Curaçoa* by Capt. Tower in celebration of the birthday of George III. The reception was followed by a ball and supper. The French garrison proper, apart from the troops under the control of N., quitted Elba shortly after this event.

In celebration of his birthday, 15 Aug., the Emperor dispatched Vincent, the chief groom, to Leghorn to obtain materials for making fireworks. His mother arrived at the island on a visit, and she was much offended that her son was not at the harbour to receive her. She passed through streets lined with soldiers, proceeding to the house which had originally been hired for Pauline. She lived very quietly while at Elba, going out very little, seeing few guests, and dining with her son on Sundays. Her Corsican preferences were now very marked, and she did all she could to help her compatriots to administrative posts on the island. N. refused to be out of pocket for any expenses incurred by his mother and sister which had not been passed personally by him.

Great efforts were made by the inhabitants of Portoferraio to celebrate N.'s birthday, 15 Aug., in true Imperial style. Most of the Elban families were extremely needy and felt the pressure of such an occasion. A large wooden ballroom was constructed in the square, and preparations were made for a race meeting. As on the fête of San Cristino, N. proceeded in state to Mass. At the race meeting there was a great show of handsome costumes, which had been obtained by resource to the moneylender. For this event horses had been imported from the Continent at very considerable expense, but the affair was a great success. At night, however, a high wind spoilt the firework exhibition. The words "A l'Empereur" flamed from a triumphal

arch in the Place d'Armes, but the wind blew out several of the letters, leaving the words "Le Père" (the father), which created something of a sensation.

Pauline was making arrangements to buy a country house, and on N.'s advice she purchased an estate situated upon the slope of San Martino, about three miles from Portoferraio, for 56,000 francs. The house connected with the estate consisted, and still consists, of a ground floor, with a loft which had been changed into an upper storey. The ground floor contained a salon, behind which was a larger room called the Egyptian room, rooms on the left for Drouot and Bertrand, and a study for N.; and on the right a bedroom for the Emperor, rooms for the valets, and an antechamber. The rooms which served for Bertrand and Drouot were also furnished so that they would be suitable for Mme. Mère and Pauline. From San Martino to Portoferraio was a favourite drive of the Emperor's, and he repaired the road between the two places. But the Emperor soon found that the place in summer was stifling, and he transferred his country quarters to the small hermitage of La Madonna del Monte, a little above Marciana Alta, at a height of some 2,500 feet above the sea. He had not long been settled here when a vessel entered the bay of Portoferraio, carrying the Countess Walewska (*q.v.*) and her child, N.'s son: the countess's brother and sister also accompanied her. The Emperor rode down the slope to meet them. During her visit to the island the countess kept indoors, and when she departed it was as she had come, by night. She left in the teeth of a tremendous gale, carrying with her orders from N. to Murat to restore to her son the estates in Naples which the Emperor had intended for him—a command which was complied with.

N. returned to Porto Longone, and busied himself with plans for a new harbour at Rio. To begin with N. was enormously active, visiting every part of the island and working "to fatigue himself." But later he relapsed by degrees into a condition of inactivity, and often retired to his



chamber in the afternoon to repose. Elba grew dreadfully dull, and despite efforts to amuse him N. grew bored. The church of the Carmelites was converted into a theatre, the first performance in which was given in Jan. 1815. Balls and *bals masqués* followed. The evenings were occupied by card-playing and music.

Early in 1815 it was evident that N. was meditating a descent upon Europe. The British brig *Partridge*, under Capt. Adye, which was on the Elba station, was ordered to keep a sharp look-out. But Campbell, the British agent, left on the *Partridge* on 16 Feb., and N.'s preparations were pushed on. The *Partridge* returned on the 23rd, suspecting nothing, and the captain of the British ship left next day. N., assembling the dignitaries of the island, his guard and troops, left on the evening of the 26th on the *Inconstant* with 1,150 men. For the landing in France, see WATERLOO.

**Elchingen, Battle of (Austerlitz Campaign).** On 14 Oct. 1805 Marshal Ney, with 16,000 men, attacked 15,000 Austrians under Laudon, who held the bridge, village and convent of Elchingen. The bridge had been practically destroyed, but under severe fire some of the French engineers succeeded in making it possible for their comrades to cross. The Austrians were driven out of the village and convent, and Laudon had to fall back on the heights of the Michelsberg.

**Emancipation, Edict of.**—Issued at Memel, 1807, to abolish serfdom throughout Prussia; promulgated and carried out by Stein (q.v.), it came into force three years later. Restrictions in connexion with land-owners were modified, and in some cases abolished. By its provisions the peasantry were not permitted by law to sell their land to the burgher class. The Edict swept away many ancient abuses, and the wealth of the Prussian territory began to develop. Moreover, the classes mingled with more freedom and participated in the different industries and professions hitherto restricted to certain castes alone.

**Emigrés.**—See CONSULATE, THE.

**Empire under Napoleon.**—The following article is offered as a resumé of the condition and history of France under the Empire.

#### *Condition of France*

By the *Senatus Consultum* of 18 May 1804 it was enacted that the Imperial succession should be vested in the legitimate issue of N., descending in the male line by order of primogeniture. On 7 March 1796 N. espoused Josephine de Beauharnais (q.v.), and on 2 Dec. 1804 the ceremony of coronation was celebrated in Notre Dame with much pomp—the Emperor crowning himself, afterwards placing the crown on the Empress's head. Papal unction had been granted the pair. The constitution of the Empire was briefly as follows:

#### *Constitution of the Empire*

The Emperor was still the head and front of a merely nominal "republic." N. was the first representative of the nation. "To put the nation itself before the Emperor would be at once chimerical and criminal," he wrote to the *Moniteur*, "since the Emperor was the elected of the nation and the chosen of God." Next to the Imperial authority came the Senate, which in reality was less potent than under the Consulate, as the President was nominated by the Emperor himself, and the body was "packed" by dignitaries, each of whom owed his status more or less to the favour of the Emperor. It appointed commissions for the maintenance of individual liberty and the liberty of the press. All bills passed by the Legislative Body were referred to the Senate, the members of which were elected for life, and might therefore have been expected to have acted on their own initiative. In the face of N.'s arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, the first of these commissions was almost powerless to act, and the "General Board for the Control of Printing and Publishing" rendered the labours of the second quite nugatory. These are striking instances of the manner in which N. seemed to confer powers upon legislative bodies without in reality doing so. The Tribunalate dealt with legislation, home

affairs and finance, three separate sections taking up these several departments and deliberating from time to time along with the Council of State. This meant that the Tribunal exercised no real control of its own accord, but was merely an appendage of the Council of State. As for the Legislative Body, it was filled with officials, and its duties were so overlapped by those of the Tribunal as to render its labours supererogatory. As the term of office of its various members expired, they were drafted into the Legislative Body, and as a chamber the Tribunal gradually ceased to exist. In effect there remained only the Senate and the Legislative Body, and N. sent his decrees straight to the former for ratification. Thus the legislative machine was simplified out of existence. Officials were drawn more from the aristocratic class and the upper bourgeoisie, and were poor substitutes for those of the Consulate. Meanwhile a new corps of dignitaries was being rapidly founded, and titles were distributed with a free hand. Besides this, N. created his brother Joseph King of Naples and Sicily, his sister Pauline Princess of Guastalla, whilst Murat was made Duke of Cleves, and Berthier Prince of Neuchâtel. Many other marshals and generals were endowed with foreign titles. But the popularity of N. slowly waned under the Empire, as the rigid etiquette of his court divorced him from the people. Moreover, the aristocracy of the *ancien régime*, whom he had re-nobled, regarded him with contempt, and the aristocracy of the *nouveaux riches* had been too speedily enriched to permit of their permanent fidelity.

#### *Serious Financial Crisis*

The reign of N. had commenced with a serious financial crisis. A company known as the *Négociant Réunis* was formed for the purpose of general trading and speculation, and among its activities were included schemes for supplying the Treasury with money and the army with provisions. The Treasury found itself unable to pay for the provisions thus supplied, but the Bank of France stepped in and arranged to issue notes

as advances to the company. These decreased in value, and naturally all bill discounting was practically at an end. Trade was gravely affected. The interests of the Treasury, the bank, and the company overlapped, but the Austrian indemnity accruing from Marengo was paid into the bank and the situation was saved.

#### *Public Works under the Empire*

Public works were proceeded with apace, and from 1804 to 1813 over a milliard of francs was spent in connexion with national improvements. A complete renovation of high roads was undertaken. In 1805 the Mont Cenis road brought Paris into touch with the north of Italy, as did the Simplon road completed in 1807. A great many bridges and viaducts were also constructed, and canals were rapidly cut in all parts of the country. Prisoners of war, mostly Spaniards, were pressed into the necessary labour required for these vast schemes. The Tuileries and other palaces of the *ancien régime* were magnificently restored and enlarged, and the splendid pile of the Louvre formed the centre of an architectural scheme which was to render Paris a fitting metropolis for the whole of Europe. The archaeological and artistic treasures of all the subject and conquered nations poured into its walls, and the art and learning of Europe found its temporary nucleus in the Parisian musée. Paris expanded rapidly under the Empire, both in area and population (see PARIS, N.'s EMBELLISHMENT OF). N.'s earnest desire was to behold the Empire of which he was the head a model of the arts of peace as well as of efficiency in the arts of war.

#### *The Food Supply*

N. exhibited the greatest interest in the question of the public food supply, and took every precaution to see to its regulation both in Paris and the provinces, evidently fearing the consequences of any dislocation or cessation of the sources of public nourishment. He surrounded it with precautionary legislation of every description, so much so, in fact, that

those branches of trade which depended upon it practically became close corporations. N. declared his intention of restoring those useful institutions which the Revolution had destroyed, and in this manner altered the existing system of coinage, weights and measures.

#### *N.'s Protectionist Policy*

Between 1802 and 1804 N. every year passed a law regarding the customs. These were strongly protectionist in nature, and that of 1803 nearly put a period to the negotiations for the Peace of Amiens. But, although N. created a protectionist France, the central pivot of his policy was the Continental System. By this scheme he attempted to group round France all the European powers to the detriment of Great Britain, and thus compensate himself in some manner for the lack of a navy which could menace the shores of his greatest enemy. Boycotting British goods, he attempted to import cotton and foodstuffs overland by way of the Levant, but he was later forced to assent to the importation of British goods—at a very heavy duty, however. Agriculture was improved by the introduction of English and Flemish methods of farming, and manufactures were fostered by the protective system, but were hampered by being cut off from the inventive faculty of the English people. The comfort and average wealth of the people were considerably heightened in comparison with the conditions prior to the Revolution, and the system of conscription served to raise the wages of agricultural labourers, and, indeed, of all classes of artisans. But the burden of poverty which had before been undertaken by the church now fell heavily upon the municipalities, as did that of public instruction. In 1808 the Imperial University was formed. The Press, as under the Consulate, was severely censored (*see JOURNALISM*).

#### *Internal History*

Absent from Sept. 1806 until July 1807 on the conduct of the campaigns in Prussia and Poland, N. governed France during that period from the

seat of war. A few unimportant Royalist *émeutes* disturbed the country during his absence, but these were speedily put an end to by the gendarmerie. On his return from the theatre of hostilities, N. suppressed the Tribunate and effected several changes in his government, making Talleyrand Vice-grand Elector and Berthier Vice-constable. In Dec. 1807 the Emperor made a journey into Italy, and on his return proceeded with the work of consolidating the nobility and founding the University. Proceeding to Bayonne to intervene in Spanish affairs (*see SPAIN*) from April to Aug. 1808, his absence was marked by a Republican conspiracy headed by one Eve Demaillot, who gathered round him a number of malcontent officers and others, and proclaimed the dethronement of the Emperor, taking every precaution, however, to preserve anonymity. The plot was discovered by Dubois (8 June 1808), who arrested the conspirators and advised N. concerning the affair. But the conspirators were not brought to trial, and the matter was hushed up.

#### *Effect of Spanish Policy*

The tidings of the capitulation of Baylen (*q.v.*) in Spain and the Convention of Cintra fell as bombshells upon the French people, but at the Congress of Erfurt (22 Sept.) N. regained much of his popularity, and on his return to Paris opened the session of the Legislative Body. On 29 Oct. he quitted Paris for Spain. At his departure great national uneasiness was felt, for did anything untoward happen to him the entire organization of the country would be thrown out of balance. Talleyrand and Fouché, partly from self-interest, partly because they feared a national catastrophe, agreed that in the event of N.'s death Murat should be offered the crown. N., hearing of their meetings and proposals, returned from Spain, removed Talleyrand from his position of Grand Chamberlain, but overlooked Fouché's indiscretion. Returning to Spain in four months' time, N. appointed Cambacérès to the position of deputy during his absence. In July 1809 the British landed at Walcheren in Bel-

gium, and Fouché, who was now Minister of the Interior, ordered a levy of the National Guard in the North-Eastern departments, but N. disbanded the troops. In Oct. 1809 N. returned to Fontainebleau, and by this time had taken his decision to divorce Josephine (see JOSEPHINE). This was carried out on 16 Dec. 1809. His marriage with Marie Louise of Austria (q.v.) took place on 12 March 1810. On 2 June Fouché was dismissed from his portfolio, with the title of Governor of Rome; but, when his conspiracies with Great Britain came to light by means of English agents, as the result of an inquiry, he fled to Italy, subsequently returning to France, when he was compelled to retire to Aix (see FOUCHÉ).

#### N.'s Altered Habits

N., puffed up because of his alliance to a royal princess, took every opportunity to surround himself with the scions of the old *régime*, without sufficiently examining their credentials for the positions in which he placed them. The tremendous growth of the Empire now forced N. to a revision of its administration. It may be said that from 1804 to 1808 N. set himself the task of strengthening the Empire. After 1809 he began to reorganize his methods of government. But from 1809 to 1812 a change had come over the personal habits of the Emperor. Success had aroused in him a pride which can be only characterized as overweening. He became addicted to the pleasures of the table, and he spent much time in slumber during each day. His whole outlook altered. The birth of the King of Rome seemed to assure his blood in the royal succession. He appeared to himself as omnipotent. The situation was one bristling with danger. War and the cramping policy consequent upon the continuation of the insane Continental System, which instead of isolating Britain in reality isolated France from America and the East, had a ruinous effect upon commercial activity. No policy of subsidy or patchy legislation could meet the danger of a scanty food supply. Wheat in 1811 was ten francs a bushel.

In 1812 it was 140 francs per sack of 8 bushels. A maximum price of 95 francs per sack was fixed. By the time of the Russian campaign the financial situation had become acute. Malet (q.v.) hatched a conspiracy to dethrone the Emperor during his absence (Oct. 1812), informing the National Guard that N. had died before Moscow, and setting himself at their head, marched to the prison of La Force with the intention of freeing several malcontent generals, when his plot was unmasked. He was shot 29 Oct. N. returned to Paris, having deserted the Grand Armée, on 18 Dec. After the plot of Malet it was obvious to him that on his own death the whole superstructure which he had reared would fall. He took every opportunity of heightening the popularity of his Empress and son, but to little purpose. The absence of N. from 14 April to 9 Nov. 1813 induced a profound feeling of anxiety in the country. Prior to this a change had been effected in the ministry consequent upon or contemporary with an imposing joint session of all the legislative bodies of France. Two commissions of five members each were elected to examine documents furnished by the Government. The Senate approved the reports of the Commission. The Legislative Body, however, was not so tame. It requested the Emperor in courteous terms to continue the war only on condition that it was necessary to the integrity of French territory and the independence of the French people. The country was demanding through her deputies the blessings of peace after years of war. N. chafed at the recommendations of the Legislative Body, and suppressed their report. "With the enemy at your very doors," he stormed at the abashed representatives, "you ask for institutions." Returning to the seat of war, N. carefully outlined the Governmental work to be undertaken during his absence. The conscription was hurried on, and the National Guard mobilized. The regency was vested in the Empress, with the co-operation of Cambacérès and N.'s brother Joseph. On 25 Jan. 1814 N. left Paris; and on this date

his actual reign as Emperor of France may be said to have ceased.

**Engen, Battle of.**—Towards the end of April 1800 the French and Austrian armies found themselves facing each other near Engen. In the expectation of the arrival of the main body under Saint-Cyr, the French advance-guard (25,000 men) under Moreau attacked the much superior Austrian army under Kray on 2 May. In spite of Saint-Cyr's non-arrival, Moreau succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the enemy after a very hard fight. On the following day Saint-Cyr came in, and the Austrians were forced to withdraw, having lost 3,000 killed, 5,000 prisoners, and a large supply of munitions.

**Enghien, Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon Condé, Duc d' (1772-1804).**—This French nobleman, remembered chiefly on account of the fate with which he met at the hands of N., was a native of Chantilly; and after the Revolution he took arms in what was called the *armée de Condé*, subsequently distinguishing himself greatly by his prowess. The peace of Amiens having been sealed, he travelled for a while in England; while a little later, on being married to the Princess Charlotte de Rohan, he settled at Ettenheim, in Baden, not far from the Rhine, and it was there, in 1803, that he incurred the ill-will of N.

The fact is that, shortly before this, a Royalist plot had been hatched in France, those chiefly involved in it being the Comte d'Artois, Moreau, Pichegru and Georges Cadoudal, while Dumouriez was suspected of being one of the band; and the plotters, it seems, were minded to go the length of assassinating the First Consul, while it is incontestable that they were abetted by English politicians. Largely through the cleverness and cunning of the spy, Méhée, the affair was unfolded to N., who thereupon grew suspicious of d'Enghien, the more so because the latter was supposed to be intimate with Dumouriez; and accordingly it was deemed necessary to take strong measures, the result being that on 15 March the unfortunate scion of the house of Condé was seized while

still on foreign soil and carried hastily to Vincennes, near Paris. Two days later N. was assured that his suspicions were unfounded, and Josephine and his brother Joseph both urged him to show mercy. But their entreaties proved vain, for d'Enghien was shot after being tried by court-martial.

"It was worse than a crime: it was a blunder," said Fouché cleverly of the affair; and certainly it alienated from N. many Royalists who were at length rallying to his side, notably Chateaubriand. Historians have with good reason dealt harshly with the First Consul for his severity, though the trial by court-martial was in its way legitimate; for, only a little before, the Senate had decreed that people suspected of aiming at the First Consul's life should not be tried by jury. There exists a story, too, that Bonaparte eventually decided only to frighten the so-called culprit, consequently allowing the court-martial to go forward, but sending Réal at the last moment with a reprieve; and we are told that on this messenger arriving at Vincennes and hearing of the execution, he exclaimed at once: "Another thing gone wrong: the First Consul will be furious." However, it is said that during his voyage to St. Helena N. himself expressly denied this story, while subsequently he wrote concerning the matter: "I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and judged because it was necessary for the safety, the interest, and the honour of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois, by his own confession, was supporting sixty assassins in Paris. In similar circumstances I should act in the same way again."

**Engineering.**—About the middle of the eighteenth century there began to arise a class of men who concerned themselves with works exclusively military neither in purpose nor in character. These men came to be known as civil engineers by way of distinction from the military branch, and to them N. held out the greatest possible encouragement. Himself possessed of the highest qualifications as a military engineer, he was quick to note the high value of the civilian

workers in the same sphere. He recognized, for example, that good road-making goes far to make ruling easy, and that such an empire as the Roman would never have been able to impose its rule over such an immense area save for the excellence of the highways laid by its legionaries.

N. determined that all the new streets in Paris should be forty feet wide, with foot-pavements. As Bourrienne says: "At Turin a magnificent bridge was constructed over the Po, in place of the old one which had fallen to ruin. How many things undertaken and executed under a reign so short and so eventful! The communications were difficult between Metz and Mayence. A magnificent road was formed, as if it were by magic, and carried in a direct line through impassable marshes and trackless forests; mountains opposed themselves, they were cut through; ravines presented obstacles, they were filled up; and very soon one of the finest roads in Europe was opened to commerce. He would not allow nature, any more than man, to resist him. In his great works of bridges and roads Bonaparte had always in view to remove the obstacles and barriers which nature had placed to the limits of ancient France, and the better to unite the provinces which he added successively to the Empire. Thus a road, level as the walk of a garden, replaced in Savoy the precipitous passes in the wood of Bramant, and thus the passage of Mont Cenis, on the summit of which he erected a barrack, and intended to have built a town, became a pleasant promenade at almost all seasons of the year. The Simplon was obliged to bow its head before the mattocks and the mines of the engineers of France; and Bonaparte might say, 'There are now no Alps,' with greater reason than Louis XIV. said, 'There are now no Pyrenees.'"

Canals were constructed to connect the chief river systems of France. Paris, in particular, benefited from the construction of the Scheldt and Oise canal, which brought the resources of Belgium within easy reach

of the heart of France. Harbours were deepened and extended. The roads leading to the Rhine and along its left bank are monuments to N.'s genius and foresight, which were justified during the campaign of Ulm, when the French marched from Boulogne to the Black Forest with a mobility unparalleled in previous military history. Paris was supplied with water from the river Ourcq, the work being inaugurated with the words spoken to Chaptal: "I adopt this plan: go home and order five hundred men to set to work to-morrow at La Villette to dig the canal!"

#### *Roads*

The most important of the great roads and highways constructed by order of N. were the Mont Cenis, which cost 16,000,000 francs; La Corniche, which was estimated to cost 15,500,000 francs; the Simplon and Mont Genève. The road from Alessandria to Savona cost 4,000,000 francs; that from Genoa to Alessandria 1,800,000; whilst that from Paris to Madrid, by way of Bayonne, was constructed at a cost of 8,000,000 francs. Great turnpikes were also made from Paris to Amsterdam, from Paris to Hamburg, from Paris to Mayence, and Tournus to Chambéry.

#### *Bridges*

Some bridges of great value from the point of view of communication were constructed by the order of N. Those at Tours, Lyons, and across the Isère; at Bordeaux, Rouen, Avignon, and at St. Cloud and Sèvres are perhaps the most important of these. Between 1804 and 1813 the expenditure of nearly 30,000,000 francs was made on bridges alone.

#### *Canals*

The Emperor was greatly alive to the value of navigable canals throughout France, as well as of drainage and the recovery of swamp lands. On these from first to last about 120,000,000 francs were expended. The principal canals constructed by his order were St. Quentin, Seine and Aube, Bourgoyne, Napoléon,,

Nantes to Brest, and the Arles and Port de Bouc. Drainage between 1804 and 1813 cost over 50,000,000 francs.

### Seaports

Large sums of money, amounting to 117,000,000 francs, were also spent upon various seaports of France, probably with a view to rendering them satisfactory for naval purposes. Cherbourg, Antwerp (which was then practically a French port), Flushing, Havre, Dunkirk, Marseilles, Calais and Dieppe all shared this expenditure, as well as many smaller ports which occupied what seemed to be important strategic positions.

**English Opinion (Contemporary) regarding Napoleon.**—The contemporary attitude towards events destined to become a part of history is often quite erroneous, if not even fantastic. This is true, in particular, of such passing affairs as endanger, or appear to endanger, the safety and well-being of vast numbers of people; while it is even more true, perhaps, concerning such doings as chance to be of a dramatic nature. When in the seventeenth century a group of Englishmen revolted against the unconstitutional acts of an amiable and cultured but weak and misguided king, this revolt appeared nothing less than criminal and dastardly to many people of the time; while, on the other hand, the well-meaning revolutionaries showed themselves wholly incapable of appreciating the beautiful and pathetic devotion of those who opposed their measures and stood firm for the Crown. We, looking back nowadays, can admire both parties; we can forgive the extreme views held alike by Roundheads and Cavaliers. In the same way, looking back on the days of N.'s wonderful career, we can forgive our ancestors for their execration of the Emperor, remembering that, for them, each new victory of his on the continent seemed to portend the imminent *débâcle* of English liberties.

"There is the man who eats children for dinner," said Thackeray's servant to the great novelist when the latter, sailing home from India

as a child, had the good fortune to see Bonaparte at St. Helena; and, indeed, there were thousands of people in England during the opening years of the nineteenth century who firmly believed that the "Corsican ogre," as they styled him, was addicted to cannibalism, if not to still darker crimes. Others, religiously minded, declared that the Emperor was that anti-Christ whose coming to earth is foretold in the *Book of Revelation*; while, turning to the pages of that once popular and influential journal, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, we find that on one occasion a parson denounced Bonaparte in a sermon as "the fiend of the bottomless pit, the Hebrew Abaddon, the Greek Apollyon." This was a strange verdict to pass, yet words akin to these were spoken constantly from scores of English pulpits; and, scanning the caricatures of N. drawn by English satirists of his day, we observe that these men, as surely as the parson in question, could find no wrath too bitter to hurl at the object of their resentment, some of them even crediting him with having leagued himself with the infernal powers.

But it would be wrong to imagine that this attitude towards Bonaparte was by any means universal among his English contemporaries. A number of these, dazzled by the romance and splendour of his deeds, felt their hearts go out to the hero; and one who viewed him thus was Byron, who has told how, while a boy at Harrow, the decorations in his *sanctum* included a bust of N. Moreover, though the French Revolution was largely disapproved of throughout England, it had a certain quota of staunch supporters there—intelligent people who realized that an exceptional malady always necessitates an exceptionally drastic treatment. And many such people, very naturally, did homage to N.'s brilliant skill in consolidating France after the storm, prominent among these devotees being Helen Maria Williams (1762-1847), the poetess of *Edwin and Eltruda*, who, in a letter of 1797, spoke with just cordiality of the young Corsican's modesty, his disdain for vulgar

applause, his simple manner of living. Almost simultaneously another English authoress, Mary Berry (1763-1852), wrote to the effect that she expected to see the French reap great benefits from Bonaparte's wisdom and cleverness; and about the same time Coleridge, in his *Essays on his own Times*, maintained that he greatly admired the use N. made of his rapidly growing power. The writer added, nevertheless, that he disliked the means whereby this power had been acquired; and herein Coleridge was supported by many of his fellow-poets, notably Wordsworth, who manifested all along a fervent aversion to the Emperor. Shelley, too, so ardent a devotee of liberty, early remarked that Bonaparte was more likely to prove an enemy thereto than a friend; while Keats shared his sentiments in this relation; and Southey took up a curious position, declaring loudly that the French race were unworthy of the vaunted gift of freedom which had been bestowed on them. "The Corsican has offended me," he writes, and the phrase sounds singularly petty.

During N.'s Egyptian campaign the story got abroad that he was wont to bury his wounded alive, and this story was actually believed by hosts of the English populace. But, on Bonaparte's *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire, opinion of him began to undergo a distinct change in England; for now the Tory party there felt and said publicly that they much preferred to see the neighbouring country of France ruled by a gentleman than by a rabble of regicides, and the point of view thus mooted by politicians was soon espoused widely among the masses. However, this wave of feeling in favour of the First Consul was short-lived, and when it became only too evident that he had designs upon England herself criticism of him rapidly began to grow more and more acrimonious. *The Times*, the chief English newspaper of the day, was specially loud in declamations against the alleged crimes of the suspected invader; while *The Quarterly Review*, which at this epoch exercised considerable sway

over English thought, went so far as to try and belittle N.'s abilities as a soldier. Nor, strange to say, was this magazine altogether alone in that respect, a like charge being brought forward in an early biography (undated) of N., the work of an otherwise unknown writer, Lieut. Scarratt; while Wellington himself, later on, speaking of Bonaparte's martial capacities, said he "never believed in him, and always thought that in the long run we should overthrow him. He never seemed himself at his ease, and even in the boldest things he did there was always a mixture of apprehension and meanness." Still, Wellington always refused to believe in the legend of N.'s cowardice at Waterloo, and it is pleasant to think that the Iron Duke was generous in that particular, if in nothing else, for was not his own military skill warmly praised by his mighty antagonist?

If it is possible to forgive Englishmen for disparaging N. in this way—the fact being, simply, that they naturally found it comforting to try to imagine he was not so dangerous as they had been led to suppose—it is far from easy to pardon our ancestors for the attitude many of them manifested towards Bonaparte's coronation, this attitude being one only to be described as offensively snobbish. Scarcely was the crown of France on the Emperor's head in 1804 ere Englishmen commenced sneering, the tenor of their scorn being that, as N. sprang from a comparatively humble family, he was making himself ludicrous by assuming regal dignity; and they seemed to forget that every family was humble originally, even the proudest and most imposing houses owing their position to some ancestor having contrived to raise himself above his fellows. They seemed to forget that, while might is not necessarily right, it was might which laid the foundation of every royal line; and in 1813, when Bonaparte espoused Marie Louise, this event was the signal for a further outburst of execration, one member of parliament, Grant by name, dilating in the House on the absurdity



of a Corsican lawyer's son trying, "by a connexion with ancient families . . . to clothe his new greatness with something of prescriptive pomp and veneration." This petty strain, it need hardly be said, was echoed far and near by the press, and now there was a great outpouring of anti-Napoleon pamphlets, whose titles in most cases constitute ample indication of the scurrilous nature of their contents. One, for example, was called *Plunder and Partition as Practised on the Continent by Bonaparte*, and another was styled *Atrocities of the Corsican Demon*; while a further one purported to furnish *A Full, True and Particular Account of the Crimes of Bonaparte*, and yet another, which levelled its shafts at the Emperor's probity, rejoiced in the name of *Bonaparte's Promises and Performances*.

While N.'s coronation was mainly regarded as a topic for scorn in England, a few men there, if only a few, had the good sense to raise their voices against this practice of making game of the man who, of all others, was most entitled to sway the French sceptre. And one of those who stood out thus was Lord Holland, that statesman remarking finely, in the course of a letter, "May not a people give their own magistrate any name they choose?" Again, while Bonaparte's abdication, and his subsequent banishment to Elba, were greeted by bursts of British laughter, people now feeling that all danger of a French invasion was safely over, the Imperial exile did not fail altogether to win some sympathy in England at this time, prominent among those who demonstrated this generous point of view being the then Lord Ebrington, who, visiting N. in his island empire, had the courage soon afterwards to write of the rare pleasure he experienced in the interview. An analogous tribute came almost simultaneously from a Major Vivian, who wrote concerning his meeting with the Emperor in Elba that he had "never passed an hour more agreeably"; and though, during the Hundred Days, English feeling once more turned fiercely against N., he elicited staunch verbal

defence and praise at this juncture from Byron's friend, Hobhouse, whose hatred of the Bourbons and all they represented made him the more enthusiastic a Bonapartist. Then while Quatre Bras and Waterloo were being fought England held her breath, so to speak, being too excited either for humour or violent satire; but after Wellington's triumph the vanquished soldier slowly came to be viewed in a wholly new light. For English people felt gratified, not to say complimented, on thinking that the man who had long been the terror of Europe should see fit to resign himself into their hands, and should declare that he had always found the British the most generous of all his antagonists; while later, when he had been safely incarcerated at St. Helena, a feeling of pity for his misfortunes began to grow up. Slowly but very surely Britain became more alive to the dramatic splendour of his career than to the fact that he had once menaced her own liberties; and although when Sir Walter Scott's biography of the Emperor was published in 1827 it was widely voted unduly kind to its subject, even at this time a glamour was commencing to weave itself round the memory of the departed soldier.

I love contemplating—apart  
From all his homicidal glory—  
The traits that soften to our heart,  
Napoleon's story.

So sang Thomas Campbell, and the attitude crystallized in his lines is nowadays that of almost all generous and imaginative Englishmen.

**Erbach, Battle of.**—This engagement, which lasted over twelve hours and resulted in heavy losses on both sides, was fought on 16 May 1800 between 15,000 French under Sainte-Suzanne and 36,000 Austrians under Kray. The French, who were repeatedly charged by the Austrian cavalry (12,000 strong) would have been utterly routed had it not been for the timely arrival of reinforcements under St. Cyr, who assisted in driving back the Austrians under the cannon of Ulm.

**Erfurt, Convention of.**—A treaty of alliance signed by the Emperors of

France and Russia on 12 Oct. 1808. Among its provisions were: (1) Russia was confirmed in the possession of Finland; (2) Moldavia and Wallachia were to be assigned to her; (3) in the event of a war between Russia and Turkey, France was to remain neutral; (4) if Austria declared war on France, Russia was to join with the latter; (5) both countries were to guarantee the remaining possessions of Turkey.

**Espinosa, Battle of.**—A battle of the Peninsular War, fought on 10 and 11 Nov. 1808 between 25,000 French under Victor and a like number of Spaniards under Blake. On the forenoon of the 10th Marshal Victor attacked the Spaniards, who held a very strong position and who by a gallant resistance succeeded in prolonging the action till nightfall, without any disadvantage. On the following day, however, Victor, renewing the action at daybreak, directed his efforts against Blake's left, where the half-starved Asturian levies were posted. They fought with great courage until their leaders were picked off by some French sharpshooters who had been sent forward for the purpose; but, finding themselves without chiefs to urge them on, they broke and fled, and in a short time the whole of Blake's army was dispersed, though he afterwards managed to collect about 7,000 of them, with whom he fell back to Reynosa, where he was again completely routed by Soult.

**Essling, Battle of.**—See ASPERN, BATTLE OF.

**Exelmans, Remi Joseph Isidore, Count (1775 - 1852).**—Marshal of France; entered the army at the age of sixteen. His talents gained him rapid promotion, and he distinguished himself in Italy under General Broussier, and subsequently at the conquest of Naples under Murat. He became aide-de-camp to the latter in 1801, and served with him in Austria, Prussia and Poland from 1805 to 1807. His conduct during the engagement at Wertingen and again at Austerlitz won for him the rank of colonel, and after Eylau he was made general of brigade. In the Spanish campaign he was so unfortunate as to fall into

British hands, and was imprisoned in England, but escaped after three years, and received from Murat in Naples the post of Grand Master of Horse. On the outbreak of war with Russia he returned to the French Army, and as some recognition of his courageous example during the retreat from Moscow was created general of division and decorated in 1813. On the first abdication he was banished from France, but on Napoleon's return from Elba he was created a peer and returned to office. Exelmans commanded a cavalry corps at Ligny and the operations at Wavre, and held a similar position during the engagements near Paris. Exiled for pronouncing his opinion on Marshal Ney's death too freely in the House, he lived in Belgium until 1819, when he returned to France and was appointed to another military position. He received further honours from Louis Philippe, but in 1848 sided with Louis Napoleon, and three years later became a marshal of France. This brilliant old soldier died from the effects of a fall in the hunting-field in 1852.

**Eylau and Friedland, Campaigns of (1806-7).**—These campaigns may be said to be a continuation of that of Jena (*q.v.*), but whereas the Napoleonic Army had been operating in an agricultural country where it was easy for them to obtain supplies, they had now to face campaigning of a very different kind. Poland possessed practically no roads, and this militated greatly against the French supply and transport services. These were minutely organized but, as it was found in the event, unsuitable to the country in which the operations were to take place.

In opposition to the highly trained and modernly equipped French the Russian forces may have appeared strangely antiquated in their armaments and the manner of handling the men, but service in their regiments was practically for life, therefore discipline was extremely rigid. Inured to hardships and privations of every kind, they had their own way of fighting, and were bold in attack

and tenacious in defence. Their artillery was good and of heavy calibre, but in cavalry they were weak, and in reality the Cossack was a danger only to small bodies of stragglers, and hesitated to attack a force of any size.

N. was unaware of the rather elaborate preparations for war on the part of Russia. When the surrender of Prenzlau and Lübeck practically ended the fighting in Prussia, he at once turned his eyes towards Poland, and dispatched Davout towards Warsaw at the beginning of Nov. 1806. The remainder of the army followed as speedily as it could be organized. The Prussian regimental depôts, along with their stores and horses, were quickly eaten up by the French cavalry moving rapidly in advance, until at the Vistula it came into contact with Lestocq's corps of 15,000 men, which merely skirmished and then fell back. Davout had no difficulty in reaching and entering Warsaw on 30 Nov., and in the course of a week or two he was reinforced by the guards and the IV. and V. corps, the VI. and VII. supporting him, with Mortier, Jerome and Lefebvre advancing towards the Polish capital. Prussia was occupied by French conscripts, newly formed regiments and veterans, and from these he drafted men from time to time to fill up the gaps in his ranks, trusting in some cases to a training of the new units on the long march from France to the Russian frontier. The Russian forces were divided into two bodies, one of 50,000 under Bennigsen and the other of 25,000 under Buxhowden, and these moved slowly forward until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Pultusk, Plock and Prassnitz. They seriously affected the French communications between Warsaw and Prussia, and the Emperor, who did not desire that his troops should experience a winter campaign, resolved to put an end to their depredations. Two days before Christmas he commenced operations against them. There were a number of difficulties in his way. The French found it difficult to maintain communication between their various columns, and information regarding the enemy's

movements was by no means easily procured. It seemed impossible to find the Russians in one concentrated body. N.'s object had been to induce them to mass in the district of Pultusk, to turn their position on the left, to cut them from their base, and, if possible, to surround them. But the French, used to marching on roads, disappointed his expectations in regard to properly timing their movements. The appointed positions were taken up too late, and after a rear-guard action at Pultusk and desultory fighting at Soldau-Golymin the Russians escaped from the French attempt to surround them. N. had asked too much of his troops; their murmurs were loud, and, indeed, they personally addressed him while on the march in no very flattering terms. Seeing that he had pushed them too far, he resolved to go into winter quarters, and retreated on the river Passarge and the Baltic country. The Russians, under Bennigsen, who was now in supreme command, followed his example and took up a position for hibernation in the vicinity of Eylau, having been reinforced by Lestocq's little brigade. Russia was pushing forward mobilization as rapidly as she could for the renewal of the campaign in the spring; but Ney, with the VI. corps, found it difficult to beat up local supplies in Gilgenberg, the most barren district of any that had been allotted to the French Army, and while foraging for provender got into the Russian sphere. Bennigsen mistook this movement for a recommencement of hostilities, concentrated on his right, and advanced westwards towards Danzig, which was still held by the Prussians. Ney was compelled to fall back, and Bernadotte, who had been masking the siege of Danzig, was also pushed from his base. The whole French Army was thereby thrown out of position, but Bennigsen had left his own communications practically unguarded. On the Emperor being assured of this he acted with such rapidity that by the end of Jan. 1807 he was ready to advance with Davout, Augereau, Ney, Soult, the guard, and the reserve cavalry, Lannes covering his right and Lefebvre his outer flank. Once more

## EYLAU

holding the frozen lakes of Tenknitten and Waschkeiten on either side of the road to Eylau. These they routed after a sharp encounter; both wings of the Russian force were turned, and Bagration, who commanded its rear-guard, retired through Eylau on the main army, which was drawn up in battle array east of that small town, which was strongly defended by Barclay de Tolly. Fierce fighting took place in the streets and churchyard of



Eylau, and several times was it taken and re-taken, until at length the French remained in possession of it. It has been said that the French soldiers attacked the town so vigorously in order to find quarters there for the night. The Russian Army spent the night in the field in extreme cold; the ground was deeply covered with snow, and the lakes frozen so hard that the cavalry could manœuvre upon them. Ney and Davout had not yet come up. The former had been instructed to take the Russian right and to prevent Lestocq's Prussians coming to the assistance of the Mus-

covites. Davout was to be hurled against Bennigsen's left wing which was massed about Serpallen. N. himself was to direct the frontal attack: his forces stretched from a windmill on his left through Eylau itself to the hamlet Rothenen on the right, and his whole front was covered by artillery, the cavalry being massed on the wings. The guard acted as a second line south of Eylau town, and a further reserve was massed near Waschkeiten lake. Bennigsen was drawn up in line from Schloditten to Sausgarten; his front was also covered by artillery, in which he was stronger than the Emperor.

As the first shots of the battle were fired, about 8 a.m., a heavy snow-storm was falling. Eylau received a fierce bombardment from the Russian artillery, which was replied to by the French guns. Then the French launched an infantry attack from the cover of the town, which was repulsed with much loss. The Russian advance in full force was then made upon the windmill, in answer to which Augereau with the VII. corps moved forward from his position near the church of Eylau against the Russian front, the division of St. Hilaire on his right assisting in the attack. Augereau's corps lost its way in the blizzard of snow, and St. Hilaire, breaking away from him, thus lost his support. Augereau had the ill-fortune to cross the front of the Russian line obliquely, when, of course, his corps was taken in flank by the Muscovite artillery and almost wiped out. As it was thrown into confusion the Russian cavalry delivered a furious charge upon its flanks, thundering downhill upon it like a whirlwind. Only some 3,000 out of its 14,000 men returned to the French lines, the rest being killed, wounded or taken prisoners. All the senior officers were killed or wounded, and Augereau himself, who had contracted rather a serious illness and who, smitten with fever as he was, had had himself bound to his horse, was badly wounded. The Russians penetrated into Eylau itself. N., espying the desperate state of the force, ordered up a battalion of the guard at the psychological moment, who coming upon the Russians in the

streets of the town hustled them badly and drove them out. Matters had, however, assumed a very serious aspect for the French. N. threw out the cavalry along the whole line, and Murat and Bessi  res swept the Russian horse before them. D'Hautpoult's cuirassiers charged through the Russian artillery and dashed through two lines of the infantry: a second cavalry attack once more broke through the Russian defence, but the attackers were badly cut up. By this time Davout had occupied Serpallen and had got into touch with N.'s right. He kept pressing steadily upon the Russian left, rolling it backwards until his right was upon Kutschitten. N.'s men, working from Eylau church, wheeled inward until their line came into contact with Davout's right at Kutschitten; but Lestocq with the Prussians was advancing to the assistance of the Russians. Up to this time they had been skirmishing with Ney to the north-west of the field, but Lestocq had drawn clear of his opponent and had left a rear-guard to hold him while he advanced to oppose Davout. Advancing with impetuous force, he inflicted a check upon Davout and forced him back until once more his right impinged on Sausgarten. Davout had thus been made to retreat some two miles by dint of the Prussian attack.

Both sides now began to show signs of the severest exhaustion. Ney was effectively held by the Prussian rear-guard; the Russian extreme right also attacked him, and he began to fall into difficulties; but at last night ended the battle. Bennigsen retreated after dark through Schmoditten, as did Lestocq through Kutschitten. Out of 80,000 men the French had lost 15,000, and out of 73,000 troops the Allies had lost 18,000 men; but the French had forfeited five eagles and seven other colours, and the Russians sixteen standards and several batteries. N., profoundly irritated at the indecisive nature of the battle, vented his spleen upon the unfortunate Augereau, whom he deprived of his command and sent back to Paris. Pursuit on the part of the French was impossible, and once more N. distributed his men into

winter quarters. During the period of rest which remained to them, the Emperor worked strenuously to regroup and reinforce his army. He organized a new line of supply via Thorn. Lefebvre was ordered to press the siege of Danzig with vigour, and on 27 May, after a gallant resistance, Marshal Kalckreuth, the brave commander of the garrison, surrendered. By 1 June the French had filled the gaps in their ranks, and no less than 210,000 men were ready for service.

Bennigsen, however, had not been idle, for, leaving Lestocq with 20,000 Allies to hold Bernadotte who lay on the banks of the Passarge, he moved southwards at the beginning of June and attacked Ney, whom he drove back. Then with most of his forces he moved in the direction of Heilsberg, where he entrenched himself strongly. When this information reached the ears of N. he wained his forces for mobilization on 6 June—his object being to cut Bennigsen off from Königsberg and the coast. To accomplish this he collected 147,000 men, of the III., VI., VIII., and guard corps, together with a new cavalry reserve corps under Lannes, with which he marched against the Russians, throwing Murat and Soult out as general advance-guard. Bernadotte was to have attacked Lestocq, but as usual failed to receive his orders and took no part in the operations which followed. Murat attacked the outposts of the Russian entrenched position on the 11th, but could not come into touch with the entrenchments themselves. Soult came to his support, and was followed by the Emperor himself, who ordered an immediate attack. The Russians unmasked their entrenchments, and as the French had no artillery to assist them, Soult's corps received dreadful punishment, and by the time darkness had set in 12,000 French had been killed and wounded.

Bennigsen had not yet entirely completed his arrangements, and having reason to believe that his right was threatened by the III. corps effected a night retreat to Bartenstein, turning the following day towards Schippenbeil. The Emperor now marched

towards Friedland, where he thought he could menace the Russian communications with Königsberg, from which they received their supplies, but he was in a tangle as to the enemy's whereabouts. Murat and Soult had, however, got Lestocq and his Prussians into a corner in the vicinity of Königsberg, towards which the III., VI. and VIII. corps with the guard were now moving. Bennigsen, whom N. had been hunting for some days, was now located at Friedland, or at least his centre impinged on that town, most of his troops having taken up a strong position on the River Alle.

The battle of Friedland was perhaps the contest in which the Napoleonic method of attack was exhibited *par excellence*. The enemy lay upon the Emperor's right, and the French cavalry under Lannes were at Domnau some ten miles farther to the right. These were thrown forward to "observe" the Russians at Friedland, Ney following in close support. Davout was directed on the enemy's right, and Mortier with the VIII. corps, the guards and the reserve cavalry followed as main body. On 14 June, which was the anniversary of Marengo, Lannes advancing as a screen, the Emperor's main body gradually came up supported by severe artillery "preparation," which ended with a general attack about 5 p.m. The Russians lost severely, and were forced over the Alle. Lestocq was driven through Königsberg, which surrendered next day. A decisive success was achieved. Friedland was in fact the first example of the massing of artillery in modern warfare, and the French infantry, though exhausted, were able to pursue Bennigsen's broken regiments through the town of Friedland, which was now on fire. Lannes and Mortier who throughout the battle had been holding the Russian centre and right, now launched a heavy infantry attack, while Dupont assailed the left flank of the Russian centre with such effect that the battle was soon over. Many Russians were drowned in retreating across the river, but masses of them managed to retreat by the Allenburg road, where for some reason they were unpursued. The

French lost 12,000 out of 86,000 men, and the Russians 10,000 out of 46,000.

## F

**Family Influence upon N.'s Career and Destiny.**—The question of the influence of N.'s family on his destiny is one of interest. His own words in the *Memorial* are not far from the truth: "It is certain that I was not well seconded by my family and that they did great harm to me and my cause. My force of character has often been praised, but I behaved like a chicken in dealing with my family, and they knew it. When the first outburst was passed, their perseverance and obstinacy carried the day. If each of them had given a common impulse to the masses confided to them we would have marched to the two poles. We would have changed the face of the world. Europe would have enjoyed a new system, and we would have been blessed. I had not the good luck of Genghis Khan with his four sons. When I named a king he immediately thought himself a monarch *by the grace of God*. He was no longer a lieutenant on whom I could depend, but an enemy I had to watch. They all had the mania to believe themselves adored and preferred to me. All their efforts were directed towards making themselves independent. It was I who hampered and imperilled them. Legitimate monarchs would not have acted otherwise or have considered themselves more securely anchored. When I succumbed they were made acquainted with the esteem in which they were held."

Of the whole family N. was certainly the most affectionate, devoted, and generous. As a son and brother he was exemplary in these qualities, as a husband he was indulgent and kind. It cannot be said that any of his relatives gave him an adequate return. His mother, Mme. Mère, the finest character of them all, was an enemy of Josephine, and certainly helped to foment the bitter Bonaparte jealousy against the Beauharnais, to which can be traced not only some of the gratuitous scandals against N., but

also many of those currents which carried away his throne. Josephine, whatever her faults, possessed a kindness of heart and an unfailing tact which, apart from the fact that none of the Bonapartes owned such social qualities, were of the greatest utility and assistance to her husband as First Consul and Emperor. The Beauharnais influence—Josephine and her son and daughter—was of far greater help and comfort to N. than the place-grabbing and squabbling of his own family—Joseph in his quarrel over the succession being particularly odious. N. knew this well. "They are jealous of my wife," he said, "of Eugène, of Hortense, of all who surround me. *Eh bien*, my wife has diamonds and debts—nothing else. Eugène does not possess an income of 20,000 livres. I love these children because they have always been anxious to please me. If there is a cannon shot, it is Eugène who goes to see what it is; if I have to cross a trench it is he who gives me his hand. Joseph's daughters are not yet aware that I am called Emperor; they call me Consul. They believe that I beat their mother. Little Napoleon (Louis's and Hortense's son), on the other hand, when he passes the grenadiers in the gardens cries out to them, '*Vive Nonon the soldier*.' They say that my wife is false, that her children's attentions are interested. Well, be it so. They treat me like an old uncle—it gives, none the less, all the sweetness in my life. I am growing old—I am thirty-six. I want rest." Even the cynical Fouché, observing the contrast, was constrained to say: "I was intimately persuaded that the gentle and kindly influence of the Beauharnais was preferable to the excessive and imperious encroachments of a Lucien." But Lucien was mild in his demands compared to the others. In one particular Josephine seriously damaged N.'s cause, and that was in her indiscreet confidences, whether fact or surmise, which she made to her intimates, who in their turn expanded these according to their needs and prejudices. Of Eugène Beauharnais N. could say in his days of exile that he had never caused him one moment of sorrow.

Marie Louise will stand for all time as a picture of cowardice, ingratitude—infamous in her very weakness. Her character well fitted the rôle of political decoy, as is so clearly shown in the ease with which she fell into Neipperg's arms whilst the husband of whom she could not possibly be worthy was an exile and suffering. Neither husband nor son received loyalty or devotion from a character the negation of true womanhood. It is sufficient to contrast her with Catherine of Württemberg (*q.v.*). If N. had married the latter, his destiny and that of Europe would probably have been vastly different. Such a woman in the position of his wife and mother of his son would have given the world a noble example of loyalty, courage, and high-souled devotion.

The brothers of N. certainly served his cause but ill. Joseph, Louis, Jerome—he raised them to the level that he had gained by his own genius, and immediately they acted as if he had not existed, certainly not made them. Joseph, weak in everything but his insistence on the right of elder brothers; and Louis, morbid and vindictive, went so far as to be jealous of the one who had lifted them to their dignities. Lucien was by far the cleverest, but too much so to be practical, yet his demands were certainly the most modest of them all. Jerome, who affords a paltry spectacle, must needs choose the time of the retreat from Moscow to endeavour to retain his little Westphalia, not seeing that his hopes all rested on N.'s success or failure.

The sisters are perhaps worse. Elisa posed as more loyal than the others, though this was but a mask for her intrigues with N.'s enemies. Caroline the venomous-tongued and evil-minded betrayed not only her brother but husband and country. To Murat, the tool of his wife, N. ascribed the principal cause of his downfall—a scathing commentary on the characters of those who owed all to himself. Pauline, the most lovable of the three, by her careless life worked much harm to her brother's prestige. To her credit, however, it must be admitted that she truly loved him and

lamented his downfall, moreover she never blackened herself by intrigues against his power or throne.

His family did not see that their only hope of endurance as kings and founders of dynasties rested wholly on their brother who had so exalted them—that as his prowess and genius had raised them, so in the continuance of that lay their protection and safety. They could not see that by obeying his commands and supplying him with the *matériel* of power and rule they would build up an unparalleled family dynasty—that by assuring and supporting the stability of his throne they were most surely establishing their own. Only when it was too late did the realization come.

**Ferdinand VII. (1784-1833), King of Spain.**—Eldest son of Charles IV. of Spain and Maria Louisa of Parma; was born near Balsain, and succeeded his father on the Spanish throne at the latter's abdication in 1808. As heir apparent he had not been permitted to have a say in the government, and his succession to the throne of such a turbulent kingdom, scarcely free, as it was, from the throes of a revolution, gave his naturally vile disposition endless excuse for tyranny. Two years before his succession his first wife, Maria Antoniette of Naples, led him into a conspiracy against his mother and her lover Godoy, the powerful favourite of King Charles's reign. The plot was discovered, and Ferdinand in abject fear basely betrayed his fellow-conspirators, and after his wife's death resumed his intrigues with the help of other flatterers. The outcome of it all was the riot by which Charles was forced to renounce his throne, and when Ferdinand came into power he immediately cringed to the invading French. He was dethroned, taken prisoner, and sent to Valençay, and while his people were fighting for his cause with the help of England, their king was living a depraved life during his enforced stay in France. The old king and queen retired to France, after having revenged themselves on their son by disinheriting him and leaving the fate of Spain in N.'s hands. Until 1814 one insurrection after



another kept the country in a state of war and turmoil, causing heavy loss of life on both sides. The bitter contempt which the European powers showed for Spain's newly released king in 1814 was only equalled by that of his Spanish subjects. Ferdinand adopted a despotic rôle on his return to power. He established the old doctrine of the "divine right of kings," and ruled supremely for the next twenty years. A wholesale massacre of his own people was the outcome of a second French invasion in 1823, as a result of the congress of Verona. He promised to grant a pardon to the insurgents, and on the violation of this promise was taken prisoner to Cadiz, but escaped and promised to reform. In 1829 he married his fourth wife, Maria Christina of Naples, who induced him to leave the throne to Philip V. instead of to his brother Don Carlos. During the latter years of his life Ferdinand became less tyrannical. His health suffered from his earlier bad habits, and he was the tool of his advisers and his domineering consort. He died in Sept. 1833, and his death was not deplored. In a report of N.'s views on the quarrel between Charles IV. and his son in 1808, the Emperor says: "When I saw those idiots quarrelling and trying to oust each other, I thought I might well take advantage of it to dispossess a family antagonistic to me. I did not invent their quarrels, and if I had known the matter would have brought so much trouble to me I should never have undertaken it."

**Ferdinand IV. (1751 - 1825).—**King of Naples and Sicily; ascended the throne in 1767. Previous to this, his father, Don Carlos of Bourbon, who afterwards became Charles III. of Spain, held the regency until his death. During his son's minority he kept him ignorant of state affairs and indulged his fancies, so that he took up the reins of government in 1767 with little or no knowledge of kingly deportment. He married Maria Carolina, daughter of Maria Theresa, who soon established a firm sway over the King and his government alike. In 1793 Ferdinand joined England and Austria against France, but was

obliged to make peace in 1801. Five years later he took refuge in Sicily, having violated his treaty with N., who entered and took possession of Naples, and proclaimed his brother Joseph king. Maria Carolina was banished to Austria, but their son Francis was appointed regent to the Sicilian throne under British protection. In 1808 Ferdinand returned to Naples on the deposition of Murat. He ruled as a despot, suppressed the Sicilian constitution, and introduced a system of rigorous tyranny, which greatly deteriorated the country during his reign and crippled progress. His death in 1825 came as a relief to the people.

**Ferdinand III. (1769 - 1824).—**Grand Duke of Tuscany and Archduke of Austria, second son of Leopold II. In 1790 he succeeded his father as Grand Duke of Tuscany, and sided with the French at the outbreak of the Revolution. Forced to join England and Russia in the coalition against the French, he was obliged to retire during the occupation of Livorno. In 1799 he returned to his throne on condition that his territories would remain neutral, and a treaty of peace with France was signed and observed. Two years later, however, Ferdinand was compelled to take refuge in Vienna, and resign his sovereignty, when Tuscany was converted into the Kingdom of Etruria by the peace of Lunéville (1801). He received instead the electorship of Salzburg, but exchanged it for that of Würzburg in 1805. He was present at the confederation of the Rhine in 1806. In 1814 he again occupied his Italian throne, but the following year, on the outbreak of war with Austria, had to vacate it, until the victory of Waterloo secured it for him once for all. He reigned peacefully for nine years, bringing out the best of what was in his subjects. Art, literature and agriculture prospered exceedingly under his indulgent rule, but the old Tuscan character tended to become effeminate. He died in June 1824.

**Fesch, Joseph (1763 - 1839).—**Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons; was born at Ajaccio on 3 Jan. 1763. The mother of Letizia Buonaparte had, on

the death of her first husband, married Francis Fesch, a Swiss officer in the service of the Genoese Republic, and of this union Joseph Fesch was the issue. He stood, therefore, in the relation of uncle to N. and his brothers and sisters, a relationship that was emphasized when, after the death of Lucien Buonaparte, arch-deacon of Ajaccio, he became patron and protector of the family.

The childhood of Joseph Fesch was spent in Corsica, where he was the friend and playmate of the unruly little Napoleon, to whom he taught the alphabet. Destined for the church, Fesch was sent in his fifteenth year to the seminary at Aix (1778). Later it was he who administered the last sacraments to the father of N., dying at Montpellier. In his correspondence with his nephew, after his own return to Corsica, he never failed to keep him fully apprised of the trend of events in the island. He also encouraged N. in his literary efforts, and in the memoir on the oath required from priests was collaborator with him. In later years it was to Fesch that N. confided the care of his private papers.

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 found Fesch installed as arch-deacon of Ajaccio, and he, together with the majority of Corsicans, was violently opposed to the French Government, especially in regard to their enactments against the clergy. On the suppression of the religious orders he retired into private life, and later threw in his lot with the Buonapartes, sharing their fortunes in the troublous times which ensued. They gradually influenced his political sympathies, and he withdrew from the Paolist party and espoused the French cause, and together with Lucien became a leader in the radical club. In 1790 Fesch and Joseph were chosen to represent Ajaccio at the Constituent Assembly of Orezza. The autumn of 1793 saw the temporary defeat of the latter, and Fesch accompanied the Buonaparte family in their flight to Toulon. The severities exercised towards the priesthood during the period of the Terror induced him prudently to lay aside his clerical vocation

and enter civil life. He filled several obscure positions, amongst others that of storekeeper, but on the appointment of N. to the command of the French Army in Italy he became a commissary attached to that army. When in 1799 his nephew was made First Consul, the fortunes of Fesch, as those of the rest of the family, rose rapidly. The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion as the national faith was one of N.'s projects, therefore Fesch resumed his former calling and took a leading part in the negotiations, difficult and complex, which led to the ratification of the Concordat between France and the Holy See on 15 July 1801. Shortly afterwards he was made Archbishop of Lyons; in Aug. 1802 he was consecrated by Caprara, the Pope's legate, and in the early part of the following year received his cardinalship.

In 1804 Cacault retired from the position of French ambassador at Rome and Cardinal Fesch was appointed, with Chateaubriand as first secretary, who differed acutely from his chief on many questions. One of the most difficult tasks possible was entrusted to the new ambassador, and this was to secure the presence of the Pope at the forthcoming coronation of N. at Notre Dame, Paris (2 Dec. 1804). It needed infinite tact in negotiation, and the fact that only eight months previously the Duc d'Enghien had been executed added to the difficulties. He overcame the reluctance of the Pope, however, and accompanied him to Paris, assisting at the ceremony. It was Fesch who on the night of 1 Dec. 1804, the night preceding the coronation, performed the religious marriage of N. and Josephine in the presence of two witnesses, Talleyrand and Berthier. This was undertaken with the end in view of removing the Pope's objection to crowning a pair united only by civil law and also of allaying Josephine's ever-present fears of divorce. The following year Fesch was made grand almoner of the Empire, was invested with the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour, and chosen by the electoral college of Lot a member of the Senate. He was also presented by the King

of Spain with the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1806 the Prince-Bishop of Regensburg, Karl von Dalberg, named him his coadjutor and successor. But the years 1806 and 1807 saw a clouding of his brilliant prospects. The political and religious disputes between N. and the Pope were acute and bitter, and Fesch occupied the unenviable position of intermediary, trying in vain to reconcile the two potentates. The Pope refused to give way where the interests of the church seemed threatened, whilst the Emperor would not abate one jot of his demands. The latter loaded Fesch with reproaches, blaming him for the obstinacy of the Pope and suspecting him of weakness and ingratitude, though there is evidence to show that the Cardinal actually counselled the submission of the spiritual to the civil power. On the other hand, relations with the Pope became strained, and at last the Emperor recalled Fesch from Rome. The crisis was reached in 1809 when N. issued at Vienna the decree of 17 May commanding the annexation of the Papal States to France. The same year he nominated Fesch to the archbishopric of Paris, but this, however, the Cardinal declined. He took part in an ecclesiastical commission formed by the Emperor from the dignitaries of the Gallican church, but this was quickly dissolved. The year 1810 saw his hopes regarding the succession to the Prince-Bishop of Regensburg damped, for N. revoked his consent thereto and entered into an arrangement whereby Regensburg was absorbed in Bavaria. In 1811 a national council of Gallican clerics was convoked by the Emperor for the discussion of church affairs, and of this Fesch was appointed president. Again he opposed N.'s violent and extreme measures against the church and its pontiff, and at last the Emperor dismissed him to his diocese. The following year saw the quarrel still more acute. In June 1812 Pius VII. had been brought to Fontainebleau from his first place of detention, Savon, and here he was kept under surveillance with the idea that at last he would give way on certain questions connected with the Concordat and clerical

affairs. His correspondence was intercepted, and among the letters was found one from Cardinal Fesch. It came into the hands of N., who was angered to such an extent that he stopped the sum of 150,000 florins which had been allocated to Fesch. The attitude of the Emperor towards the Pope became more lenient after the troubles of 1812-13, consequently the Cardinal was restored to a measure of favour. On the first abdication, 11 April 1814, and the restoration of the Bourbons, he retired to Rome and was welcomed there. He lived in great privacy until he heard of N.'s escape from Elba, when he threw open his palace and entertained in honour of the event, acknowledging openly that he considered his nephew's return to France the especial work of Divine Providence. The Hundred Days (March-June 1815) brought him back to France, where he resumed his arch-episcopal duties at Lyons and was made a member of the Senate. On the second abdication (22 June 1815) he again retired to Rome, refusing to the last to resign the archbishopric of Lyons or to nominate a coadjutor, showing the same determination in this as he had displayed in his opposition to his nephew. In the autumn of 1819 when N.'s ill health became worse after the dismissal of O'Meara from St. Helena, it was Fesch who selected Dr. Antommarchi, a Corsican physician, to attend the fallen Emperor.

Cardinal Fesch had always encouraged and patronized the arts, and, lavish in his expenditure, he had gathered a valuable collection of masterpieces, many of which he bequeathed to Lyons. In character he was liberal and affable to all, showing neither sternness nor intolerance. To the young Buonapartes he had been and was always a favourite "Uncle," Fesch often being chosen as confidant in later years. His appearance was not commanding though he was tall; but his smooth, calm-featured face radiated good humour, and is aptly described in that phrase of his nephew Lucien, who spoke of his uncle as being "ever fresh, not as a rose, but like a good radish." He died at Rome on 13 May 1839.

**Finance.**— See CONSULATE and EMPIRE.

**Flahault de la Billarderie, Auguste Charles Joseph, Comte de (1785-1870).**—Soldier and diplomatist; although regarded as the son of the Comte de Flahault, was known to be the natural son of Talleyrand, whose *liaison* with Mme. de Flahault, afterwards Mme. de Souza, was notorious. On the outbreak of the Revolution Flahault was taken abroad by his mother, but returning to France he entered the army as a volunteer and won promotion at Marengo. He became aide-de-camp to Murat, and in 1805 was wounded at Landbach. While in Warsaw his *amour* with the famous Countess Potocki, Anna Poniatowski, caused not a little scandal. He served with distinction in the Peninsular War (1808), in the Russian campaign, and in 1812 became general of brigade. In 1813 N. appointed him one of his aides-de-camp, and after Leipsic made him a general of division. He was an intimate of Eugène de Beauharnais, and is said to have been the lover of his sister, Queen Hortense (*q.v.*), after the virtual separation from her husband, Louis Bonaparte. The Duc de Morny (*q.v.*) was generally believed to have been the child of this *liaison*. After the first abdication he gave his allegiance to the Bourbons, but his name was placed on the retired list. During the Hundred Days he was dispatched by N. on a mission to Vienna to procure the return of Marie Louise and the King of Rome, but was unsuccessful. After N.'s downfall he enjoyed Talleyrand's protection. In England, whither he proceeded, he married Margaret Elphinstone (1788-1867), daughter of Admiral George Keith Elphinstone, who became the Baroness Keith and Nairne in her own right. He died on 1 Sept. 1870.

**Flogging.**—N. hated flogging as employed in his day for maintaining discipline in the European armies. Speaking in 1816 he said: "I raised many thousands of Italians who fought with a bravery equal to that of the French, and who did not desert me in danger. What was the cause? I abolished flogging. Instead of the lash I intro-

duced the stimulus of honour. Whatever debases a man cannot be serviceable. What sense of honour can a man have who is flogged before his comrades? When a soldier has been debased by stripes he cares little for his own reputation, or the honour of his country. After an action I assembled the officers and soldiers and inquired who had proved themselves heroes. Such as were able to read and write I promoted. Those who were not I ordered to study five hours a day until they had learned a sufficiency and then promoted them. Thus I substituted honour and emulation for terror and the lash." Speaking of the English soldiers, N. said: "The English soldier is brave, none more so. . . . In place of the lash I would discipline them by honour. I would excite a spirit of emulation in them and promote them according to their deserts. What might not be hoped from the English Army if each who behaved well had the chance of becoming a general some day."

N.'s humane method stands in direct contrast to that of Wellington, whose devotion to the lash is well known, and whose attitude to his army of splendid fighters is summed up in his repeated phrase "the scum of the earth," an unjust statement, for his rank and file included many devoted and patriotic men. His soldiers lived under a savage and brutalizing discipline. Lord Hutchinson told Romilly of a British soldier being flogged to death for coming dirty on parade. Lord Hill, however, serving under Wellington, deprecated the use of the lash and believed in personal influence, with the result that his division was the best behaved in the British Army.

**Florence, Treaty of.**—During the Italian campaign of 1800-1 Murat, at the head of his French troops, entered Naples and forced the king of that country, Ferdinand IV., to sign a convention, subsequently replaced by the treaty of Florence (28 March 1801). By this treaty Ferdinand gave up Taranto to France, engaged himself to maintain there a French garrison of 15,000, and to close his ports to British trade, a foreshadowing of N.'s later commercial policy towards England.

## FONTAINEBLEAU

**Fontainebleau, Austro-French Convention signed at.**—This Convention, signed on 11 Oct. 1807 by France and Austria, accentuated the semblance of good relations between the two countries. Actually it was to the great advantage of France. It extended the Italian frontier to the line of the River Isonzo, and that without compensating Austria for the territorial loss entailed, though Brannau, on the Bavarian frontier, was evacuated by the French.

**Fontainebleau, Conventions of.**—On 27 Oct. 1807 N. concluded a secret Convention with Spain at Fontainebleau. Its provisions were: (1) the King of Etruria was to surrender his kingdom to N. in exchange for a Portuguese principality, Entre Minho e Douro, and the title of King of Northern Lusitania; (2) the provinces of Algarve and Alemtejo were to be given to the Spanish minister Godoy; (3) the King of Spain was to receive the title of Protector of Entre Minho e Douro; (4) N. guaranteed to him his possession of the Spanish territories south of the Pyrenees. After the conclusion of the treaty the Bourbon Marie Louise, Queen-regent of Etruria, whose unskilful rule and continued thwarting of his policy had disgusted N., was pensioned and exiled. Simultaneously with the signing of this Convention a military convention was also signed at Fontainebleau, by which 28,000 French troops, aided by 11,000 Spaniards, were to march against Lisbon; 16,000 Spanish troops were to invade Portugal; and 40,000 French were to stand at Bayonne ready to support the Franco-Spanish corps in the event of a British attack.

**Fontainebleau, Decrees of.**—On 18 and 25 Oct. 1810 N. issued the Fontainebleau Decrees as part of an elaborate scheme for the destruction of British trade. The decree of 18 Oct. ordered the seizure and burning of all British manufactured goods found in France or in countries under French control; the decree of 25 Oct. established forty-one courts or tribunals to settle questions arising out of the former decree, to reward those who helped to put it into force, and to punish persons responsible for intro-

ducing British goods into the continent. The Fontainebleau Decrees, resulting in want and privation among the poor and middle classes, caused much dissatisfaction, especially on the shores of the North Sea.

**Fontainebleau Plot, The (1814).**—According to the Duchesse d'Abrantes, there was a plot to assassinate N. when at Fontainebleau before his abdication. She gives the following account of the affair:

"Napoleon was at Fontainebleau with Berthier, Maret, Caulaincourt, Bertrand, and the majority of his marshals. This part of the Emperor's history is perhaps unexampled in the world's history . . . nothing in the pages of history presents any parallel to what passed at Fontainebleau during the days and, above all, the nights passed there by Napoleon, abandoned by fortune and surrounded by those whom he supposed to be his friends. A thick veil was drawn over the event, for the principal actors in it carefully concealed their baseness from the eyes of the world. Few persons are aware that Napoleon was doomed to death during the few days which preceded his abdication by a band of conspirators composed of the most distinguished chiefs of the army. 'But,' said one of these in the council in which these demons discussed their atrocious projects, 'what are we to do with him. There are two or three amongst us who, like Antony (alluding to the Dukes of Vicenza and Bassano, Marshal Bertrand, and some others), would exhibit his blood-stained robe to the people and make us play the parts of Cassius and Brutus. I have no wish to see my house burned and be put to flight.' 'Well,' said another, 'we must leave no trace of him. He must be sent to Heaven like Romulus.' The others applauded, and then a most horrible discussion ensued. It is not in my power to relate the details. Suffice it to say that the Emperor's death was proposed and discussed for the space of an hour with a degree of coolness which might be expected among Indian savages. 'But,' said he who had spoken first, 'we must come to some determination. The Emperor of Russia is impartial. Now

for the last time we will speak to him of his abdication. He must sign it definitely or——' A horrible gesture followed his last word. The life of N. was threatened by those very men whom he had loaded with favours, to whom he had given lustre from the reflection of his own glory. N. was warned of the conspiracy, and it must have been the most agonizing event of his whole life. The torments of St. Helena were nothing in comparison with what he must have suffered when a pen was presented to him by a man who presumed to say, 'Sign—if you wish to live!' . . . The Emperor wished to ascertain the feeling of the army before he adopted a final resolution. N. made choice of the Marshals Macdonald, Lefebvre, Oudinot, Ney, and the Dukes of Bassano and Vicenza to convey to the Emperor of Russia the proposals which he made to the Allied powers. Some time previously to this there occurred a scene the remembrance of which fills me with indignation against the man whom it almost exclusively concerns—I allude to Berthier. He was with the Emperor, and he invented an excuse for leaving him at that moment. He alleged that his presence was required at Paris for the purpose of securing some papers which were of importance to the Emperor himself. Whilst he spoke N. looked at him with melancholy surprise, which, however, Berthier did not or would not observe. 'Berthier,' said N., taking his hand, 'you see how much I require at this moment to be surrounded by my true friends.' These last words were pronounced emphatically. Berthier made no reply. Napoleon continued, 'You will be back to-morrow, Berthier?' 'Certainly, Sire,' replied the Prince of Neufchatel. And he left the Emperor's cabinet with treason in his heart. After his departure N. remained silent for some time, looking downwards, and then, laying his hand on the arm of the Duke of Bassano, said, 'Maret, he will not come back.' N. was right, Berthier did not return."

**Fontainebleau, Treaty of.** — The treaty of Fontainebleau (11 April 1814) was designed to fix the rank and financial position of N. during his first

period of exile. In signing it he ratified the act of abdication of 4 April, though in the few days' interval he more than once repented his abdication, and even tried to commit suicide as an alternative to its ratification. The provisions of Fontainebleau were: (1) N. was to have a yearly revenue of 2,000,000 francs, with reversion of 1,000,000 to the Empress; (2) a revenue of 2,500,000 francs was to be divided among the members of his family; (3) a sum of 2,000,000 francs was to be granted for distribution among his followers; (4) the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were assigned to Marie Louise, who was to be succeeded by his son and his heirs; (5) the Island of Elba was given to N. himself in full sovereignty. The duchies given to Marie Louise were granted by the Allies, Elba and the revenues by France. It may be noted that N., having been offered the choice of Corsica, Corfu, and Elba in which to pass his exile, himself chose the latter island, a step which he afterwards bitterly regretted. Indeed, he came to regard the entire treaty as a gross betrayal, and perhaps not without reason, since practically all its articles were afterwards violated.

**Fortuné.** — A pug belonging to Josephine and mentioned by N. in his letters to her. Arnault in his *Memoirs* says that in 1794, in the days of the Terror when Josephine and her husband were imprisoned, this dog was the bearer of secret messages attached to his collar between them and their children and friends. Because of this Josephine adored the animal, though it was "neither good, beautiful, nor amiable," and refused to be parted from it. One day in 1797 the pampered creature was curled up on the couch beside its mistress, and N., turning to Arnault, laughingly remarked: "You see that dog there. Well, he is my rival. He was in possession of Mme.'s bedroom when I married her. I wished to depose him, but—what use! I was only told I must resign myself to sleep elsewhere or consent to share it with him. That was sufficiently exasperating, but as it was a question of taking or leaving, I resigned myself. The favourite was not

so accommodating. I carry the proof of it in my leg." The dog was certainly unpleasant with its habits of barking at everyone and biting men and other dogs. Its end was therefore tragic. At Montebello Fortuné, resentful as usual, snapped at a mastiff which belonged to N.'s cook. The mastiff, also resentful, killed the pet on the spot. Josephine was in tears, but soon after found consolation in another dog. One day on meeting N. the cook fled, whereupon N. recalled him and demanded the reason of his flight. The cook instanced the death of Fortuné, saying he had feared N.'s displeasure. N., however, asked where the mastiff was, at which his servant remarked that he now never allowed it in the garden, especially since Mme. had another pet. N. smiled and said: "Let him come in as often as he likes; perhaps he will rid me of this other fellow as well."

**Fouché, Joseph, duc d'Otrante (1763-1820).**—Born at Nantes on 29 May 1763, the son of a sea captain. At first the boy was destined to follow his father's calling, but his feebleness of health and physique forbade it. For his education he had been sent to one of the establishments of the order of Oratorians, and there the child's precocious mind had attracted the notice of his instructors. They undertook his further education, and he displayed marked ability in science and literature, his favourite volume being, it is said, the *Pensées de Pascal*. Having decided upon the pedagogic profession, he finished his studies at Paris, and finally became a tutor in moral philosophy and mathematics at Arras, Saumur, Niort, Juilly and the military school of Vendôme. It was at Arras that he first met Robespierre, and, according to one account, lent him the necessary funds to enable him to reside in Paris on being appointed deputy to the States-General.

When the Revolution broke out Fouché was a superior in the college of Nantes. He was not a priest, never having taken orders, and now he severed his connexion with the Church, with some idea, it is stated, of qualifying for the profession of advocate. He also married, and

entered the political life of the city, founding a club, called the Patriotic Society. Here he became popular by the violence of his harangues and the fury of his revolutionary opinions. Later he was elected a deputy for the department of the Lower Loire to the National Convention.

Fouché has left on record a description of himself which, remembering the fanaticism and ruthless ferocity that distinguished his revolutionary career, is of interest: ". . . morally I was what the age was, with the advantage of being so, neither from imitation nor infatuation, but from reflection and disposition"—a statement and avowal which but renders his deeds, in one sense, all the more infamous. At first his intellectual sympathies linked him with Condorcet and the Girondins, but during the trial of the King he went over to the extreme party, the Montagnards. When it was suggested that the fate of the monarch should be decided by an appeal to the people, he delivered a speech of which the following is a passage: "I demand the execution of the tyrant. We appear terrified at the courage with which we have abolished royalty: we tremble before the shadow of a king. Let us assume a republican attitude: let us make use of the ample powers with which the nation has invested us: let us discharge our duty in the widest sense, for we are mighty enough to control all authorities and all events." His vote was for "death, without appeal and without delay."

Fouché was next entrusted with the carrying out of the punitive missions of the Convention as their deputy, first to the department of the Aube and afterwards to that of the Nièvre. The special objects of his attention were the priests, nearly a hundred of which he dispatched to Nantes for the *noyades* or drowning matches of that suffering city. He was next at Lyons "chastising that recalcitrant city with fire and sword."

One thing must be admitted, that once he had carried out the punitive measures—a necessary and salutary proceeding, according to his convictions—he otherwise exerted a moderating influence and showed

powers of administration of no mean quality. On the religious plane his efforts culminated in the fantastic Worship of Reason. Among other details all religious emblems on the highways were to be cast down, priests were not to appear in public in their vestments, and burials were to take place without any ceremonies. For the living he decreed that luxury and wealth, even the actual use of money, were to be abolished—his words to the Assembly were: "Let us abolish gold and silver and fling away all such idols of monarchy!" To explain these views to the people, Fouché even undertook a series of lectures.

On returning to Paris Fouché rendered an account of his missions, and was immediately elected president of the Jacobin Club. Robespierre was now at the zenith of his power, and Fouché had the temerity to make some mocking remarks in public regarding his friend's theistical tendencies. On the celebration of the *Fête de l'Être Suprême* he had laughed at Robespierre's devotion, saying: "*Tu nous embêtes avec ton être suprême.*" The retort he received was the impeachment of himself on the charge of having "disgraced the Revolution by his excesses," and, further, for his friendship with Chaumette of Nièvre, "who had laboured to root out the belief of a God and who, for his crimes, had recently been sent to the guillotine." Fouché was expelled from the club, and in terror he hastened to the National Convention and cravenly loaded the memory of Chaumette, his erstwhile friend, with odious vituperation. Even Robespierre was moved to make the contemptuous remark, "There is no use in casting dirt on the tomb of your late associate; you should have made your attack while he was alive and able to answer you." Fouché was bidden to prepare his defence, for the Convention appointed an inquiry to be made into his conduct. He went into hiding, but addressed a plea to the assembly to suspend their judgment until the facts were known, "for he was only one member of collective authority, the power of decision was not entrusted to himself alone." The sarcastic

observation of Robespierre was: "As for the despicable impostor Fouché, it is less for his past crimes that I denounce him than for his concealing himself to commit new ones. Why does he not come and defend himself? Is he afraid that his miserable visage, stamped with crime, would at once condemn him?"

The result of this "concealment" was not long in discovering itself; his gift for intrigue was exerted to the utmost, for it was now a question of his own life. Thermidor came, and with it the ghastly downfall of Robespierre. Fouché weathered the reaction against the Terrorists, and by his skill and adroitness managed to keep himself, together with Carnot (*q.v.*) and Tallien (*q.v.*), at the head of affairs. At last, however, he was attacked by Boissy d'Anglais. In an unguarded moment Fouché, in the Convention, claimed vaingloriously more than his share of merit in the recent revolution, whereupon Boissy d'Anglais replied: "No, you had no share in the events of that day; it was too glorious to be sullied by the support of such a wretch." The attack was carried farther; Fouché was charged with the commission of acts of robbery and murder, and was expelled as "a thief and a terrorist whose crimes would cast eternal disgrace on any assembly of which he was a member." He was thrown into prison, but the general amnesty of Oct. 1795 saved him.

Fouché's own journal states that now for nearly three years he was in complete disgrace, "without regular employment, without respect, without interest." This is not quite true, for employment he did have, that of a spy to the Jacobin Party in the Directory. In this capacity he joined the following of Babeuf, the Socialist, and when in full possession of the Communiste plot for the overthrow of private property, revealed the details to the Directorate, and Babeuf was guillotined. Barras (*q.v.*) would fain have given Fouché an official position, but feeling was too strong. He was given, however, an army contractorship, and played the jobber in contracts to such purpose that by his own confession he was able



in a short time "not only to make an independent fortune for myself, but to assist many a worthy but neglected patriot." At last Barras was successful in Fouché's interest, and he was made governor of the Cisalpine Republic. He was entrusted with various other foreign missions, in none of which were the results too successful, and when he returned to France, Sieyès (*q.v.*), then planning more repressive police measures, appointed Fouché as Minister of Police on 1 Aug. 1799. No other position could have been found so peculiarly fitted for the display of this man's gifts, and he became the head of the most formidable police system ever devised. He says that upon his appointment he found "the treasury empty, therefore—no money, no police." This condition of affairs he soon remedied. By a system of gambling-hells working in connexion with houses of prostitution—taxed en masse as well as the tax paid by each individual employed therein—Fouché secured enormous revenues for his secret police, besides a productive source of information. Under his rule political discussion was banned, his agents also had the power to make indiscriminate domiciliary visits. The press, the greatest lion in his path, he soon removed.

At the time of Bonaparte's return from Egypt the two most powerful influences in France were Sieyès and Fouché, the latter, however, immeasurably the stronger by reason of his character and position.

He now rendered himself necessary to the ambitious general, abandoning Sieyès with admirable ease. He assisted N. in bringing about the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (9 Nov. 1799), arresting the deputies who were considered dangerous and rendering other services only to be accomplished by his police. This connexion soon became on N.'s part a toleration, but also a necessity, although he saw through Fouché's smooth duplicity. N.'s keen business instinct realized the value of Fouché's services, though he quite understood that he had never known the meaning even of faithfulness and would certainly never acquire it. On Fouché's part he certainly recog-

nized his master in N., but was discerning enough to know that the First Consul was not his equal in intrigue. His system still continued to develop, his espionage included N. himself and Josephine. At home all were in his pay, Bourrienne (*q.v.*), N.'s private secretary, was his pensioner. Abroad he had also his spies; the most important phases of foreign policy were open to him. He had among these agents of his three needy princes of the *ancien régime*, for, divining a possible resurrection of the Royalist cause, he had rendered them certain services and of their gratitude and impecuniosity he made good account. He likewise privately helped the Jacobins, and thus, always in view of eventualities, secured a pleasant footing with both. But he never allowed his position to be endangered by these services or by any obligation. In the affair of Nivôse, the famous bomb attempt upon the First Consul's life, Fouché, by stating that it was the work of Royalists, laid himself open to the suspicion of Jacobinism. Upon N. declaring his belief that the Jacobins were at the bottom of it, Fouché, with his usual *sangfroid*, drew up a list of that party for due punishment.

By now, however, the full extent of the power and sway of this Minister of Police had alarmed N., for in him he saw an almost unparalleled menace to his authority. Accordingly the ministry of the police was now abolished, and the "maintenance of public order entrusted to the gens d'armes and the regular tribunals." Fouché received a senatorship, and for consolation half the reserve funds which during his term of office had been accumulated by the police.

But though deposed from office, Fouché did not cease to employ his own secret agents, and by the superiority of his information to that of the official police the wily intriguer rendered himself more necessary than ever to N., especially at the time of the Pichegru-Cadoudal conspiracy in 1804. After this episode Fouché was reinstated, and again, his police system in full swing, he ranged himself beside N. He knew of everything and everybody. He made himself necessary to

the members of N.'s family, and by his knowledge thus gained held them in his power. The press was censored more strictly than ever, and it was Fouché who ordered the seizure of Mme. de Stael's book, whilst he told its author that the air of France did not suit her health. On the creation of the great feudatories Fouché became Duc d'Otrante. His comment on this was, "a pretty good prize in the imperial lottery."

Later the new prince had the effrontery to mention the subject of divorce to Josephine before the Emperor had even matured his project of a royal marriage. This event procured him a well-merited withdrawal of N.'s confidence. He again resumed his plotting, and during one absence of the Emperor "conferred" with Talleyrand and, it is said, with Murat. N. heard of this, and would have punished him severely, but the wily minister was a past master at hiding his traces. Whilst N. was in Austria it was by Fouché's efforts that Belgium was saved from the threatened English invasion, yet the words of his manifesto when he took upon himself to call out a levy of the National Guards did not commend themselves to the Emperor, the veiled insolence was not hard to detect, and his long-held suspicion revived that Fouché was the head of a party working in secret, which only waited for some reverse to the imperial fortunes to establish a republican government. His dismissal was now decided upon, and further pretext soon occurred. As always, Fouché again forestalled N. Both had conceived the idea of peace with England, and both at the same time dispatched their secret emissaries to sound the English Government. M. Labouchère was the Emperor's agent, Fouché's was the contractor Ouvrard. As neither of these were aware of each other's mission the proposals for a basis of pacification were sufficiently diverse. This gave rise to suspicion, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis Wellesley, broke off all negotiations. At this insolent tampering with the imperial prerogative N. was enraged, and sending for Fouché made him disclose his misdeeds

in full council. Ouvrard, his agent, was thrown into the prison of Vincennes, Fouché was deprived of office though not publicly disgraced. "I know," wrote the Emperor, "the many services you have rendered me . . . nevertheless, it is impossible for me without loss of self-respect to leave you in possession of your office." The deposed Minister of Police was given the governorship of Rome, but before his departure he was commanded to deliver up the confidential correspondence that had passed between the Emperor and himself. He returned a lame excuse—that the papers had been burned. N. was furious, and Fouché had to fly. Essentially a coward when personal danger threatened, with much whining he reached Italy, where he was befriended by Elisa (q.v.), the sister of N. She it was who finally arranged a compromise, obtaining for Fouché an indemnity for all his acts during his ministerial career, and permission to return to France on the condition of his surrender of the papers in question. He again came into touch with N., and later tried to dissuade him from entering upon the Russian campaign, but his influence was gone.

After N.'s return from Russia, having heard of Fouché's plotting, he called him to Dresden, whence he was sent to Naples, away from possible intrigues at Paris. But he was in close touch with events, and was soon busy in all directions with a view of employment in either a Republican or a Royalist Government. After the first abdication of N. he returned to Paris, and was at the head of the deputation which received the Comte d'Artois. A man with his knowledge was invaluable, and Louis XVIII. made use of him in consultation, but the post that Fouché coveted, that of Minister of Police, was not given him. Further to commend himself to the Bourbons he wrote an insolent letter to N. at Elba, in which he advised him, in order to avoid being the possible centre of disquieting intrigue, to retire as a private citizen to the United States. Fouché was careful that a copy of this letter should reach the King, but it served no purpose. Find-

ing affairs profitless under this régime, he now set about overthrowing the Bourbons, even getting so far as offering the dictatorship to Eugène Beauharnais (*q.v.*), but received no encouragement from that quarter.

When news reached Paris of N.'s landing in France, the King's brother now sent for Fouché to a midnight interview, offering him in return the coveted Ministry of Police. This he refused, knowing how events were shaping, but dissimulated so well, or very likely was still waiting to see which side would win, that he said, "Take measures to save the King, and I take upon me to save the monarchy!"

However, an old pensioner and spy of his, De Bourrienne, now Prefect of Police, knew him well and prepared to seize him, but Fouché escaped into a neighbouring garden, and in his hurry had not noticed it belonged to Queen Hortense (*q.v.*). Finding himself in the centre of the Bonapartists, he evidently decided on joining them.

During the Hundred Days Fouché was again Minister of Police. His treachery and intrigue in this period is unsurpassed. In private he plotted with the Revolutionists; he was in communication with the minister of Louis XVIII. at Ghent; he was in constant correspondence with Metternich as to the best means of subverting the existing government, and, worst of all, he gave secret information of N.'s military projects to the Duke of Wellington. According to one authority: "He sent the plan of the Emperor's campaign, written in cipher, by a Flemish post-mistress, but caused her to be arrested on the Belgian frontier that it might not reach its destination before the fate of the campaign was decided."

N. discovered his intrigues with Metternich, but his services were so needed at that time and the rush of events so swift that he spared Fouché again, only at the last to be misled by his deceitful advice, for all the time Fouché was running to and from the Allies, in special favour with the Duke of Wellington. This Talleyrand (*q.v.*) ascribed to the fact that the latter was extremely anxious to be the first to

enter Paris. So well were the plans of Fouché laid that he was the head of the provisional government after the second abdication, and in this capacity sent that insulting answer to N.'s request—that he might as a simple general defend the capital against the Allies—an answer which said that the government could no longer be responsible for "petitioner's" safety.

After the second Restoration his services of necessity demanded some reward, and he was summoned to the Councils, only, however, for three months. His former exploits as regicide and terrorist were neither forgotten nor forgiven, and feeling this he resigned his post, and for consolation was made ambassador to the court of Saxony. In Jan. 1816 he was denounced as a regicide in both Chambers, and condemned to death in the event of his return to French territory. He now became a naturalized Austrian, settling finally at Trieste, and died four years later on Christmas Day, 1820, leaving an immense fortune, the goodly harvest gathered as Minister of Police. Though only sixty-one at death, for a long time previously he had the appearance of extreme old age owing to his life of excitement and mental overwork.

**Fox, Charles James (1749-1806).**—British statesman and orator, third son of the first Lord Holland; was born in London on 24 Jan. 1749. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and at the age of nineteen entered Parliament for Midhurst, obtaining not long afterwards a place in the Cabinet. In 1774, after a quarrel with Lord North, the Premier, he went over to the opposition; and in opposition he remained, curiously enough, throughout the greater part of his career. In 1782, when Lord North's Government collapsed, Fox became Secretary of State under Rockingham, but, on the latter's death and the consequent appointment of Shelburne to the premiership, he resigned and formed a coalition with Lord North (1783). So strong was the coalition that the ministry was forced to resign. A new ministry was formed under the Duke of Portland, whereupon Fox resumed

his place in the Cabinet. But after the rejection of his India Bill the ministry had again to resign. Notwithstanding that he was out of office, Fox found in the French Revolution, the trial of Warren Hastings, the abolition of the slave-trade, and various liberal measures plenty of scope for the exercise of his statesmanship and unique skill in debate.

From the first he advocated non-intervention in the Napoleonic wars, and in his last years made strenuous endeavours for peace. After the death of his great rival, Pitt, in 1806, he opened up peace negotiations with France. He had no great admiration for N., but when a Frenchman came to him with a plot to assassinate the Emperor he at once communicated the matter to Talleyrand. Thus was the way opened up for Britain to treat with France. However, the negotiations fell through; Fox refused to agree to a peace which would not include his country's ally Russia; nor would he give up Sicily, which was the price N. demanded. On 13 Sept. 1806, when he was about to bring in a Bill for the abolition of slavery, Fox died at Chiswick.

**Foy, Maximilien Sebastien (1775-1825).**—French general under N.; was born at Ham in Picardy on 3 Feb. 1775. At the age of sixteen he entered the army, and as early as 1800 he was promoted to adjutant-general. From 1808 onwards he served in the Peninsular War. N. met him in 1810, and was so impressed with his abilities that—withstanding the fact that Foy was known to have opposed his assumption of the imperial title—he made him general of division. During the Hundred Days he again attached himself to N., being wounded at Waterloo. This ended his brilliant military career; in 1819 he was elected to the chamber of deputies, where his enlightened advocacy of Liberal views won him much respect. He wrote an *Histoire de la Guerre de la Peninsula sous Napoleon*.

**Fragonard, Alexandre Evariste (1780-1850).**—French portrait painter. See PORTRAITS OF NAPOLEON.

**Francis II. (1768-1835).**—The last Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire

and first Emperor of Austria, as Francis I.; was the son of Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was born at Florence, and when sixteen was sent to Vienna under the care of his uncle, the Emperor Joseph II. A natural reserve at first rather retarded his progress and influence at court. In 1788 he married Elizabeth of Württemberg. The death of his uncle, which was followed by that of his wife, necessitated his acting as regent along with Kaunitz until his father's arrival from Florence. Some seven months after his first wife's death he espoused Maria Theresa, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Naples, by whom he had a family of three: Ferdinand I., his successor; Maria Louisa, wife of N.; and the Archduke Francis, father of the Emperor Francis Joseph. On her death in 1807 he married Maria of Este; and he made a fourth marriage with Caroline Augusta of Bavaria in 1816. He succeeded to the Austrian crown on the death of his father on 1 March 1792, when he was only twenty-four years of age. At his accession Austrian territory was far-flung but widely scattered over half Europe, and by its isolated position was open to foreign attack. It was inevitable that he should be forced into every coalition against France, and the ambitions of Prussia and Russia hampered his powers of action considerably. But he was patient, and relied greatly on the loyalty of his subjects, to whom he had a strong sense of duty. Not long after he came to the throne the Austrian Empire seemed to be threatened with dissolution, or at all events the Hapsburg grip upon it seemed very feeble. In 1806 the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine forced him to abdicate the title of Holy Roman Emperor, but he had at least the secondary title of Emperor of Austria to fall back upon—a title which he had assumed in 1804. In 1805 he revolutionized the working of his administration. His chancelleries had so far been under the direction of a cabinet minister, who accounted to him for all administration. At the time alluded to N. demanded the removal of Count Colloredo, who held this position, and

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from that time onward the Emperor acted as his own chancellor, superintending the various departments with unflagging zeal, except that of foreign affairs, which after 1809 he left in the full charge of Prince Metternich, who was wont to say at the close of his career that although he had sometimes held Europe in the palm of his hand, he had never held Austria. By the marriage of his daughter, Maria Louisa, to N. in 1810, he gained a breathing space by which he profited greatly, and thus in 1813 he was enabled to intervene decisively. The general settlement in 1815 found Austria stronger than she had been before the French Revolution, and this was in great measure due to the patience and loyalty of her Emperor. Francis strenuously combated the revolutionary trend of European politics, and he must be regarded as a strong conservative and reactionary. But he is not to be held responsible for the political severities which were directed against so many individuals during his reign. He was denounced throughout Europe as a tyrant, but he was always popular among the Austrian people, and if blinded by hereditary and traditional methods, he was certainly well-meaning and desired the good of his people, whom in a large measure he regarded as children, to be treated as such. He was a firm believer in the God-given powers of kingship, and these he would delegate to no one. The result was that the Austrian administration depended entirely upon the industry and activity of one man, and therefore could not keep step with the development and advancement of the nation as a whole. Later in life the channels of government in Austria became choked, and Francis's successor, who had not his administrative ability or capacity for work, permitted the machine almost to break down.

Regarding Francis's relations with N., these were, of course, almost purely of an opportunist character. It has been said that his goodwill towards N. was an audacious fiction. Although forced to give his daughter to N., he was in hopes, as was Metternich, that Maria Louisa might play upon such

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weakness as the French Emperor had and thus render great services to Austria. These hopes were destined to disappointment, but the marriage was not without its gains to Austria. In the end Francis may not have treated his son-in-law generously, but it must be borne in mind that the descendant of one of the oldest governing houses in Europe could not have regarded such a son-in-law with equanimity had he not been forced to do so, and it is probable that any other monarch in the place of Francis would have acted in the same manner.

**Frankfort, Diet of.**—The Diet of Frankfort was convoked in 1806 to deal with the affairs of the Confederation of the Rhine. It was composed of a College of Kings, comprising the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, and the Grand Dukes of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Berg, presided over by Dalberg, prince primate; and a College of Princes, comprising nine minor members of the Confederation, presided over by the Duke of Nassau. Lesser dignitaries excluded from the Diet lost their sovereign rights, but retained possession of their territories, which were incorporated with one or other of the states represented at the Diet. Various alterations of frontier were made, and N. was declared protector of the Confederation, which also entered into an alliance with France, engaging to supply a contingent of 63,000 men.

**Frankfort Proposals, The** (Adopted on 9 Nov. 1813).—After the defeat of N. at Leipsic, and the consequent freeing of Germany from the French invader, a short period of rest ensued, while the monarchs of the Allies halted at Frankfort to consider the situation and discuss their varied interests. As the result of their deliberations overtures were sent to their beaten enemy, which included the following propositions: (1) France was to have "natural" boundaries, that is the Rhine, Alps, Pyrenees and the ocean—of her conquered territories she was only to retain Belgium, Savoy and Nice; (2) Austria was to have part of Italy; (3) the rest of Italy was to be independent; (4) Holland and Spain

were to be freed; (5) Britain was to retain her maritime rights, and would hand back the conquered French colonies. N. did not give a definite answer, and by the time he had decided to accept the Allies had withdrawn their proposals.

**Frederikshamn, Treaty of.**—This treaty was concluded between Russia and Sweden on 17 Sept. 1809. Its most notable provision was the cession of Finland to Russia.

**Fréron, Louis Marie Stanislas (1754-1802).**—Was born at Paris on 17 Aug. 1754, the son of the celebrated critic and journalist and editor of *L'Année Littéraire* who had the temerity to attack Voltaire and the Encyclopædists. Voltaire, however, retorted in full measure, introducing him into his tragedies, also writing a violent satire, *Le pauvre diable*, on him, and again making him the chief character in a comedy, *L'Écossais*, designating his journal *L'Année Littéraire*. Fréron junior had for godfather King Stanislaus of Poland. *L'Année Littéraire* continued its existence till 1790, and on his father's death in 1776 it was carried on in the son's name, though it was edited successively by the Abbés G. M. Royon and J. L. Geoffroy. Fréron had been a schoolfellow of Robespierre and Camille Desmoulins, accordingly he was a sympathetic and devoted adherent of the Revolutionary cause. In its interests he established the violent journal *L'Orateur du Peuple*. In 1793 he, with Barras, was commissioned by the Convention to establish their authority at Marseilles and Toulon, places where he earned an unenviable reputation for his atrocious reprisals. Both he and Barras afterwards joined the Thermidoreans; and, as he was founder of the *jeunesse dorée* and made his paper the organ of the Thermidorean reaction, he came to be looked upon as the leader of the movement. It was Fréron who brought about the accusation of Fouquier-Tinville and of Carrier, the deportation of Barère and the arrest of the few remaining Montagnards. The Directory sent him in 1796 to Marseilles on a very different mission from his last, that of peace. This same year he published

*Mémoire historique sur la réaction royale et sur les malheurs du midi*. It was at this time he met and fell in love with Pauline Bonaparte (*q.v.*), a most passionate affair, but neither N. nor his mother approved, and Fréron was dismissed. He was elected to the Council of Five Hundred, but was not allowed to take his seat. In 1799 he was appointed commissioner to San Domingo, accompanying Pauline Bonaparte and her husband, General Leclerc, who was taking charge of the military affairs of the island, on their voyage out. Fréron and Leclerc both died in the same year from the effects of the climate. Fréron's papers fell into the hands of the natives, and by the authority of Dessalines (*q.v.*) a great number of them were published in an appendix to a work entitled *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Hayti*. Among the letters were those written to Fréron by Pauline Bonaparte.

**Friedland, Battle of.**—Began about 2 a.m. on the morning of 14 June 1807 with an advance-guard action between a French corps under Lannes and the Russians under Bennigsen, who were crossing the river and taking up a position west of Friedland. This fighting was indecisive, and the Russians continued to pour across. About noon N. arrived with 40,000 men and took command. At 5 o'clock the French attacked, and soon the Russians, in a death-trap, were mown down by the French artillery. From all sides the beaten troops were pursued into the town and across the river. The Russian losses were very heavy—about 10,000 out of 46,000, while the French lost 12,000 out of 86,000.

**Fuentes d'Onoro, Battle of.**—An incident of the Peninsular War, fought on 5 May 1811. The French, under Masséna, to the number of 45,000 men and 36 guns attacked Wellington with 33,000 men and 42 guns, in an attempt to relieve Almeida, but though the British right was turned and broken through, they were not successful. The British lost 1,200 killed and wounded and 300 prisoners; and the French losses were considerably heavier, about 3,000. Night put

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an end to the battle, and neither side could claim any decided advantage, for though the French did not succeed in their purpose, the British lost ground on all points, and were nearer experiencing a defeat than in any other action in Spain.

**Fulton, Robert (1765 - 1815).**—American engineer and inventor. In 1804 he submitted his steamship invention to N., who, however, had recently been unsuccessful in regard to other discoveries, so refused his patronage, and referred the inventor to the *savants* of the Institute. These reported that the idea was chimerical and of no practical value. It is also of topical interest that Fulton invented a submarine, the first trials of which were made on the Seine under the personal supervision of N., who took much interest in the scheme, seeing in it a means of curbing the power of the British Navy. The craft, which was named the *Nautilus*, was of wood, sheathed in copper, and was capable of being submerged at a depth of 25 feet for four hours. A torpedo could be attached to the hull of an enemy vessel, and compressed air was provided for the crew. Although the experiments in connexion with the submersible were entirely successful, the French naval officer of the day was strongly opposed to its use, and the scheme was abandoned, undoubtedly to the detriment of the French Navy and its imperial master.

**Funerals of Napoleon.**—*First Funeral at St. Helena.*—At the hour of the Emperor's passing a mighty tempest swept over St. Helena, blowing down, by a curious chance, some graceful trees which the imperial captive had specially loved. Many of those who witnessed his end, which occurred at 6 o'clock in the evening of 5 May 1821, betrayed signs of deep emotion, while others, in their eagerness to possess relics of N., seized upon the sheets in which he had lain during his fatal illness. The news of his death was noised abroad in the island, whose inhabitants came in great numbers to see the corpse, where it lay in state at Longwood, the hero's sword reposing at his left side, his body wrapped in the blue cloak

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which he had worn at Marengo, and a crucifix placed on his breast. N.'s coffin, which was made of zinc lined with white satin, contained sundry specimens of French Empire coinage, some eagles, and a plate engraved with his arms; while the cocked hat which the Emperor had worn in the days of his military splendour was placed at the feet of the corpse. Thereafter the zinc coffin was fixed in a case of mahogany, which, in turn, was placed in a lead shell, and this again was finally enclosed in a fourth coffin made of mahogany, inlaid with ebony, and having silver head-screws. Meanwhile, the papers of the Emperor were being scrutinized, and there was found among them a document in which he had expressed a hope that he would be buried "on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people he had loved so well." But this desire the authorities of St. Helena did not intend to gratify; and they decided to inter him at a place not very far from Longwood, known as Slane's Valley. A sparkling little fountain rises here—a fountain from which N.'s servants used to bring water for use at his house—while he himself had loved the spot. He had made an *al fresco* breakfast there on many a sunny morning; and he had sometimes been heard to say that, if he must needs be buried within the island of his captivity, this woodland glen was the resting-place he would choose.

It was not altogether without deference to his wishes, then, that Slane's Valley was selected for the Emperor's grave; while on the advent of 8 May, the day chosen for the interment, it soon transpired that abundant honours were to be paid to his memory. About noon the governor of St. Helena, along with other officials, made their appearance at Longwood; and, after a brief religious service had been held, a body of Grenadiers carried forth the coffin—wrapped in hangings of purple velvet, symbolic of royal mourning—and placed it on a stately hearse, drawn by four horses. Prior to this the road leading to the burial ground had been lined with a guard of honour, among the regiments composing it

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being the Royal Artillery and the St. Helena Volunteers; while since early morning crowds had been gathering all along the route, and a motley spectacle they formed. If English people predominated, there were many French also, and it was among the ranks of the latter, naturally, that the signs of deepest feeling were manifested; but the Brazilians and Lascars, the Chinese and Africans, all seemed to realize the mighty significance of the event, and they gazed spellbound as the *cortège* passed along, bands playing solemn music the while. The procession was headed by young Napoleon Bertrand and the Abbé Vignali, the latter sprinkling holy water from time to time; while after these walked Arnott and Antommarchi, and behind them came the hearse itself, the horses being led by grooms. On either side of the hearse marched a contingent of Grenadiers, and these were followed by Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback; while behind them, seated in a calash drawn by two horses, came Mme. Bertrand, who seemed to be quite overwhelmed with grief, and who was accompanied by her daughter Hortense. Next came a war-horse—the steed which of old had borne N. to battle, and which was led now by Archambaud, sometime equerry to the deceased; while after these paced a group of British officers, some belonging to the Army, others to the Marines. They were followed by certain members of the council of the island of St. Helena, and behind them rode General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu, while Sir Hudson Lowe, also on horseback, himself brought up the rear.

Although not very far from Longwood, Slane's Valley is of the nature of a mountain fastness; and thus, on the funeral procession nearing the place, it was found advisable to lift the coffin from the hearse, giving it into the hands of the accompanying Grenadiers. These carried it the last few steps of the way, and then a resounding salute having been fired by fifteen pieces of artillery, stationed along the road, the body of the Emperor Napoleon was consigned to the

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tomb. It is encircled by beautiful trees—pines, firs, cypresses—and hard by is a sentry-box on which hangs an unobtrusive notice-board, stating that the grave and its immediate surroundings are not the property of Great Britain, but of the French Republic; while an attendant drowzes daily in this sentry-box, duly supplied with that prosaic thing, a visitors' book, for the benefit of pilgrims at the shrine. These come but seldom, however; for the fates had willed that the last wish of "the world-demanding Tamberlane" should be gratified, and, nineteen years after his interment at St. Helena, his body was exhumed, to be borne in state to a fitter resting-place "on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people he had loved so well."

*Second Funeral in Paris.*—During many months the project of removing N.'s coffin from St. Helena was discussed in Paris, and at length, in the summer of 1840, François Guizot, then French ambassador in London, waited upon the British foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, asking him whether Britain would be willing to part with the coveted relic. Many English people were deeply touched by the request, which was speedily granted accordingly; and meanwhile further discussions were going forward in France, the point at issue being where the Emperor's coffin should be laid. Some people suggested the Madeleine, some advocated the foot of that great column in the Place Vendôme, which had been cast from cannon taken in Bonaparte's victories; eventually, however, it was decided that the Hôtel des Invalides was by far the most suitable place, for here N. might sleep, as a French writer of the time observed, "*sous les lambeaux criblés des drapeaux cueillis chez toutes les nations.*"

This momentous decision having been taken, two French battleships, the *Belle Poule* and *La Favorite*, set sail from Toulon for St. Helena, their going forth being heralded by much firing of salutes. The expedition was commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had with him many men who had been associated with N.,—Emanuel



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las Cases, for instance, the two Bertrands, Gourgaud, Marchand, Denis, Pierret, and Novaret; and after an uneventful voyage the ships arrived at their desired haven, where in a little while de Joinville and his henchmen were being entertained cordially by the governor of the island, who had received orders from Lord Palmerston in the interim to see that everything the French party desired was duly carried out. Accordingly on 15 Oct. 1840, the exhumation was begun. It was conducted at dead of night, while all available pomp and splendour were marshalled alike by the English and the French. When the innermost of the various coffins had been opened, and it was found that the clothes and even the face of the departed were still virtually intact and recognisable, several of the French onlookers could not refrain from bursting into tears.

The coffin having been placed on a funeral car, gorgeously draped, this was drawn to the harbour by artillery horses; and, when the precious burden was safely on board the *Belle Poule*, the Abbé Coqueron came forward to enact a brief religious ceremony. Thereafter, with much firing of salutes, the frigate set sail from St. Helena, and early in Dec. it reached the port of Cherbourg, whose mayor, eager to testify his own enthusiasm and that of his townsfolk, straightway visited the ship, placing a gold laurel branch on the coffin. This act was accompanied by the firing of many more salutes, the guns of the port lending their aid to those of the *Belle Poule*, which now left Cherbourg for Havre, the coffin being conveyed thence by a river steamer to Neuilly. Intense excitement prevailed there when the Emperor's remains were brought ashore, while for some time past equally great excitement had been reigning in Paris, whose citizens were now busily employed in making preparations for the imminent procession; and street after street was elaborately garnished, especial ingenuity being lavished on the Champs Élysées. Here a very regiment of plaster statues was erected, each representing a goddess; while these were supplemented by other decorations of a more martial

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order, consisting in great pillars bearing bucklers, these in their turn being blazoned with the names of N.'s great victories. Nor was this all, for a host of pedestals supported effigies of eagles; and it was observed that all those on one side of the street were placed so as to look in the direction whence the procession was to come, while those on the left gazed towards the Hôtel des Invalides.

The great ceremony took place on 15 Dec. 1840, and early that morning the streets of Paris were thronged, people having come from far and near. Numerous English people, too, came to Paris to witness the sight, among them being Thackeray. Keener and keener grew the enthusiasm among the crowd when it was rumoured that the procession was about to appear, while deafening cheering rent the air when hopes were at length realized, and many a shout of "Vive l'Empereur" was sent up by old soldiers. The gendarmerie of the Seine came first, their trumpeters repeatedly sounding a rousing fanfare; after these marched the municipal guard, who were followed in turn by two squadrons of lancers; and behind these were further warriors, behind whom again was a riderless charger, bearing the saddle and bridle which the Emperor had used of old, and likewise caparisoned with a hanging of violet crape. Next came more soldiers, together with banners representative of the eighty-six departments of France; while in the rear of these was the Prince de Joinville, followed by the sacred car bearing the imperial coffin, the pall of which was held by two marshals, an admiral, and General Bertrand. On either side of the car marched sailors, the men chosen for this office being those who had sailed to St. Helena with the *Belle Poule*; while behind the car came the prefects of the Seine, along with a final and vast contingent of soldiers, prominent among them being the "Old Guard," or, at least, what remained of that doughty body.

While this great *cortège* was wending its way through the streets, preparations for receiving the coffin were going forward at the Hôtel des In-

valides, already crowded with people fortunate enough to have procured seats. Some ten thousand candles were lit within the building; dark curtains being hung over the windows to obscure the light of day; and early in the afternoon the procession ultimately reached its destination, its arrival being acclaimed, first by salutes from a park of artillery stationed outside, then by solemn music played by a huge orchestra, conducted by Habeneck. Soon, however, the instrumentalists received the signal to cease; and now, an almost awesome silence reigning, the aged King, Louis Philippe, came forward to where the coffin was to be placed. "Sire, I bring you the body of the Emperor Napoleon," said the Prince de Joinville, advancing and paying obeisance to his Majesty, who replied in simple yet stately and appropriate fashion, "I receive it in the name of France." A moment later, and all was over, so skilfully had the plans for lowering the coffin been laid; and thereupon solemn music arose again, while the vast concourse began to disperse.

Thus was enacted the second funeral of N., a significant event whereon historians of the Emperor's doings are strangely silent, most of them dismissing the affair in a few words, many of them forgetting to say anything about it at all. And so Napoleon sleeps in the place which, in the kindness of his heart, he had designed as an asylum for his veterans.

## G

**Ganthaume, Honoré Joseph Antoine (1755-1818).**—French admiral; was born at La Ciotat, department Bouches du Rhône, and entered the navy in 1781. He saw service in the American War and later in the Chinese seas, where he was made prisoner by the English. He was wounded in the action fought by Villaret-Joyeuse against Howe, and in 1798 he took part in the Egyptian expedition, sailing in *l'Orient* as chief of the staff. He was wounded at Aboukir, fought at Jaffa and St. Jean d'Acre, was promoted rear-admiral, and brought N.

back to France in the *Muiron*. In 1800 he was made a Counsellor of State, vice-admiral in 1804, and count in 1810, having commanded the Mediterranean squadron in the previous year. He transferred his allegiance to the Bourbons in 1814, remained faithful to them during the Hundred Days, and was rewarded by being made a peer of France.

**Gaudin, M. M. C. (1756-1841).**—A great financier of the Consulate and Empire; was born in June 1756, and served as a treasury official from 1779 to 1795. He came under the notice of N. through the introduction of Sieyès, and was at once appointed minister of finance, a portfolio which he held until 1814 and again during the Hundred Days. In 1809 he was created Duc de Gaëta. He placed the finances of the country (which had been greatly prejudiced and even almost ruined during the Directory) on a proper basis, founded the Bank of France, and promoted the "grand cadastre" (*q.v.*) of France. He was silent and reserved, but possessed real financial genius and insight, great tact and presence of mind. He died in 1841 at the age of eighty-five.

**Gebora, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—Early on the morning of 19 Feb. 1811 a small French force, from the besiegers of Badajos, under Mortier, crossed the Gebora and inflicted a severe defeat on the Spaniards under Mendizabel, who had occupied an insecure position. The latter's losses were heavy, including 3,000 who were shut up in Badajos with the garrison.

**Genlis, Stéphanie-Félicité Ducrest de Sainte-Aubin, Comtesse de (1746-1830).**—French writer and *gouvernante*; was born of a noble but impoverished Burgundian family at Champcéry, near Autun, on 25 Jan. 1746. At six years of age she was received as a canoness into the noble chapter of Alix, near Lyons, with the title of Mme. la Comtesse de Lancy. The child early displayed a desire to learn, but her mother took no pains about her education, her only interest was to see her daughter act in the private theatricals so much the rage towards the end of the eighteenth century. Yet the child persevered,

and in her anxiety to learn devoured any and every book. At the age of eleven she read Gresset's "Vert-Vert" and other books hardly suited to her years. She also devoted herself to music, spending eight or nine hours a day at the harp, with the result that she became a brilliant performer. This latter accomplishment, together with her beauty, vivacity, and wit, brought her into notice and made her somewhat of a personage in Paris society. Several suitors offered themselves, but at the age of sixteen she married Charles Brûlart de Genlis, a colonel of Grenadiers. Her husband, however, does not seem to have counted for much in her life, and despite her marriage, she determined to carry on her education and satisfy her desire for knowledge. In 1770, through the influence of her aunt, clandestinely married to the Duke of Orleans, Mme. de Genlis entered the Palais-Royal as lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Chartres, also acting as governess to the daughters of the family. The one who influenced her career the most was the Duke of Orleans, whose mistress she became, and who made her "governor" to his children, the eldest of whom was Louis Philippe, the future King of the French. This step of appointing Mme. de Genlis as *gouverneur* led to the resignation of all the tutors employed in the education of the family, also to much social scandal. The young people's education did not suffer, however. To carry out her theories of education she wrote several works for the use of her pupils, amongst others the *Théâtre d'Éducation* (1779), short comedies for the young; *Les annales de la vertu* (1781); and *Adèle et Théodore* (1782). When in 1789 the Revolution broke out she showed herself in favour of the democratic cause, but with the fall of the Girondins she fled to Switzerland for refuge. Her husband, Marquis de Sillery, from whom she had been separated since 1782, was executed that year. About this time her unacknowledged but "adopted" daughter Pamela, for whom Sheridan conceived a passion, was married to Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

Mme. de Genlis had taken up her

residence in 1794 in Berlin, but was expelled by order of King Frederick William. Afterwards she settled in Hamburg, and supported herself by writing and painting. She returned to France after the revolution of 18 Brumaire (1799), and was received by N. with flattering attentions. He gave her apartments at the arsenal and assigned her a pension of 6,000 francs. She now devoted herself to writing, and besides historical novels, produced her best romance *Mademoiselle de Clermont* (1802). Her old pupil Louis Philippe allowed her a small pension, but this was discontinued by Louis XVIII., and again she had to support herself by her pen. On the Restoration nearly every English visitor to Paris sought out Mme. de Genlis. There are several references to her in Moore's *Diary*, he having made her acquaintance in 1821. In 1822 she published *Dîners du Baron d'Holbach*, in which, with sarcasm and satirical pungency, she set forth the fanaticism, intolerance and eccentricities of the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century. This provoked, naturally, much bad feeling, and the resultant literary quarrels occupied her later years. She lived until 1830, and saw her former pupil, Louis Philippe, on the throne, thus having witnessed in her life the *Ancien Régime*, the Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, and last the July Monarchy.

**Genoa, Siege of.**—This city was besieged by the Austrians and blockaded from the sea by the British Fleet from 5 April to 4 June 1800. It was garrisoned by a French force under Masséna, but owing to scarcity of provisions he was forced to capitulate, the garrison marching out without laying down their arms. The sufferings of the inhabitants during this dreadful siege were terrible, nearly 20,000 perishing of famine or disease.

**Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Etienne (1772-1844).**—French naturalist; was a native of Etampes. He studied law, and took his degree in 1790 to please his father, but attended the lectures of Fourcroy and Daubenton on medicine at Paris. His gift for natural science caused him to turn his thoughts

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entirely in this direction, and he largely contributed to the achievements of the Napoleonic period. He was one of those chosen to accompany Bonaparte on the scientific staff of the expedition to Egypt in 1798. In 1802 he returned to his labours, and was elected to the Academy of Sciences five years later. For the national services rendered during his eastern commission he was decorated, and entrusted to make a tour through the museums in Portugal. He gathered a valuable collection of material during this visit, and was made professor of zoology at the faculty of sciences at Paris. Some of his finest memoirs were written in co-operation with Georges Cuvier, professor of anatomy and palæontology. *Philosophie anatomique système dentaire des mammifères et des oiseaux* and *Description de l'Egypte par le commission des sciences* were among his best. He died in 1844, having been blind for the last four years of his life.

**George III.** (1738-1820). — King of Great Britain and Ireland; succeeded in 1760. It is only necessary in this place to mention his political dealings with N. "Do you know what I call this peace," said the King, alluding to the Peace of Amiens in 1802, "an experimental peace, for it is nothing else. But it was unavoidable." He was right, notwithstanding his insanity, for on 18 May 1803 the declaration of war was placed before Parliament. The French preparations for an invasion of England roused the nation to a high pitch of enthusiasm, and the King found himself the centre of a great national movement which had his wholehearted sympathy. But on 12 Feb. 1804 his mind became more seriously affected than ever, and when he rallied from the attack it was to find himself in the midst of a ministerial crisis in which Pitt confronted Addington for the leadership and conduct of affairs during the war. Pitt desired a coalition ministry, but the King would not hear of the inclusion of Fox in the Cabinet, so perforce the great whip was left out.

In 1805 N. addressed a personal appeal to George III. for the cement-

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ing of peace, which was answered by a curt refusal to discuss terms of peace without consulting Russia and the other continental Powers. Although George III.'s dealings with N. were made through the medium of his ministers, there is good evidence to show that he regarded N. as a usurper and the fruit of the Revolution, and as in no wise to be countenanced or encouraged by the other crowned heads of Europe.

**Georges, Marguerite Joséphine Wemmer** (1787 - 1867). — French actress. Many Napoleonic historians have paid tribute to the Emperor's morality, but in truth he was by no means proof to feminine wiles; and, if his love-affairs were mostly conducted somewhat surreptitiously, they were certainly numerous. True it is that, caring little for the lighter side of the stage, he was never enthralled by any *danseuse*; but he had a genuine fondness for the drama, the result being that he was trapped by more than one great actress, prominent among them being Mlle. Georges. Born of humble parents at Bayeux in 1787, Mlle. Georges first stepped on to the Parisian stage in 1802, and not long after this we find her making her bow at the Tuileries. It would seem, however, that on her initial appearance there she did not make much impression on the Emperor, who, observing that neither her hands nor her feet were beautiful, bluntly expressed his disapproval of this defect. But a little later N., having taken up his abode at St. Cloud, had a second visit from the actress; and now she began to appeal to him, this intimacy ripening into a *liaison*, which was continued subsequently on the Emperor's return to his Parisian home. Indeed, the *liaison* lasted fully two years, according to the lady's own account; while she further maintains that throughout that period she was absolutely faithful to her imperial lover! Be that as it may, Josephine was soon apprised of the affair, which made her fiercely jealous; but N. laughed at his consort's prudery, and said characteristically: "She takes things far too seriously. She is always afraid that I shall fall deeply in love, and cannot

understand that love is not for me. For what is love, indeed, but a passion that renounces the whole world in favour of one beloved object? and such exclusiveness is not in my nature."

We find that in 1807 Mlle. Georges received a present of ten thousand francs from the imperial treasury; but there is little record otherwise of munificence to her from her lover. And when she played at court she received just the same payment as her comrades, while it is related that once, on her venturing to ask Bonaparte for his portrait, he handed her a double Napoleon piece, saying: "Here it is; I am told it is a capital likeness." In 1808 the actress left Paris, going thence to Russia; and it appears that the Emperor himself sent her there, being anxious, for political reasons, that she should entangle the Tsar. We have no reason to suppose that she was successful in this mission, but when, in 1812, she and N. met again at Dresden, he showed marked favour towards her, much to the chagrin of some of her sisters of the stage. Then during the Hundred Days she was able to do him a service, placing in his hands various papers compromising the Duke of Otranto; and the Emperor, according to tradition, expressed his gratitude by a pecuniary gift.

Mlle. Georges lived till 1867, and we are told that even to the end she was always ready to defend N.'s reputation against all attacks, and could scarcely speak of him without showing signs of deep emotion.

**Gérard, Etienne Maurice, Comte (1773-1852).**—General; was born at Damvilliers (Meuse) on 4 April 1773. In 1791 he enlisted in a battalion of volunteers and saw active service under Dumouriez and Jourdan in the celebrated campaigns of 1792-3. In 1795 he joined Bernadotte as his aide-de-camp; in 1799 was made lieutenant-colonel and colonel in 1800. He played a distinguished part at Austerlitz and Jena and in Nov. 1806 was made general of brigade. At Wagram his courage and skill gained him the rank of baron. In the Peninsular campaign (1810-11) he took an onerous and courageous

share in the battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, and in the Russian expedition he fought at Smolensk and Valutina, and for his part in the battle of Borodino was promoted general of division, whilst in the famous retreat he was, like Ney, a tower of strength. In command of a division he fought at Lützen and Bautzen; and at Leipsic, while commanding the XI. corps, was seriously wounded. For his conduct at Bautzen N. created him a count of the empire. In 1814 he fought with desperate courage, winning even greater distinction, but accepted honours from the Bourbons, being named grand cross of the Legion of Honour and chevalier of St. Louis by Louis XVIII. On N.'s return from Elba, however, Gérard returned to his former allegiance, was made a peer of France, and given the command of the IV. corps in the Army of the North, in this capacity playing a brilliant part in the engagement at Ligny. On 15 June the progress of his corps was impeded by the desertion of Bourmont and several officers, which weakened the *morale* of the remaining officers and men. When Gérard acquainted N. with what had happened he was grimly reminded that he had answered for Bourmont's fidelity with his own head. It was Gérard who gave Grouchy the advice to march to the sound of the guns, advice which, however, was not taken. After the downfall of N. he retired to Brussels, but returned to France in 1817. He became a member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1822, being re-elected in 1827. In 1830 he took part in trying to quell the revolutionary movements in Paris, and after this became minister of war and a marshal of France. In 1831 he again saw active service in command of the northern army, and in thirteen days drove the Dutch Army out of Belgium, whilst in 1832 he successfully besieged Antwerp (23 Dec.) in the most famous siege of that stronghold. He was again minister of war in 1834, but resigned in a few months. In 1836 he was made grand chancellor of the Legion of Honour, and in 1838 commander of the National Guards of the Seine. Under Louis Napoleon he

## GERARD

became a senator, and he died on 7 April 1852.

**Gérard, François Pascal Simon (1770-1837).**—French painter. *See* PAINTING and PORTRAITS.

**Cerona, Siege of.**—This fortress was besieged by the French (18,000) under General Saint-Cyr from 6 May until 18 Oct. 1809, when he was replaced by Augereau. The town was garrisoned by 3,000 Spanish regulars under Alvarez, who held out until 12 Dec., when through illness he was obliged to give up his command to Bolivar. The new commander immediately entered into negotiations for the surrender of the place, and Augereau, who was anxious to gain possession of it, willingly granted honourable terms to the besieged. Nine thousand persons died during the siege.

**Girard, Jean Baptiste, Baron (1775-1815).**—French general; was born at Aups, dept. Var. Entering the army he saw service in Italy, and after being present at Austerlitz, was made general of division and a baron. He later served in Spain and Poland, was wounded at Lutzen, and fought at Dresden. After N.'s first abdication he placed himself at the disposal of the Bourbons, but rejoined his former master on the escape from Elba. Girard received several wounds at Ligny, from the effects of which he died in Paris a few days later.

**Girardin, C. Stanislaus X. L., Comte de (1762-1827).**—French politician; came from a family of the old noblesse, and had King Stanislaus as a godfather and Rousseau as a tutor. He served as a volunteer before the Revolution, and was later elected to the Legislative Assembly, where he connected himself with the extreme left. During the Terror he escaped by being sent to England on a mission through the influence of Marat. He returned in 1793, and was imprisoned until the fall of Robespierre. He then retired to Sezanne, where he became very friendly with Joseph Bonaparte, under whose patronage he was appointed to the Tribunat. He accompanied Joseph as an officer of his staff to Naples and Spain, and in 1810 was promoted to the rank of general of brigade and

## GODOY

created a count. He held many appointments under the Empire, and in 1819 was elected to the House of Deputies, of which he remained a member until his death.

**Godoy, Alvarez de Faria, Rios Sanchez y Zarzoza Manuel de (1767-1851).**—Duke of el Alcudia and "Prince of the Peace," a famous Spanish minister and diplomatist; was born at Badajos 12 May 1767. He came of a poor but noble family, and in 1787 entered the Guardia de Corps or Royal Bodyguard of Spain. He soon attracted the notice of Maria Luisa of Parma, Princess of the Asturias, whose husband was so addicted to the chase that he left her very much to her own designs. Her nature was coarse and passionate, and when she became queen on the death of Charles III. in 1788 Godoy was rapidly advanced. Godoy and Maria Luisa soon achieved a complete ascendancy over the weak and careless King, whose obstinacies they checked and whose whims they pretended to countenance. When the favourite saw that Charles was set upon a particular course he adopted it, and so pliable did he become that the puerile monarch soon came to regard him as indispensable. He was created Duke of el Alcudia, and his advance in the army was so rapid as to be the subject of public scandal. He succeeded in overturning the ministry of Aranda, and from that time (1792) until the year 1798 he acted as premier. Forced to retire in that year because of French intrigues, he by no means forfeited the confidence of his royal "master," and in 1801 he was enabled to return to office. He was at the head of affairs until 1807, but the nation, headed by the Prince of the Asturias on the one hand and the Napoleonic policy on the other, made his position entirely untenable, and on 17 March 1808 a popular revolt forced him to seek refuge in hiding, on emerging from which he was recognized and arrested. Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, ordered his imprisonment, till N. demanded that he should be sent to Bayonne, where he rejoined his master and mistress. He remained with

them until the death of Charles IV. at Rome in 1819. His property had been confiscated in 1808, and this he was unable to recover, as part of it had been presented to the Duke of Wellington by the grateful Spanish nation. His royal mistress had predeceased her husband, and with the withdrawal of her influence Godoy's fortunes rapidly waned, and the remainder of his life was spent in poverty and obscurity. He received a small pension from Louis Philippe, and died in Paris on 4 Oct. 1851.

Godoy was probably a man of very ordinary ability, if possessed of a great deal of personal charm. The extraordinary circumstance concerning his career is that, commencing as favourite of the queen, he was able by dint of his personal magnetism to gain almost complete mastery over the actions and mind of her husband. As the years continued he became more and more deeply entrenched in the affections of the unhappy Charles, who constantly protected him from the public fury, and despite his recurring diplomatic failures clung to him most pitcously. When he found the French war disastrous he made the Peace of Basel, and for this received the absurd and high-sounding title of "Prince of the Peace," which might surely have occurred to its ignorant and narrow-sighted inventors as closely verging on blasphemy. His gallantries were legion, and these continued to be tolerated by the infatuated Maria Luisa, and a semi-royal match was arranged for him, although he was already married and was living with his legal wife. The entire circumstances of his career throw into bold relief the moral and intellectual rottenness of the Spanish court of his time. On the other hand, he did his best to break the power of the Inquisition and the reactionary parties, and he appears to have been interesting and charming—gifts which will go far to blot out his political errors. Perhaps the most saving epitaph which could be indited concerning him is, "He was picturesque."

**Gourgaud, Gaspar, Baron (1783-1852).**—Was born at Versailles, his father being musician of the royal

chapel. He entered the artillery and served with credit in the campaigns of 1803 and 1805, and was wounded at Austerlitz. He was present at the siege of Saragossa in 1808, and took part in nearly all the battles of the Danube campaign in 1809. He was appointed one of the ordnance officers attached to the Emperor, whom he followed through the Russian campaign of 1812. Entering the Kremlin before N. he discovered there some barrels of gunpowder, which might have caused the Emperor's destruction. For his services in the Russian campaign he was named baron and first ordnance officer. He fought at Leipsic and Hanau. Espying a small band of Cossacks riding at headlong speed towards N.'s tent he shot their leader. He also distinguished himself at Laon and Reims. He joined the corps of Louis XVIII. in 1814, but when N. returned in the following year he accepted a generalship under him, was made aide-de-camp, and fought during the Hundred Days by his side. He retired with N. to Rochefort, and it was to him that the Emperor entrusted the letter of appeal to the prince-regent for an asylum in England. Setting sail for England in H.M.S. *Slaney*, he was not allowed to land in this country. He made up his mind to share his master's exile and sailed with him to St. Helena. His amusing speeches at table during the voyage have been put on record by the secretary of H.M.S. *Northumberland*, in which they were made. He was vain and touchy, and soon came to loggerheads with Las Cases and Montholon during his stay at St. Helena. He challenged the latter to a duel, for which he received a severe rebuke from N. The numerous slights he suffered from the deposed Emperor made him desire to depart, but before he could sail he spent a month with Colonel Basil Jackson, who wrote an account of him in his *Notes and Reminiscences of a Staff Officer*. In England Gourgaud came into contact with the many detractors of Sir Hudson Lowe and made common cause with them. He published his *Campaign of 1815* as well as reviews on the works of other authors, who had

dealt with the subject of the Napoleonic wars. With one of these, Count de Ségur, he dealt so harshly that the result was a duel, in which he wounded his man. He also sharply criticized Sir Walter Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, which drew from the novelist a remark to one of his Edinburgh friends that if Gourgaud wanted to fight he would not run away from him. He returned to active service in the French Army in 1830, and in 1840 sailed with other veterans to St. Helena to bring back the remains of N. to France. In 1849 he served in the Legislative Assembly as deputy, and died in 1852.

**Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Laurent, Marquis de (1764-1830).**— French marshal; was born at Toul, and at the outset of his career fell under the spell of art. In 1792, however, he became captain of a volunteer battalion under Custine, and in 1796 commanded a division of Moreau's troops in the Rhine campaign with no small measure of success. He succeeded Masséna in the command of the Italian campaign, and in 1799 led the left wing of Jourdan's men into Germany. Later he served in Italy and the Rhine, where he quarrelled with his superior, Moreau, and departed to take command of the army in Spain. On the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Portugal the intended Spanish invasion did not take place, and Saint-Cyr became ambassador at Madrid in succession to Lucien Bonaparte. From 1803-6 he commanded an army corps in Italy, served under Masséna, and took part in the operations in the south of Italy, subsequently gaining distinction in the Prussian (1807) and Polish (1808) campaigns. He was created a count the same year and commanded a division in Catalonia, but, falling into disgrace, resigned his commission, and retired from active service until 1811. In 1812 he commanded an army corps and won a victory at Polotsk in the Russian campaign, for which he was promoted to the rank of marshal. The following year he took part in the battle of Dresden. He successfully defended that town until the arrival of N. with fresh supplies and succeeded in saving the situation for the French. At Leipsic also he took

command, but was forced to capitulate on the news of N.'s retreat to the Rhine. Raised to the house of peers on the fall of N., he held successively the offices of minister of war and minister of marine. In 1817 he was made a marquis, and during these years he exercised much influence in revising the military system and general organization. He died at Hyères, Var, in March 1830. It may be that Saint-Cyr did not possess the energy essential to a bold strategist, but he has been called a "savant in the art of war," and the Emperor himself placed much faith in his military genius.

**Grand Cadastre, The.**—Was the name given to an assembly whose business it was to make a general survey of the country. It was formed in 1807 to facilitate the method of taxation throughout France. The Cadastre was ordered to be formed by N., who pointed out the cadastral survey in Lombardy and Piedmont as an example which France would do well to imitate. It was not completed until 1880, and has since been altered and revised from time to time.

**Gravina, Don Carlos, Duke of (1756-1805).**— Spanish admiral; was born at Palermo. Entering the navy at the age of twenty, he was present at the sieges of Mahon and Gibraltar; led an expedition against the Barbary pirates; defended Oran against the Moors; and in 1793 was the last to embark when Toulon was abandoned. Appointed ambassador at Paris, he co-operated with Villeneuve in plans for a descent on England. He accompanied the French admiral to the West Indies, and was his second-in-command at Trafalgar, where he received a mortal wound.

**Grégoire, Henri (1750-1831).**— The revolutionary bishop of Blois and champion of the Gallican church; was born of humble parents at Vého, near Lunéville, on 4 Dec. 1750. He was educated at Nancy by the Jesuit fraternity, subsequently becoming instructor in their seminary at Pont-à-Mousson, and curé at Emberménil, in Lorraine. In 1789 he was elected deputy to the states-general by the clergy of Nancy, distinguishing him-



self in the assembly by his profoundly revolutionist sympathies. He was the first to signify his adherence to the new constitution of the clergy as decreed by the national assembly in 1790, and in the following year he was elected constitutional bishop of Blois. He also sat in the National Convention, of which he soon became president. His position in the years that followed was one of great difficulty. In face of threat and menace he refused to give up the ritual of his faith; nor would he vacate his place in the convention, but at length his calm courage and altruistic purpose had its effect on the revolutionary party. As a member of the Council of Five Hundred his efforts for the restoration of the Christian faith were unremitting; and with this end in view he presided over two national assemblies of the clergy. Meanwhile, Grégoire's Gallican tendencies had brought him into disfavour with the Church of Rome, and he strongly objected to N.'s Concordat with the Holy See. N. pretended to humour him, gave him and his party full liberty of discussion during the negotiations, and even summoned him to the Tuileries, where he was received with every mark of esteem. This proceeding, however, was no indication of a desire on N.'s part for a Gallican church, but was merely intended to intimidate and discipline the Romish party. Under the adverse influence of Rome, Grégoire was forced to resign his bishopric after the signing of the Concordat in 1801. Despite the fact that he strenuously opposed in the senate the proclamation of the Empire and the divorce of N. from Josephine, Grégoire did not fare ill during the Napoleonic era, being made a count of the Empire and an officer of the Legion of Honour. But a different fate awaited him under the second Restoration. He continued in disfavour with both church and state, but in spite of this he refused to withdraw his oath to the revolutionary constitution, and was consequently forced to retire. Thenceforward he devoted himself to literary, scholastic, and philanthropic pursuits. He died on 20 May 1831, but before

his death he insisted on having the last rites of the church administered to him, despite the ruling of the hierarchy. He had spent his life in a conscientious and consistent, if misguided, effort to reconcile the church and the revolutionary state, with the result that his doctrines were distasteful to both, and no less so to N. and to the Royalist party. Among his writings are: *Histoire des Sectes Religieuses* (1810); *Essai Historique sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane* (1818); *De l'influence du Christianisme sur la condition des Femmes* (1821); *Histoire des Confesseurs des empereurs, des rois, et d'autres princes* (1824). A son of Carnot published *Mémoires de Grégoire* in 1837.

**Gros, Antoine Jean (1771-1835).**—French painter. See PAINTING.

**Gross-Beeren (Leipsic Campaign).**—The battle of Gross-Beeren was fought on 23 Aug. 1813 round the village of that name near Berlin. After varying fortunes the French had finally to evacuate it and retire, losing 1,700 prisoners and 26 guns, and Oudinot's scattered army was forced to fall back before the Allies on Wittenberg.

**Grouchy, Emmanuel, Marquis de (1766-1847).**—French general and marshal of France; was born in Paris on 23 Oct. 1766. Of noble birth and lineage, he entered the army at the age of thirteen, serving first in the artillery and afterwards in the guards, whence he was expelled in consequence of his revolutionary tendencies. He appears again in the campaign of 1792 as leader of a cavalry regiment, while for his part in quelling the Vendean risings of the following year he was made general of division. But again he was obliged to leave the army, this time because of his aristocratic birth; however, his sympathies were all with the people, and in 1795 he was restored. In the following year he accompanied Hoche's expedition to stir up rebellion in Ireland. He also served, as general of division, in the campaign of 1799, during which he was wounded many times and taken prisoner.

From the first opposed to the assumption of power by N., General

## GROUCHY

Grouchy was among those who protested against the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire. Nevertheless, his outspoken frankness did not prejudice N. against him; the First Consul gave him a place in his army, and Grouchy speedily accustomed himself to the new order of things, and became one of his master's most valued generals. Thenceforward he was with N. through all his campaigns—in Austria, Prussia, Spain, Poland and Russia. Particularly did he distinguish himself at Hohenlinden, Eylau, Wagram, and at the retreat from Moscow, where he proved to be a good soldier and a brilliant leader of cavalry. In 1812 he commanded one of the four cavalry corps. He was engaged in France in 1814, and was again severely wounded. On the first Restoration, Grouchy, with other of N.'s generals, was deprived of his military position and honours.

Another and perhaps less honourable phase of Grouchy's career was entered upon when he rallied to the *grande armée* of the Emperor on the latter's return from Elba. N., very lavish with honours for those who supported him, made Grouchy a marshal and peer of France, giving him the command of the reserve cavalry, and, after Ligny, of the entire right wing of the *grande armée*, with instructions to follow up the retreating Prussians. It is in this last respect that Grouchy failed so signally that many authorities have accused him of actual treachery towards N. Instead of pressing closely on the heels of the Prussians as they retreated on Wavre, he displayed an amazing slowness and caution in the pursuit, giving the enemy ample time to recover themselves. Then, though he knew that a big battle was in progress on his left, he made no attempt to join the main army or to cut off the Prussians from the main body of the allied army. Altogether it would seem that a curious lack of military skill, even of common intelligence, characterized Grouchy's conduct of this part of the Waterloo campaign. Only when the great battle was over and the cause of N. finally lost did Grouchy gather up the remnants of the *grande armée* with

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a strong hand and conduct a masterly, but useless, retreat to Paris.

The question of whether Grouchy's military slovenliness (there is no other name for it) was due to treachery or to sheer inefficiency has been much discussed. Some authorities hold that Grouchy, though a skilful cavalry leader, was not fitted for the responsibility which latterly devolved on him; that both his generals and his men lacked discipline and confidence in him. On the other hand, there are those who maintain that Grouchy purposely refrained from going to the Emperor's assistance; and indeed it is passing strange that he should fail N. just at the moment when his help was most required. After he had retired to Paris he was court-martialled and an attempt—fortunately for him unsuccessful—was made to have him condemned to death. However, he was exiled, and only permitted to return in 1821. Though he was reinstated then as general, and in 1830 as peer and marshal of France, his life at Paris was not a happy one, hated as he was both by Royalists and Bonapartists. He died at St. Etienne on 29 May 1847.

**Guastalla.**—The duchy which N. gave to his sister Pauline, Princess Borghese, in 1806, was founded by the Lombards in the seventh century. In 1106 the Pope held a council in the church of the Pieve. It was seized in 1307 by Giberto da Correggio, of Parma, and in 1403 passed to Guido Torelli, the cousin of Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan. It was sold by the last female descendant to Ferrante Gonzaga in 1539, and in 1621 was made the seat of a duchy. Guastalla was seized by the Emperor, Francis I., in 1746; in 1748 ceded to Parma. After having been comprised in the Italian Republic, 1796, it next passed into the possession of France, and, as stated, N. made his sister Duchess of Guastalla in 1806. It was ceded to Parma in 1815 and to Modena 1847, and became part of the kingdom of Italy in 1860.

**Günzburg, Battle of.**—An incident of the Danube campaign of 1805. On 9 Oct. a French army corps under Ney forced the Austrians to abandon

the bridges over the Danube at Günzburg. The latter suffered 1,300 casualties.

**Gustavus IV.**—Ex-king of Sweden, son of Gustavus III.; born 1778. The trial and execution of the Duc d'Enghien in 1804 caused him to dismiss the French ambassador. His warlike preparations, however, were likely to be ruinous to Sweden, and he was asked by his advisers to relinquish them. He refused. The Swedes then rebelled against him, enthroning his uncle as Charles XIII. Gustavus became an exile from his country, and died at St. Gall, 1837.

## H

**Hague, Convention of The.**—Was signed on 16 May 1795, and was a treaty of peace between the two powers France and Holland. It bound N. to evacuate Holland immediately on the conclusion of peace.

**Hanau, Battle of (Leipsic Campaign).**—After the "Battle of the Nations," N., with his army reduced to 80,000 men, of whom he could not rely upon more than 50,000, found his way barred on 30 Oct. 1813 by Wrede with about 40,000 Bavarians and Cossacks and 100 well-placed guns. The French, under cover of their artillery, which was effectively directed by Drouot, charged straight at their enemy, and practically annihilated them. The retreat was thereafter successfully accomplished.

**Hands, N.'s Care of.**—Constant says: "The Emperor was very careful of his hands. But it often happened that during this campaign" (the Russian) "he had to forgo indulging such a fad. When it was very hot he no longer wore gloves, as he found these very uncomfortable. Thus, by exposure to the sun, his hands became very brown. When cold weather came, what before was a touch of dandyism became a healthful precaution."

**Hanover.**—One of the northern German provinces, lying between Saxony on the E. and Holland on the W.

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century Hanover's history was merged

in that of the duchies of Brunswick-Lüneburg and its offshoots; but in 1705 Lüneburg-Celle, Saxe-Lauenburg, and Calenberg or Hanover were united under the rule of George Louis, the Elector of Hanover, who in 1714 became King of Great Britain and Ireland. In the days of N. George III. was the nominal ruler of Hanover, but his German domain did not hold such an important place in his affections as it had in those of his grandfather and great-grandfather. From 1793 to 1795 Hanover fought on the Allies' side against France, but in the last-named year the treaty of Basel forced her to become neutral. Prussia was now becoming envious of Hanover's increasing prosperity, and was casting longing eyes on her domains; N. was fully aware of these feelings and used them for his own ends. Prussian troops occupied Hanover for a few months in 1801 at N.'s instigation, but the peace of Lunéville withdrew them and added the bishopric of Osnabrück to her territory. In May 1803 French troops under Mortier invaded the Electorate, closed her ports to British commerce and exacted contributions of money. With the formation of the Third Coalition of Powers in 1805, it seemed to N. that the time was now ripe to secure Prussia's help by the offer of the long-wished-for territory; and he empowered the French ambassador at Berlin to open negotiations, which included the cession of Hanover as an essential condition of peace between France and Great Britain. Prussia was to negotiate between the Allies and N., but when the conditions were laid before Pitt, the English Prime Minister, he absolutely refused to suggest the cession of Hanover to his king, although willing to pay a subsidy. When Fox became Prime Minister in 1806, N. considered the possibility of using Hanover as an exchange in obtaining a settlement with Great Britain, but he finally decided not to buy peace with England, but to enforce it.

Prussia, humbled in the dust by N., signed a treaty in Feb. which secured Hanover to her, but at the price of her national independence. Prussian

troops entered the Electorate, and in March it was annexed. This act of brigandage was widely condemned, and the British ambassador recalled from Berlin. A draft treaty was drawn up towards the end of July, which incorporated the restoration of Hanover to George III., but it was never ratified, and in Nov., N., having given up all hopes of peace with England, sent French troops into Hanover under Mortier. From this date until 1813 Hanover was practically a part of the French Empire, although both Sweden and Great Britain sent expeditions in attempts to drive her troops out of the country; and the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 provided for Hanover's occupation "provisionally" by the French. This occupation became a very heavy burden on the people of the country; many of the Hanoverians fought with the Allies in 1813 and 1815, and N.'s downfall was welcomed. At the Congress of Vienna, Hanover had her boundaries enlarged, and was made into a kingdom.

The tenacity with which N. kept a grip on Hanover and other neighbouring states may be explained by the great importance which he placed on North Sea ports—and even in his offers of this kingdom to Prussia he imposed conditions regarding the exclusion of British commerce. Hanover played a not unimportant part in N.'s political schemes, were it only the somewhat humble one of suitable bait; and he also used her when occasion demanded as one of his "bones of contention," with which he successfully dissolved almost every compact of powers formed against him.

**Hany, René Just, Abbé.**—A famous mineralogist, born at St. Just in 1743. Napoleon ordered him to write a *Traité de Physique* in 1803. On Napoleon's return from Elba Hany was decorated with the Legion of Honour. He died in 1822.

**Haslach, Battle of.**—An engagement of the Danube campaign which took place on 11 Oct. 1805. While obeying the Emperor's orders to envelop the city of Ulm, Dupont, with only 6,000 men, advanced upon

an entrenched camp of Austrians 20,000 strong lying to the north of the town. The French seized and held the village of Haslach for some time, but with vastly superior numbers their enemy finally wrested it from them. Dupont lost 1,000 prisoners and 1,500 dead and wounded, but he took nearly 2,000 Austrians prisoners.

**Hats.**—N. was extremely sensitive about his head, and could not bear new hats, wearing the same one as long as possible. He kept a shabby old hat, lined with white satin, in a square chest covered with yellow leather, in which his campaigning garments were laid. He almost invariably affected the same type of hat, the shape of which is familiar to everyone from numerous illustrations.

**Hesse-Cassel.**—The government district of Cassel in the province of Hesse-Nassau. William IX., of the line of Hesse-Cassel that was founded in 1567, ascended the throne in 1785. He joined in the war against the French; and in the peace that followed was compensated for his loss of territory on the left bank of the Rhine by some French possessions round Mainz. He was made William I., and took the title of Elector. In 1806 he declared neutrality, but having mobilized 20,000 men N. was inclined to distrust his intentions. Besides this, N. wanted Hesse-Cassel for the new kingdom of Westphalia which he was forming, so he deposed William, who fled to Denmark. The French were, however, routed after the battle of Leipsic in 1813, and Elector William I. returned to his throne in triumph. At the Congress of Vienna the Allies agreed to restore to William the ancient kingdom of Hesse-Cassel, and the final subsidy of the treaty with it was allowed to expire.

**Heilsberg, Battle of (Friedland Campaign).**—On 3 and 4 June 1807 Bennigsen, with about 80,000 Russians, retired towards Heilsberg, where he entrenched. N. endeavoured to cut Bennigsen off from Königsberg, but the Russians, uncovering their entrenchments on the 10th, handled the French severely until

darkness put an end to the struggle. The French losses were heavy.

**Hoche, Lazare (1768-97).**—A famous Republican commander; was born near Versailles on 24 June 1768. His parents were in the humblest circumstances, and he enlisted in the *gardes françaises* when barely sixteen. Imbued with an extraordinary love of knowledge, Hoche studied night and day to procure the necessary books, and earned money by doing all kinds of work in his spare time. Even in a period of remarkable men and extraordinary careers, Hoche stands out as a foremost figure. By his rigid sense of duty and calm courage he won promotion, and when in 1789 the *gardes* were disbanded was already a sergeant. He served in various regiments of the line, and received a commission in 1792. The defence of Thionville brought him further promotion, and in the operations of 1792-3 on the northern frontier of France he rendered distinguished services in the field. At Neerwinden Hoche was aide-de-camp to General Le Veneur, and, like his chief, fell under suspicion of treason when Dumouriez deserted to the Austrians. They were kept under arrest and unemployed for several months; but, being subsequently released and reinstated, Hoche took part in the defence of Dunkirk. Promotion was now rapid, and in 1793 he became successively *chef de brigade*, general of brigade, and general of division, and in October of the same year was appointed to the command of the army of the Moselle, taking the field in Lorraine in a few weeks. His first battle was Kaiserslauten (28-30 Nov.), in which he was badly defeated by the Prussians. Strangely enough, considering that the Terror reigned at Paris, Hoche was not recalled, and it is evident that his doggedness and will had so impressed the national representatives as to make them believe in his final success, a belief which was justified when, on 22 Dec., he victoriously stormed the lines of Tröschweiler. Thereupon the command of the Army of the Rhine was added to that which he already held. On the 26th of the month he carried Weissen-

burg by assault, for four days after sweeping the enemy before him to the Rhine. The army subsequently went into winter quarters. On 11 March 1794 Hoche married Anna Adélaïde Dechaux at Thionville, and ten days later was arrested on a charge of treason preferred against him by Pichegru, the deposed commander of the Army of the Rhine, and his associates. He was one of the fortunate few who escaped death at that time, but remained in prison till after the fall of Robespierre, spending the hours of his captivity in study. When released he was appointed to the command of the west to conduct operations in La Vendée, in which he displayed both strategical and diplomatic skill. He negotiated the peace of Jaunay (15 Feb. 1795), and on the recrudescence of unrest caused by royalist plots defeated and captured Sombreuil at Quiberon, and was also successful at Penthèvre. It was Hoche who was appointed to organize and command the troops destined for Ireland, but a storm separated him from the rest of the squadron, and the expedition returned in a battered condition to Brest. After this he was again sent to the Rhine frontier, and defeated the Austrians at Neuwied, but hostilities ceasing after the Peace of Leoben, he returned to Paris. Hoche was undoubtedly ambitious, but his character was peculiarly unsuited to political life, though he was a great social favourite. He was known as a great admirer of Josephine before her marriage to N., and, according to Lord Holland, was the latter's rival in love and in war, while Mme. de Rémusat asserts that Josephine's choice hesitated for some time between N., Hoche, and Caulaincourt. At the time Hoche was certainly looked upon as a serious military rival to Bonaparte. In 1797 he was minister of war for a short period, but political plots secured his dismissal; besides which, having realized that he was being duped by Barras, a coolness sprang up between the two men, and Hoche gladly returned to military duties, proceeding again to the Rhine. He was young, handsome, and not thirty when his health suddenly

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began to fail, and he died at Wetzlar on 18 Sept. 1797. His death was commonly attributed to poison, the plot of political intriguers, and it is stated the faculty of Paris declined, by order, to investigate the cause of death. The Directory commanded that his burial be conducted in great state, and he was laid to rest beside his friend Marceau.

**Höchstädt, Battle of.**—An engagement which took place on 19 June 1800, when Moreau, with 70,000 French, defeated the Austrians (80,000) under Kray, and after a hard fight, which chiefly consisted in a desperate *mêlée* between the Republican and Austrian cavalry, forced them to evacuate Ulm. It was during this action that La Tour d'Auvergne, the "First Grenadier of France," was killed.

**Hohenlinden, Battle of.**—An important battle of the French Revolutionary Wars, and one which dealt a decisive blow to the Second Coalition (qv). On 3 Dec. 1800, under terrible weather conditions, Moreau, with 60,000 French, defeated 70,000 Austrians under the young Archduke John. One of the French army corps, under Richepanse, succeeded in taking the enemy in the rear, and terrible carnage ensued, during which the Austrians lost 20,000 men, 12,000 of whom were prisoners, and ninety guns. In this engagement the French owed much to their rapidity of movement.

### Hohenlinden Campaign (1800).

—Coincident with the last scenes of the Italian campaign, the struggle of the Revolutionary forces in Germany merits brief recognition. Kray had been replaced by the young Archduke John, whose plan was to cross the river Inn and swing round the flank of the French so that a complete cordon was drawn across their rear. Like most German manoeuvres, this plan did not take into account the chances of Moreau's making any movement, which he most unaccommodatingly did make. He concentrated his dispersed forces, and, though the weather and roads were at their worst, displayed such mobility that the Austrians were brought to a standstill. On 3 Dec.

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1800, while they were in disconnected masses, Moreau struck fiercely at them: Ney and Grouchy held the head of the Prussian column, while Richepanse attacked its left flank, but in the forest of Hohenlinden Richepanse was in turn attacked by a smaller Austrian column, which cut his force in two. He succeeded, however, in drawing off part of his



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force and in striking the flank of the Archduke's main column, capturing the baggage train and the artillery. Finally he made up on the rear of the Austrian forces at Hohenlinden, and succeeded in totally dissolving them. The *débâcle* was complete, and Richepanse, coming up with the fugitives at Mattenpott, inflicted terrible punishment upon them. The Battle of Hohenlinden was a triumph for French mobility, which secured that every Austrian brigade was faced by at least two French brigades, or else entirely neglected,

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so that each was taken in detail by superior forces.

**Hollabrunn, Battle of (16 Nov. 1805).**—An engagement of the Danube campaign. The Russians under Kutusov were retreating before N.'s advance on Vienna, but the troops being much exhausted, Bagration was sent with a small force of 6,000 to keep the French back, if possible. Owing to a misapprehension on the part of Murat, and the clever use of this by the Russian leader, the French advance was delayed. When the forces finally met, Bagration's heroic resistance held back Murat until the main Russian army had gained the rest they so much required.

**Holland.**—The destinies of Holland during the Napoleonic period were very largely interwoven with those of the French Empire. In 1793 the National Convention of France had declared war on the Stadtholder of Holland, William V., and in the following year French armies marching into the United Provinces were received with open arms by the Patriots, so-called, who opposed the rule of William. From that time dated the French supremacy in Holland. William was forced to flee to England, and the United Provinces became the Batavian Republic. Previous to this, however, revolutionary principles had been carried from France by members of the old Dutch republican party who had sought sanctuary in that country after William's revolution of 1787, and some of these now became leaders in the new government. Despite the energy and moderate tone of this body, however, it was unable to cope with the financial and political situations which arose; for the military requisitions imposed on Holland by the Empire were exceedingly heavy, and the people groaned beneath the weight of them. They were required to pay eight and a half millions sterling for the maintenance of a French army of 25,000 men, and to cede certain portions of the Belgian frontier. A National Convention inaugurated in 1796 was equally unable to deal with the financial difficulties, and lasted only two years.

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This was followed at the end of three years by a Directory on the French model, composed of (1) an executive body of five members, and (2) a legislative body comprising two chambers, a grand council and a council of ancients, the former representative in character. Any hopes of the restoration of financial prosperity under the Directory were frustrated by the war of 1799, and the republic sank still further into debt. It had meanwhile been the design of N. to change the government of Holland, and he seized upon the opportunity which now presented itself, and in 1801 drew up a constitution consisting of a council of twelve members, with a secretary-general and four secretaries of state, the legislative power being vested in a single chamber of thirty-eight members. Bonaparte did not hesitate to present this to the existing chambers for confirmation, having been led by the French representative at the Hague to believe that the Dutch would accept any constitution. But the two chambers declined, and were immediately dissolved. An appeal to the people resulted in a large majority against the new constitution, but four-fifths of the electors refrained altogether from voting, and this N. construed into acquiescence in his scheme, which was then put into execution. By way of solatium the French army maintained by Holland was reduced from 25,000 to 10,000. But any benefits which might accrue from this were annulled by an exaction of 65,000,000 florins. Holland seems to have accepted these changes resignedly, hoping for a period of quietness. Her hopes were strengthened by the Treaty of Amiens, and by the termination of the feud between the Orangists and the Patriots, when the Prince of Orange renounced his claims to the Stadtholdership. But Dutch dreams of peace were effectually destroyed by the breaking of the Treaty of Amiens. The financial condition of the country, too, continued unrelieved, and the means adopted by the council to get rid of a large deficit only exasperated the people. In 1803 Bonaparte taxed Batavia to provide an army of

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16,000 men, in addition to maintaining the French army occupying the country, and also for the provision of five men-of-war and five frigates, besides transport ships and boats. In March 1805 N. set up in Holland a Grand Pensionary, Schimmelpenninck, in order to bind Holland more closely to the Empire. In the following year he made his brother, Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, and in this year also the Franco-Dutch Treaty guaranteed the preservation of Dutch interests—in theory, that is, though without materially affecting the condition of the country. The “good King Louis” made a valiant attempt to protect his people against the tyranny of N., but with small success. The expenditure of the country remained very much larger than its revenue, and appeals to the French Emperor met with no response. Meanwhile N., whose main purpose in holding Holland was the subjugation of Britain, was much exasperated by the continued trading of Holland with that country, and threatened to close the mouths of the Rhine and Scheldt unless it were discontinued. In 1809 he resolved to annex Holland, and forced it to maintain a fleet of fourteen battleships and seven frigates, and an army of 25,000 men. Louis, ill and despondent, gave in, but the fate of Holland was delayed, not averted. In the following year disturbances arose, Louis abdicated and fled to Bohemia, and on 9 July an Imperial Edict decreed the annexation of Holland. By the decree Amsterdam was constituted the third city of the Empire, and Holland contributed six members to the senate, three to the council of state, twenty-five to the legislative body; and two judges to the court of cassation, three *auditeurs*, and three masters of request. After the flight of Louis conditions in Holland were more stringent than ever. The country was divided into seven departments, the revenues from which were employed for the building of ships and forts and the maintenance of soldiers. Conscription was enforced more rigidly, books and newspapers were censored, and everything was done to denationalize

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Holland. This state of things continued until the fall of N. and the consequent breaking up of the French Empire, when the House of Orange was restored and the northern and southern provinces formed into the kingdom of the Netherlands.

**Homes and Palaces of Napoleon.**—On gaining the throne of France N. entered into a rich heritage of noble architecture, and, if he himself added little to it, he showed usually a sound judgment as regards the architects he employed, this applying especially to his patronage of the famous collaborators Percier and Fontaine. He also manifested exceptional eagerness in the matter of collecting good works of art for his different homes.

The house at Ajaccio (*see* BUONAPARTE, THE CASE), where the Emperor was born, is still standing, and though it is quite an ordinary dwelling, virtually destitute of architectural excellence, this does not necessarily indicate that the Bonaparte family was lacking in taste. The room in which Mme. Mère was delivered of her famous son is remarkably beautiful, furnished as it is with some typical specimens of the graceful craftsmanship of the *siècle Louis XV.* In 1797 we see N. settled in the castle of Montebello (*q.v.*), near Milan—and while there he maintained almost regal state, at the same time gathering round him some of the chief Milanese writers and painters of the day. We do not hear, however, of his making additions to the edifice, or attempting to beautify it in any fashion; yet it is clear that already he was beginning to feel the desire for a real home, for we find him writing from Italy to his brother Joseph asking the latter to try to buy for him a pleasant country house somewhere in the vicinity of Paris.

Joseph Bonaparte failed to discover exactly what was wanted, but while N. was conducting the Egyptian campaign a new residence was being prepared for him in France. For Josephine, having heard in 1798 that the château of Malmaison, near Rueil, was for sale, had purchased it straightway; and now she was busily employed



altering and making additions to the house. Her pet ambition, it transpires, was to make this home of hers a rival of the Trianon of Marie Antoinette; and, whether N. shared his wife's whim in this respect or not, he seems to have liked Malmaison well. Garnering into it many fine modern pictures, prominent among them being sundry illustrations to Ossian, he likewise glorified the mansion with various relics of antiquity, these including some specimens of Egyptian and also of Etruscan art, which was specially admired in France at this epoch, and was regarded as a very exemplar by numerous French artists of the day.

Though the architectural additions to Malmaison must be credited to Josephine rather than to her husband, he was certainly responsible for that rehabilitation of the Tuileries carried out shortly after the inception of the Consulate. This Parisian palace, so closely associated with the tragic career of Louis XVI. had suffered terribly during the Revolution; but on Bonaparte acquiring the place he became earnestly desirous, as a French writer on the subject puts it, "*de rendre aux Tuileries leur ancienne physionomie de résidence souveraine.*" And, accordingly, he added a Salle du Conseil, together with a Salle des Maréchaux; while he reconstructed the theatre completely, and enlarged the chapel. For his other Parisian home, the Hôtel de l'Elysée-Napoléon—given back to him by Murat on the latter leaving France to assume the sceptre of his Neapolitan kingdom—he seems to have felt less fondness; but to the château of St. Cloud, near Sèvres, he made various additions, and into it he put many of his pictures, though perhaps not so many as into the Tuileries.

Two other country palaces of which N. began to make use, as time went on, were Compiègne and Fontainebleau, the former hard by Beauvais, famous for its tapestry, the latter not far from Melun. One of the most ancient of the French regal dwellings, Compiègne was a favourite abode with Clovis, and Charlemagne was wont—according to the shadowy records of early France—to assemble

his Paladins there; while it was at this mansion, long years afterwards, that Louis XV. first made the acquaintance of Marie Antoinette, newly arrived from Austria to marry the Dauphin. Eager to recall for Marie Louise a certain arbour which she had loved particularly at her former home of Schönbrunn, N. charged his gardeners at Compiègne to attempt the creation of some sort of copy thereof. He also built a gallery flanked with pilasters, the ceiling being decorated by the painter Girodet; while the Emperor's nuptial chamber, which may be seen still very much as he left it, was fitted with a vast, tent-like bed, a resplendent mirror, and a huge, glittering chandelier, together with tables and chairs which are imposing but rather cumbersome—a style of furniture which Bonaparte was specially fond of for a while, as witness the backgrounds in some of Louis David's pictures. Though scarcely so old a place as Compiègne, Fontainebleau is nevertheless almost equally rich in historic associations; and much has been written about it, not only for this reason, but on account of its situation in that forest of Barbizon which is sacred to the memory of Corot and other French masters of landscape-painting. Shortly after coming to Imperial power N. expended nearly 12,000,000 francs on restoring Fontainebleau and adding thereto. His name, accordingly, is ineradicably associated with parts of the edifice, while one of the relics preserved there to-day is a jewel-cabinet which belonged to Marie Louise; yet it is not the presence of this and kindred things which makes the palace so redolent of Bonaparte; it is eloquent of him, rather, because it was here, in the Cour du Cheval Blanc, that he bade his memorable adieu to his life-guardsmen.

Being anything but the man to accept misfortunes without struggling valiantly against them, Bonaparte, on being banished to Elba, made every effort to preserve his Imperial dignity there; and, besides continuing to exact from his *entourage* the formalities he had been accustomed to in France, he

strove to signify his importance by taking to himself a number of separate homes in his island empire. On arriving at the capital, Portoferraio, he took up his abode at the Hôtel de Ville; but, partly because he did not consider this place imposing enough for a regal dwelling, and partly (it appears) because he entertained a dread of assassination there, he removed shortly to the Mulini Palace, situated on an eminence just above the town. Having around it a pleasant garden, rich in fine trees, the Mulini Palace is an unassuming white building, rather reminiscent of N.'s early home at Ajaccio; and the exile entered with unwonted zest into the task of renovating this house, supervising the whole undertaking personally, and going so far as to assist in mixing the paint for the walls. He had the largest room on the ground floor bisected with a partition, and constituted the one side of it his own *salle à manger*, the other side the dining-room of his suite; while he took care that this partition was made so that it could be removed easily, his idea being that in this way he could obtain from time to time the space requisite for state functions. N.'s study was made to open off his bedroom, nor did the Emperor lack books with which to furnish it, for he had brought the bulk of his library with him from Fontainebleau. The fine service of plate he had used there had likewise been sent to Elba, but, though rich in this respect, N. found himself sadly in need of furniture for his new home, nor was he in a financial position to admit of his investing largely in chairs and tables. He was delighted, accordingly, on hearing that a ship bearing the furniture of Prince Borghese, the husband of Pauline Bonaparte, had been driven ashore at Portoferraio; and he hastened to confiscate this windfall, giving as excuse for the act his relationship to the robbed prince!

N. used frequently to go from Elba to the neighbouring island of Pianosa, and on his sister Pauline coming to Elba he found the wherewithal to gratify her request for a residence there. At this place, called San Martino, he himself used to stay often, in

fact as often as anywhere else in his island empire. Glorified in old maps of Elba with the name of *Maison Imperiale*, San Martino is in reality a mere cottage; yet it is beautifully situated amid trees, and N. found great pleasure in arranging it, especially in conducting the creation of what he called the Egyptian Room. No real Egyptian relics were here, it must be owned—but the Emperor, chancing to have in his library a large illustrated work on the land of the Pharaohs, had a number of these duly copied on to the walls, the artist who was commissioned to do this being an Italian, Ravelli. He also took possession of yet another home, an old hermitage situated high up on the side of a mountain. "I find myself very comfortably established," he wrote to Bertrand concerning this abode, known to the Elbans as *La Madonna del Monte*; and well might the Emperor be pleased, the hermitage being an altogether delectable home. Well supplied with water, for a spring rises near by, the place also afforded great privacy, while it commanded a superb view; and here, far from the storm and stress of the world, Bonaparte used to sit for hours on a rock still called the *Sedia di Napoleone*; here, gazing seawards, he must have dreamt often of his great past, and perhaps indulged in visions of conquests to come.

With N.'s departure from Elba the history of his palaces, real or so-called, comes to an abrupt end, and with his defeat at Waterloo the history of his prisons begins. *See ST. HELENA.*

**Horsemanship.**—Regarding N.'s horsemanship, Constant says: "The Emperor was not a graceful horseman, nor do I think that he would have had a firm seat if great care had not always been taken to provide him with a horse that was thoroughly broken in. To this end all sorts of precautions were taken. The horses intended for the Emperor's personal use had to undergo a very rough training before they had the honour of carrying him. They were taught to bear pain without even wincing, being struck repeatedly over the head and the ears with a whip. Pistols and maroon rockets were let

ing to Ibbetson does not lie in this fact, but rather in the various drawings he made of the imperial captive. First among these we may mention one embodying two full-length figures, the one depicting the back of the Emperor, the other showing him leaning against the butt end of a cannon, his face being seen in profile; but where the original of this work is seems doubtful; the foregoing description is based on a wood-cut, purporting to be "from a sketch by D. I. on board the *Northumberland*." This wood-cut appears to have been published very soon after N.'s capture, and the draughtsmanship reproduced thereby is of rather an amateurish order; but better artistry is found in another picture, a water-colour, at the foot of which are written the following important words in the handwriting of Theodore Hook: "This sketch of N. was made on board the *Northumberland* man-of-war on her voyage to St. Helena by Mr. Commissary Ibbetson, who gave it to me in that island. Theodore E. Hook." In this work Bonaparte is again delineated leaning against a cannon, his proverbial corpulence somewhat emphasized, a very morose expression on his face, and his big cocked hat drawn over his eyes; while he wears white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings and indoor shoes, together with a green coat with epaulets, red collar and cuffs—in fact, the orthodox coat of the chausseurs of the guard, whose uniform the Emperor is known to have worn regularly for a considerable time after his capture. This fine water-colour, which is executed on thick paper, was in the possession of an eminent Napoleonic scholar, the late Mr. A. M. Broadley, who possessed several further works by Ibbetson, two of which are specially interesting, the subject in either case being Bonaparte standing beside his fellow-exiles, Bertrand and Las Cases. We may note in conclusion that in May 1817 a London publisher, Hassell, issued a print entitled *Napoleon Buonaparte and Four of his Suite*, the four being Las Cases and Montholon, Bertrand and Gourgaud, the former pair figured to the right of the Emperor, the latter to the left. This

engraving was for many years supposed to be the work of no less distinguished a caricaturist than George Cruickshank, but not long ago Sir Frederick Treves, in a letter addressed to the public press, maintained stoutly that the artist of this quintet was not Cruickshank, but Ibbetson. Certainly comparing this print to those known definitely to be from the latter's hand we find a considerable amount of reason for Sir Frederick Treves's assertion; but, at the same time, there is a cleverness throughout which we are inclined to think beyond Ibbetson's ability; and the probability is that Cruickshank engraved the plate, utilizing drawings sent home by the Commissary, but embellishing them from his own fancy.

**Ilari, Camilla; N.'s wet-nurse.**—Though Letizia Buonaparte had in accordance with Corsican custom nursed her children herself, yet in the case of N. she had found it necessary to employ a wet-nurse, Camilla Ilari, a sailor's wife. A strong affection existed between foster-mother and child, whilst her children were the constant playmates of Joseph and N. when they used to watch the soldiers at the citadel or play on the shore and mid the boats down in the bay. There were two boys, Santo and Ignazio Ilari, and a girl, Giovanna, to whose daughter Faustina N. stood godfather in 1787. When returning from the Egyptian campaign N. landed at Ajaccio, among the crowd there to greet him was Camilla Ilari, who called out to him "Caro figlio." She repeated it several times before he heard, but directly he did his answer was "Madre." The woman was overjoyed, and presented him with a bottle of milk, saying: "My son, I have given you already the milk of my heart, and have nothing now to offer but the milk of my goat." When N. was at Brienne he never forgot to mention Camilla and her children, and in his days of greatness did not forget them. He said to Antommarchi at St. Helena: "She desired to be present at my coronation and came to Paris for the purpose. She amused me much with her stories, her lively animated manner, and the Genoese

gesticulations with which she emphasized her remarks. She pleased Josephine and the family, and the Pope was enchanted with her; he gave her many blessings, and did not conceal from me his surprise at her good sense and her sallies." N. also presented her grand-daughter to the ladies of the court, introducing her as "My foster-niece." To his nurse N. gave large sums of money and vineyards, and would also have given her the ancestral Buonaparte house only that the rest of the family objected. To make up for this she was given the Ramolino house in exchange. Even in his will she was not forgotten: "I suppose she is rich; but if by any chance all that I have done for her has turned out unfortunately, my executors will not leave her in misery."

Strangely enough, Ignazio Iliari, her son, entered the British Navy and ultimately fought against France, but this was quite in accordance with the Corsican tradition and admiration of things English, a feeling which always persisted in N. himself. The husband of Camilla clung to N. with tenacious loyalty to the last, and only in 1816 did he give in his submission to any other power.

**Illyria.**—The name given to a part of the Balkan Peninsula and comprising the modern provinces of Dalmatia and the little Republic of Ragusa, both of which came under French rule in 1806. The Illyrian provinces served as a strong barrier against Austria, which N. was anxious to retain. The coast, he thought, would make good sheltered harbours for a fleet and supply ports for the departure of an expedition into Egypt. Inland, roads could be made for route marches, as the climate and scenery suited the French temperament. At present all was savage and barbarous and the inhabitants poor. Ragusa, on the other hand, was peopled with a more prosperous class of merchants and even some aristocracy. Their sympathies lay with Venice, Austria, and Hungary, and Marmont was sent to Illyria to win them over to the French. Different reports were sent back to the government concerning the successes and failures of Marmont and others.

Marmont's "Memoirs" paint a brilliant picture of the improvements he was able to achieve in the country; and in the archives of Paris one may find still more evidence of the prosperity of its inhabitants.

**Imola, Battle of.**—An engagement of one of N.'s Italian campaigns, which took place on 3 Feb. 1797. French troops to the number of 8,000 under Victor succeeded in taking a force of Papal troops (7,000) in the rear, and utterly routed them. No stand was made, so the losses were insignificant.

**Imperial Recess of 1803, The.**—Was another stage on the road to the establishment of a united Germany. It came into force in 1803 and lasted until 1806, which year saw the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire. At this juncture many territorial alterations were effected between different states; while cities and even abbeys were removed from the jurisdiction of one principality to that of another. Of the petty princes of Germany only three remained in power. The free cities were reduced from fifty to six, and the Germany of mediæval times was no more.

**India.**—The condition of Europe during the eighteenth century and well into the next continued to be one of complete disorder. Power sought to overthrow power. France in particular took up the offensive, and her ambition was only equalled by that of Great Britain. The fate of India, one of the latter's largest colonies, hung in the balance. After the Treaty of Amiens was signed, a large French expeditionary force was sent to India. In 1807 Caulaincourt, the French ambassador in Russia, was instructed to hold out the prospect of a joint Franco-Russian expedition against India. Briefly, N.'s eastern scheme was to gain command of the seas, and in the conquest of India he saw the principal obstacle to this plan removed. But trouble with Finland and a rising in Spain at the end of that year obliged him to postpone his naval efforts, and consequently his dreams of Oriental conquest. Meanwhile a commercial war was in progress against Great Britain, and it was prohibited to buy

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or sell English goods in France under threat of punishment. This law also applied to India, but during Wellesley's career as governor-general a vast expansion of commerce and finance was opened up under his firm rule. The question of free trade was opposed by one, Charles Grant, chairman of the court of Directors, who was unfortunately destined to become Wellesley's successor. The French ambitions did not dominate the history of India to any appreciable extent, although its future was influenced by the advent of N.

**Infantry Tactics.**—Infantry tactics under N. were strong on the side of cohesion. The loose order which had obtained in the old Royalist army of France and to a great extent in the Revolutionary ranks was quite discountenanced by him, and he even required that skirmishers should be closely connected with the main body. N.'s infantry usually went into action as skirmishers, column and line. Column consisted of two lines of battalions in columns of double companies, was employed for attack, and as the defensive was rare in a Napoleonic battle those troops disposed in column were usually the most employed. The line formation was used more to break down the enemy's strength by its fire than by direct shock, but the two were sometimes combined. By far the greater number of troops were used in column, the proportion usually being as four to one.

N.'s infantry tactics leant to what is known as "economy of force." That is, he launched an attack or "preparation" (see STRATEGY) by which he enchained the attention of the enemy. Those who composed this preparatory force practically sacrificed themselves—but the occupation of the enemy, who was usually forced to bring up his reserves, gave N. the opportunity to discover the weak spot in the opposing ranks, with the result that he was enabled to hurl the remainder of his forces upon it at the psychological moment. They penetrated the gap made by his artillery, and entering it with sloped arms were followed by cavalry divisions, which completed the enemy's rout. "Firing

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is everything, the rest matters little," said N., who was no great believer in the bayonet. To destroy the fire power of one's adversary was the tactical problem of the day.

**Ingres, Jean Auguste Dominique (1780-1867).**—French painter. See PAINTING and PICTURES.

**Ionian Islands.**—The collective name for the seven Greek islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cythera and Paxo. As a result of the campaign of the Second Coalition in 1799, the Ionian Islands were taken by Russia, but in 1801 they became independent. By the secret articles signed at Tilsit these islands were ceded to N., the occupation of which gave him vantage ground in the Turkish Empire equal to that of Russia on the banks of the Dniester. In 1815 they came under the protectorate of Great Britain, which was recognized by the four allied Powers on 5 Nov.

**Iron Crown (of Lombardy).**—With which N. crowned himself King of Italy at Milan on 26 May 1805, with the words "Dieu me l'a donnée; gare à qui y touchera"; is formed of gold and precious stones set in a thin ring of iron, said to have been forged from a nail of the true cross. It had been made, the legend says, by the order of Theudelinde for her husband Agilulf, King of the Longobards, 591. She then presented it as a gift to the church at Monza. Charlemagne was crowned with this crown, and after him all the emperors who were kings of Lombardy. The order of the "Iron Crown of Italy" was instituted by N. on 26 May 1805, but was abolished in 1814, to be revived, however, by the Emperor of Austria, 12 Feb. 1816. On the re-establishment of the kingdom of Italy (1861), the order was instituted by Victor Emmanuel, into whose keeping the Iron Crown had passed.

**Iron Mask, Man in the.**—Conversing upon this topic during his captivity, someone told N. that when employed in making out a pedigree a person had come to him to demonstrate seriously that N. was a lineal descendant from the Man in the Iron Mask (whom he held to have been a

twin brother of Louis XIV.), and consequently the legitimate heir of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. The Emperor remarked that he had heard something about the matter, and the company then proceeded to trace the foundation and progress of this story. Concerning this conversation Las Cases says: "The name of the governor of the Island of St. Marguerite, to whom the custody of the Iron Mask was entrusted, was M. de Bonpart, a circumstance, to begin with, very singular. This man, it was asserted, was aware of the origin of his prisoner. He had a daughter: she and the prisoner were both young: they saw each other and loved. The governor, having informed the court of this circumstance, it was decided that there was no great objection to allowing the unfortunate captive to seek in love an alleviation of his misery, and they were married.

"The person who was speaking at this moment said that, at the time the above particulars were related to him, he had been very much entertained by them, and had happened to say that he thought the story very ingeniously imagined; upon which the narrator of it became excessively angry, maintaining that the marriage could very easily be verified by the registers of one of the parishes of Marseilles, which he named. He added that the children born of this marriage were silently and secretly conveyed to Corsica, where the difference of language, chance, or perhaps intention had changed the name of Bonpart into Bonaparte and Buonaparte, which, after all, has the same meaning and is in fact the same thing.

"After this anecdote it was added that, at the time of the Revolution, a similar story had been made in favour of the Orleans branch. It was founded in a document found in the Bastille, and surmised that Anne of Austria, who was brought to bed after twenty-three years of sterility, had been delivered of a girl, and that Louis XIII., fearing she might have no more children, had been induced to put away that girl and falsely to substitute in her stead a boy, which was Louis XIV.; that the following

year, however, the Queen had been again brought to bed, and this time really of a boy, which boy was Philip, the head of the House of Orleans, who thus turned out to be with his descendants the legitimate heirs to the throne, whilst Louis XIV. and his issue were only intruders and usurpers. According to that story the Iron Mask was a girl. A pamphlet on this subject was circulated in the provinces at the time the Bastille was taken, but the story did not gain credit, and very quietly disappeared, without having, it seems, engaged the attention of the capital even for a moment."

**Isabey, Jean Baptiste (1767-1859).**— French painter. See PAINTING.

**Italian Campaigns (1796-1797 and 1799-1800).**—Before N. appeared as a military leader hostilities of an irregular nature had occurred between France and certain of the Italian states. In 1792 the Army of the Alps under Montesquieu had come into collision with the Sardinian force occupying Savoy, and an "Army of Italy" was dispatched to Nice in a French fleet to assist the French leader against the encroaching Sardinians. The proclamation of a French Republic found France surrounded by enemies, but yet intruding on their territory in nearly every instance. French forces had won the battle of Loano in 1795 and had come into possession of the valleys leading on Turin, while they also held the Alpine ridges and the Corniche Pass. In 1796 Kellerman was placed in command of the Army of the Alps, while to the Army of Italy was appointed the young General Bonaparte. Opposed to him was Beaulieu with a mixed army of Sardinians and Austrians. The French troops were miserably provided with food and clothing, money was lacking, and tents, camp equipage, hospitals and stores were notoriously deficient. The cavalry were weak in numbers and badly equipped and mounted: such were the forces with which N. made himself a great military reputation. The French Army consisted of seven divisions, in all 43,000 men with

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60 guns. These were under the command of La Harpe, Masséna, Augereau, Sérurier, Macquard, Garnier, and Cervoni. Three divisions occupied the Riviera di Savona; the mountainous country between the sources of the River Bormida was occupied and the most important points were entrenched. Sérurier guarded the sources of the Tanaro with the cavalry in the Riviera, while Macquard and Garnier were posted in the valleys leading to the Cols di Tenda and Ceiise to keep

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may be discounted on that head alone. Colli had formed the advance-guard on the northern Apennines, but Argenteau replaced him in April by pushing forward into the valleys. But his line was so formed that he could not concentrate to either flank in less than ten hours, and only half of his command was at his service. Summing up the rival positions, the French in the Riviera held the crests of the hill range, a very awkward position indeed, whilst Beaulieu,



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up communication with the Army of the Alps under Kellerman, which numbered about 20,000 men; a further detachment of 20,000 occupying Provence and guarding the coasts.

The allied forces consisted of the main army under Beaulieu, 32,000 strong, and that of Colli, Sardinians and Austrians respectively 20,000 and 35,000 strong: in all 87,000 men with 84 guns. Thus N. was outnumbered by more than two to one. The Austrians were further subdivided into a right and left wing under Argenteau and Sebottendorf; but sickness had been rife in the allied ranks, and almost 50 per cent. of their number

afraid that his force would extend northward unduly, watched the mountain line, being supported by Colli—the rest of the army remaining in Lombardy. Thus his forces were divided, one portion being posted in an extended line and the other half busy in concentration.

Both armies took the offensive. The French were in bad case indeed, closed in between the mountains and the sea, their rear resting on the Mediterranean, which was commanded by the British fleet, with a single road for advance, and thus one line of communication only. The Allies had not much the better of it, however, for

they were squandered over a line of seventy miles in length, and so presented a decidedly scattered front. N., however, was thoroughly acquainted with the Apennines country, which Beaulieu was not. The latter's intention was to drive the French out of the Riviera, seize the Maritime Alps, to get into communication with the British and to attack the French in Provence. N.'s orders from the Directory were to take the initiative. He saw that the allied forces could not be quickly concentrated in the mountain district so as to resist a sudden attack and that their lines of communication were difficult. The political aims of the Directory were separation of Sardinia from Austria and an alliance with it with a view to future action in Italy. The instructions to N., therefore, were to attack the Austrians and merely observe Colli at Ceva. Thus a larger portion of the enemy could be struck at and he would be taken in detail; but N. saw more clearly than his advisers, and resolved to take his own course. On 9 April 1796 he reached Savona with his headquarters staff, and determined to cross the mountains lying between the sources of the Bormida with the third division. It is at this juncture that the Apennines join the Alps. His plan was, with 25,000 men, to strike at the place where the allied forces came into conjunction: the detachments of Sérurier and Cervoni were to carry out flanking operations at Voltri and Garessio in the Tanaro valley. Beaulieu anticipated this manoeuvre, and on 10 April fought his first action at Voltri: his object was to attack Cervoni while isolated and to roll up the French right. He succeeded in establishing communication with the English. Argenteau, on the 9th, received orders to advance to Montenotte with a view to bringing the Austrian centre into more intimate connexion with the left, but La Harpe, assisted by Masséna, gained the Austrian flank unperceived, and successfully attacked Argenteau, who retreated on Spigno with a loss of 2,000 men. Beaulieu had sent succour to Argenteau, but the force did not come up with him. N. then decided on

sending Masséna and La Harpe against Dego and dislodged Colli's left wing at Cencio. The commander at Dego sent word to Argenteau that he would be glad of assistance. He reported this request to Beaulieu, who urged him to strain every nerve to hold Dego for some days longer. Colli was also directed to operate against the enemy's left flank. On the 14th N. assaulted Dego, the entrenchments were carried, many guns were captured and the garrisons made prisoner. Argenteau with the reinforcements retired to Acqui. The French at Dego were attacked by Wukassowich, who had just come up with reinforcements. He drove them out of the entrenchments and captured 19 guns. Masséna reported this reverse and made a vain effort to regain his position. N. recalled La Harpe and Masséna to his assistance, and retook Dego on the 15th. Having secured this part of the field of operations, N. turned again against Colli. Wukassowich retreated to Spigno and Acqui. The defeat had not had much effect on the *morale* of the Austrian Army owing to their numerical inferiority. N. now turned personally to superintend the operations against Colli. Masséna was ordered with the three divisions of Sérurier, Augereau and his own to move to Ceva, while La Harpe covered the movement on the side of Acqui. Augereau, pressing Colli's left, arrived on the 16th before Ceva, where he was joined by Sérurier. Colli occupied the line Ceva-Mondovi with 15,000 men. On the 19th Ceva was attacked and Colli's position turned, but he retreated in good order behind the Cassaglia, where N. advanced against him on the following day. But the French dispositions had been made hastily, and N. was repulsed with great loss. The crisis in N.'s scheme had now arrived, retreat would have been dangerous, and at the council of war held at Lesegno on the 21st it was determined to renew the attack of the enemy's position on the following day. Colli, however, desired to gain time to concentrate with Beaulieu; he therefore determined not to await attack, but to fall back on Mondovi and, united with the Austrians, to meet the



enemy with greater chances of success. The French met with no opposition, crossed the Cassaglia and descended into the plains of the Ellero, where Colli's rear-guard was overtaken and routed at Viro. He had not time to take up a position, but had fixed upon one when his main body was vigorously attacked, and he retired upon Fossano with a loss of about 1,000 men and 8 guns. The main object of N.'s operations had been fully gained: the Allies had been separated, and Colli's retreat was divergent from that of Beaulieu. Overtures of peace were made by the Sardinian Government, and negotiations from Turin resulted in the withdrawal of Sardinia from the alliance. A separate peace was concluded with Sardinia: Kellerman and the Army of the Alps were now free from all immediate danger of attack, and the retreat of the Austrians greatly enhanced the French position in Italy.

By 7 May 1796 Beaulieu was in a position along the Sesia. On the 10th N. forced the passage of the Adda at Lodi, and the Austrians retired behind the Mincio. Beaulieu retreated into the Tyrol, and Mantua was besieged. The early part of June was occupied in securing the neutrality of Naples, Tuscany, and the Papal States, and on the 29th the citadel of Milan surrendered. In the following month Beaulieu was superseded by Würmser, who began operations on 29 July, and divided his forces into two portions, one under his own leadership and the other under that of Quasdanovitch, separated by Lake Garda. N. took advantage of the subdivision, raised the siege of Mantua, and on the 31st drove the Austrians out of Salò. The same day Würmser entered Mantua, and on 2 Aug. advanced to Castiglione. On the 3rd French victories occurred simultaneously at Lonato and Castiglione, followed by the retreat of the Austrians into the Tyrol. Lauer was dispatched as chief of staff of the Austrian Army, and by his advice a strong force was left in the mountains at the head of Lake Garda, while the main army was moved up the valley of the Brenta on Bassano for Legnago and Mantua. On 2 Sept. N. defeated a covering force at Roveredo, occu-

piet Trento, and followed Würmser down the valley of the Brenta, defeated him in a series of combats, finally drove him into Mantua, and once more set siege to that city. The Austrian Army was again reinforced, and placed under the supreme command of General Alvinzi. N. confronted the main army advancing from Gorizia in Friuli, while Vaubois faced that under Davidovitch in the mountain passes of the Avisio and Upper Adige. Vaubois received a check at Calliano, and finally retired on the 8th and 9th to Rivoli and its neighbourhood. Alvinzi had taken up a position on the Brenta on 4 Nov. Two days after saw severe fighting in that neighbourhood, by which the French were compelled to retreat to Verona, but they advanced again on the 11th, fought an indecisive battle at Caldiero on the 12th, and once more retreated to Verona. Their position was now extremely critical, and the army on the Adige was reinforced at the expense of that before Mantua. N., recognizing the critical nature of things, resolved to cut the communication of Alvinzi with the Tagliamento. On the 14th he threw the divisions of Masséna and Augereau across the Adige, but on the following day they recrossed the river at Ronco. Then ensued a three days' battle at Porcil and Arcola, on each evening of which N. retired behind the Adige. On the 17th, however, he succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Alvinzi, who retreated behind the Brenta. N. then left his cavalry to pursue Alvinzi, and drove the Austrian forces into the Tyrol. The end of the year was occupied by severe pressure upon Mantua, but the reorganized Austrian Army advanced on 7 Jan. 1797, throwing out a force to Padua, while the remainder moved from Bassano. On the 14th of the month the Austrians were defeated at Rivoli and retreated behind the Drave, and on the 16th Provera was defeated at La Favorita, near Mantua—a sortie from the garrison of which was at the same time repulsed. On 2 Feb. Mantua capitulated.

The disorganized Army of Italy was taken in command during the early part of Feb. by the Archduke Charles

of Austria (*q.v.*). The population of the Tyrol was roused to action, and the advanced posts of the army moved forward to the Piave. Joubert was watching the Tyrol on the French side, and his orders were to clear out all hostile forces and join N. in the valley of the Drave. On 10 March the French advanced and fought a series of battles: a decisive result was gained on the 16th-21st in the battles near the Tagliamento. On the 28th the French Army, with the exception of Joubert's forces, was concentrated on the Drave. On 18 April 1797 the preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben, which formed the basis for the treaty of Campo Formio, which was signed on 17 Oct. of the same year, and N. returned to Paris in Nov.

During the remainder of 1797 and the whole of 1798 no events of military importance took place in Italy except an unimportant campaign between Neapolitan troops under Mack and the French under Championnet, which resulted in the capture of Naples early in the following year; but the close of 1798 saw the formation of the Second Coalition, when Russia and Turkey made common cause with Great Britain and the German peoples against France.

In 1799 the French Republic made the passage of Russian troops into the Empire a *casus belli*, and declared war on 12 March. An Austrian army, commanded by Melas, was opposed by the French general Schérer. Fighting along the Adige resulted on 26 March in a French defeat. On 5 April another French defeat at Magnano was followed by a retreat behind the Mincio. On the 15th of the month Suvarov arrived with a large Russian reinforcement, and assumed command on the 26th. After the battle of Cassano the French retreated, and Moreau was appointed general of the army. About the middle of May the Army of Naples, now under Macdonald, moved by Bologna to unite with Moreau, and effected a junction with him on 14 June. Macdonald was defeated on the Trebbia on 19 June, and retreated into Tuscany. On the 20th Moreau attacked the detachment under Bellegarde at San Giuliano, but

was finally obliged to retreat to the Genoa coast, where he was joined by what was left of Macdonald's army on 17 July. On 9 Aug. the battle of Novi was fought, in which Joubert was killed. Moreau led the army to the mountain passes over Genoa, and then left to take up the command of the Army of the Rhine—Championnet being appointed to the command of the armies of the Alps and Italy. On 4 Nov. the Battle of Genoa was fought, in which Championnet was defeated. Italy and the French armies therein were now much in the same position as when N. was first appointed to their command.

By Sept. 1799 the Allies may be said to have been almost in full occupation of Italy. Suvarov had entered Switzerland by the St. Gothard pass in Aug., and by doing so he was forced into a policy of retreat by Masséna, and evacuated Switzerland with his armies at the end of Oct., returning to Russia. Masséna thus held Switzerland. By this time N. had been appointed First Consul.

On the departure of Suvarov, Melas had assumed the conduct of operations in Italy. He had gone to winter quarters in Piedmont and Lombardy, throwing advanced posts into the Northern Apennines, where he confronted Masséna, who, with the remnants of the once formidable Army of Italy, held the mountains and passes between Genoa and Nice. Melas was supposed to be working in concert with Kray, who was in command of the Army of the Danube, but communication between them was interrupted by the French occupation of Switzerland, so that it was almost impossible for them to keep in touch with one another. The first movement that should have been attempted was certainly a frontal attack upon Switzerland from the side of the Tyrol, but one failure had been sufficient for the Aulic Council, which did not desire a second taste of mountain warfare. This neglect of Switzerland in the Allied plan of operations has been most severely censured, but it did not partake of the nature of accident, and there is every proof that the Aulic Council considered it less dangerous

to neglect Switzerland in the circumstances than to attack it. Again, a single vigorous effort launched against Masséna would theoretically sever his extended line and destroy his communication with the French frontier. The importance of the Allied co-operation with the British fleet received due recognition: indeed, upon it hinged the entire success of the plan of campaign. It was thought that a British force might be landed between Toulon and the mouth of the Var, where by the line of that river it would be taken in reverse and the scene of the war transferred to French territory. The First Consul would thus be forced to concentrate his attention towards the south, and his reinforcements would necessarily be turned to stem this invasion, whereby Moreau's action on the Rhine would be paralysed, and the Austrian general, Kray, be left free to enter Switzerland or France, as might be approved by circumstances. The French Army of Liguria numbered about 36,000 men, of which 30,000 were available for the defence of Genoa and of the Riviera generally. It was divided into three corps, the right being commanded by Soult, the centre by Suchet, and the left by Thureaud, which numbered respectively 18,000, 12,000 and 6,000 troops. The first two of these were divided into three divisions. With 30,000 men, therefore, Masséna occupied a line nearly eighty miles in extent from Tenda to Genoa, running nearly parallel to the sea, which was immediately in its rear, and was then closely watched by a British squadron under Lord Keith. Communication with France must either be effected from the extreme left of the position, or be altogether abandoned. The neighbourhood was sterile, sparsely occupied and offered no means of subsistence, and Genoa was provisioned for a few weeks only. Add to that that Masséna was confronted in the northern slopes of the Apennines by an adversary three times stronger than himself, and it will be seen that his prospects were indeed gloomy. N. had laid the greatest stress upon the preservation of Genoa. It protected the French

frontiers, and from it advantageous operations might be made. Here, if anywhere, Masséna might discover a solution to the extremely difficult problem which had been set him. The Austrian Army of Italy presented quite a formidable front. Melas relied upon a rapid and secret concentration in the early spring to enable him to strike where a blow would be least expected. He had been largely reinforced during the winter months, and the entire forces at his command already amounted to 110,000 men of all arms. His three corps were commanded by Kaim, with 27,000 men, Melas, who led the centre, with 43,000, and Ott, who commanded the left, with 15,000; and there were other divisions in Lombardy, Venetia and Tuscany which are not included in this estimate. Towards the end of March 1800 Melas drew in his detachments upon Aequi, and concentrated against the centre of Masséna's line. At the beginning of April Melas took the direct offensive against Masséna. On the 8th his right wing dislodged the French from Mont Cenis, and on the 25th Masséna was reported by Berthier as being seriously attacked. N., convinced that Masséna's army was closely pressed, ordered Berthier to march with 40,000 men at once by way of the St. Bernard pass. Berthier replied that he had only 25,000 effective troops, but those he had were sent forward without supplies or proper equipment. At the beginning of May Masséna had been shut up with his right wing in Genoa, and Suchet with the left wing driven back to the Var, but Moreau had secured a success at Stokach, and N.'s Army of Reserve had begun to move to Geneva. N.'s plan now was that Masséna should resist as long as he could. Suchet was to resume the offensive towards Turin, the Army of Reserve was to pass the Alps and to enter Piedmont, and the Army of the Rhine to send a detachment into Italy by St. Gothard. On 6 May 1800 N. left Paris for Geneva, where the Army of Reserve was assembled, and here he decided to pass into Italy by the Great St. Bernard route. His troops had a dreadful experience,

and were forced to draw their artillery in sledges. Melas had had no other campaigning idea before him than that of which the Riviera was an objective, and now felt somewhat nervous as to the dispositions in his rear. But the French were not having things all their own way, for the small fortress of Bard almost completely stopped their advance for three days, thus robbing it of much of its character of surprise. Most of the artillery, too, had had to be left behind, as it was impossible to convey it by the paths by which the French avoided the fortress of Bard: indeed, such of it as they were able to bring with them had to be smuggled by night through the streets of that town. Thus in May the Army of Italy under Masséna was shut up in Genoa, with starvation staring it in the face and surrounded by a hostile population. Suchet was defending Nice and the Var. The Army of Reserve had reached the border of the Italian plains, but it consisted of four weak corps only. The necessity for haste was ever before N.'s mind, but the appalling nature of the route by which he was forced to convoy his men and artillery militated greatly against his plans.

N. now resolved to march on Milan; this plan practically abandoned Genoa to its fate. He afterwards said at St. Helena that by advancing directly on Turin he would have "risked a battle against equal forces without an assured line of retreat, Bard being still uncaptured." He appeared to think that he would have been merely assisting the enemy by marching on Genoa, as they would have concentrated at Alessandria. This, however, does not seem clear from a strategic point of view. His immediate purpose was to reassemble an army of reserve in the neighbourhood of Milan, and this he effected in the beginning of June. Lannes guarded the right flank of the army, and the main body, headed by Murat, advanced on Milan by way of Magenta, forcing the passage of the Ticino on 31 May. On 2 June Murat occupied Milan, to be followed the same day by the headquarters. The Austrians under Wukassowich retired

to the Adda. Lannes by this time had reached Pavia, where he seized large stores of provisions and equipment. N. had now barred one of the two main lines of retreat open to the Austrians.

By this time Melas had scattered his forces considerably. He had been baffled in Piedmont and on the Riviera through Masséna's dogged tactics and Suchet's defence of the Var, and he had weakened his large army by throwing out very long lines of communication. He had also thrown out many detachments to watch the Alpine valleys on his right rear: one of these had been considerably damaged by Lannes at Chivasso, and the other under Wukassowich, as we have seen, was driven eastwards. He also found it necessary to support Ott before Genoa, and Elsnitz on the Var, and learning of Lannes's advance on Chivasso and of the presence of the French artillery west of Turin, which force was being brought to Milan by a safe and circuitous route, he concluded that the force which convoyed this represented the main body of the Army of Reserve, for he had greatly underrated that army. Lannes's move towards Pavia Melas construed as a retreat, and, martalling such men as he could lay hands on at Turin, he prepared to cut off the retreat of the French on Ivrea, thinking that Wukassowich held them in front; but, learning of the arrival of Moncey in Italy and of Wukassowich's retreat on Brescia, he promptly decided to give up this scheme and to concentrate at Alessandria, thinking that he would easily break through the numerous small columns of which he believed the Army of Reserve to consist, and which now threatened to bar his retreat. Communication, however, he found a tedious matter, and by the time that his orders had reached his various commanders and they had been obeyed, or the reverse, he found himself entirely shut in, and nothing remained for him but to hack his way through with the men he was assembling about Alessandria.

On 5 June Murat moved on Piacenza, and, storming the bridgehead there, sent on Duhesme with one of

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his divisions towards Crema. The advance portions of Moncey's corps approached Milan, and Berthier sent Victor to support Lannes and Murat. The Austrians attacked the French artillery train, which was checked, and on the 6th Lannes encountered and defeated O'Reilly's column of San Cipriano, thus barring the main route from Alessandria to Parma. Murat could not cross the river at Piacenza as the bridge there had been cut by the retreating garrison. Duhesme succeeded in pushing back Wukassowich, and two divisions of the Army of Reserve were sent towards Lannes's point of crossing, as Murat had not yet succeeded in gaining Piacenza. The army passed over the river, division by division. Elsnitz retreated before Suchet and Melas had left Turin for Alessandria. He was also gathering up his forces to recover his communications. Concentration now became an absolute necessity to N., and the goal of his efforts was expressed in the words "twenty thousand men at Stradella," with which view-point the campaign entered on a new phase.

On 8 June Lannes and Victor crossed the river, and connexion was established between Lannes and Murat. The army now lay between the Alps, the Apennines, and the Ticino, and it was important that its various components should be linked and systematized. In some parts very small forces were holding important positions; and, indeed, Melas could easily have broken through Moncey's outposts around Milan had he wished. The position of the main body at Stradella, however, was well chosen, for there was not sufficient room for the disposition of such forces as Melas could bring against it. Lannes was sent forward with an advance-guard on the right of Voghera. N. was hoping that Melas could not assemble 20,000 men at Alessandria before 12 June, and he had told Lannes that he could not possibly encounter more than 10,000 men on this road. Lannes, coming into collision with the Austrians, fought the Battle of Montebello on the 9th, drove them from several

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successive positions, and the combat culminated in a fierce engagement in the neighbourhood of Montebello itself. The French numbered 12,000 and the Austrians 14,000, and the former lost 2,500 to the Austrians' 3,000 killed and 1,500 taken prisoner. N. now directed Duhesme's corps to return to Piacenza to join the main body, while Moncey was to guard the line of the Ticino. The main body lay between Piacenza and Montebello, flanked by a strong guard at Pavia on the right. N. trusted to a junction between Masséna and Suchet to crush Melas against the Army of Reserve. He was not very certain as to the ability of this latter body to stem the torrent; and the orders of the 9th to the main body seem to point to an attempt to concentrate it towards Casteggio in view of a possible decisive conflict at that point. N. was certain that Melas would attack him on the side of Stradella. In case the Austrian general failed in this design, N. made arrangements to check his retreat in the neighbourhood of Serravalle, south of Novi, but he seems, on the whole, to have been labouring under great uncertainty as to what Melas would really attempt. On the 11th he ordered the main body to advance to the Scrivia, directing practically his whole forces to this point. He strained every nerve to bring up more men and dispose them in such a manner that Melas could not find a retreat in Genoa should he attempt to do so. On the 12th the army moved towards the Scrivia, Lannes taking up his position at Castelnuovo, Desaix at Pontecurone, Victor at Tortona along with Murat, whilst Lapoype was hastening to join Desaix. These forces in all numbered only about 28,000 men, as it had been found impossible to bring up the divisions of Moncey, Duhesme and others. It seemed impossible to get into touch with the enemy. Whether he was still in Alessandria, or marching to Genoa to secure the countenance of the British fleet, were open questions. On the 13th Murat, Lannes, and Victor entered the plain of Marengo, dispossessed the Austrian rear-guard of

several villages there, and established themselves for the night within a mile of the fortress. Meanwhile, during the night, N. sent out Desaix's three divisions at Pontecurone in different directions for the purpose of finding and holding Melas, wherever he had gone. This left N. with only 21,000 men, and in the forenoon of the 14th the whole of Melas's army, upwards of 40,000 strong, moved out of Alessandria and debouched into the plain of Marengo.

When the armies came into contact an energetic resistance was offered to the Austrian attack, which was somewhat delayed by the circumstance that ere it could be decisively launched the river Bormida had to be crossed. When this was effected it was divided into two columns, which advanced one by the main road on Marengo and the other on Castel Ceriolo. The first was led by Melas, and consisted of 20,000 men, and this was directed at Victor's column, about 10,000 strong. Every foot of ground was disputed by the French, who actually forced the Austrian right to deploy, and kept them at bay for a couple of hours before they reached the brook at Fontanone. Victor's men found themselves short of ammunition, and had to retire for some distance, but the retreat was an orderly one. They abandoned several guns, however. The second Austrian column was led by Ott, who confronted Lannes, the Austrian force numbering 7,500 to the French 4,000. Lannes was also forced to retire with considerable losses, and N., convinced that he now had to deal with Melas's entire army, dispatched staff officers to bring back his detachments, and threw out his reserves under Monnier to support Lannes and Victor. Monnier's men charged impetuously and drove the Austrians out of Castel Ceriolo, which they had taken from Lannes, but a fierce Austrian attack was launched on the place, and it was retaken. The French forces by three o'clock were disposed on the right and left of San Giuliano in a shaken line: they hoped to prolong the struggle till nightfall permitted them to retreat. Melas, fully convinced that the battle was won, returned to his headquarters

at Alessandria, leaving Zach, his chief of staff, to conduct what he considered would sooner or later resolve itself into a pursuit.

Few events in military history savour more of the dramatic than that which now took place. Boudet's division of Desaix's corps received at one o'clock the message, "Return, in the name of God," and between four and five o'clock, after a forced march, headed by Desaix in person, debouched on the battlefield. Moving along the main road from Tortona to Alessandria, it closed the line of Lannes and Victor. Zach was busy arranging the pursuit, whilst N. and Desaix, under fire, arranged a new plan of attack. Marmont, with eighteen guns, was sent into action on the right of the road, replying to the fire of the Austrian guns and checking their outposts. Desaix's infantry, with the remains of Lannes's and Victor's corps, was stationed behind the artillery, while on Lannes's right was Monnier with the Consular Guard and 400 men of Kellermann's cavalry brigade. At five o'clock Desaix threw himself against the Austrians' main column. In the attack he fell, but so fierce was the onset of his new troops that the leading Austrians were driven back upon their supports, and at the psychological moment Kellermann, with his 400 cavalymen, charged. They cut their way through the column, taking it completely by surprise. Zach was made prisoner along with some 2,000 men, and Kellermann, not content with his success, flung himself upon the Austrian cavalry, which seemed too astonished to offer much resistance. A great wave of military passion surged along the French line, which grew greater as they discerned that panic had seized the Austrian army. Lannes, Victor, and Monnier pushed the Austrians back on Marengo, where a few battalions made a resolute stand. Next day a convention was agreed to between the leaders, by which all Italy up to the river Mincio was evacuated by the Austrians. In this battle, lost and won within an hour, and which has few parallels in history, the French

lost about 4,000 men and the Austrians 9,500.

Kray had been worsted at Stokach by Moreau. After his defeat he retired to Ulm, where he reorganized his scattered troops, but was unable to repel Moreau's advance, the French leader scoring several successes, notably that of Hochstädt. Kray, afraid of being surrounded, retired and retreated over the Inn, where an armistice forbade Moreau following him up. Peace did not result from this measure, however, and the war was resumed both in Italy and in Germany. The Army of Italy was amalgamated with the Army of Reserve and placed under the command of Masséna, but this was again subdivided, so that one portion of it under Brune faced the Austrians on the Mincio, while the remainder under Murat attempted to re-establish French influence in Italy. Sporadic successes were scored by the first-mentioned army—one noteworthy instance of which was the feat of Macdonald in negotiating the Splügen pass and descending on the plains below, to the discomfiture of the Austrians. The revolutionary war in Italy came to an end with the armistice of Styer (25 Dec. 1800) and the treaty of Lunéville (9 Feb. 1801), but the respite offered by these measures was brief, and Europe was shortly afterwards to be plunged into a conflict more dire, and on a greatly extended scale.

## J

**Jena, Battle of.**—This battle was won by swift concentration and the bold occupation of a commanding position, under cover of darkness, upon the Landgrafenberg, which rises above the town of Jena and also dominates the plateau where Hohenlohe and his 70,000 Prussians were encamped. Believing himself secure, the Prussian leader kept an insufficient guard, and N. was thus enabled to pack his troops upon the narrow plateau and place his artillery advantageously. Meanwhile Soult and Augereau took up positions to the right and left respectively. In the morning (14 Oct.

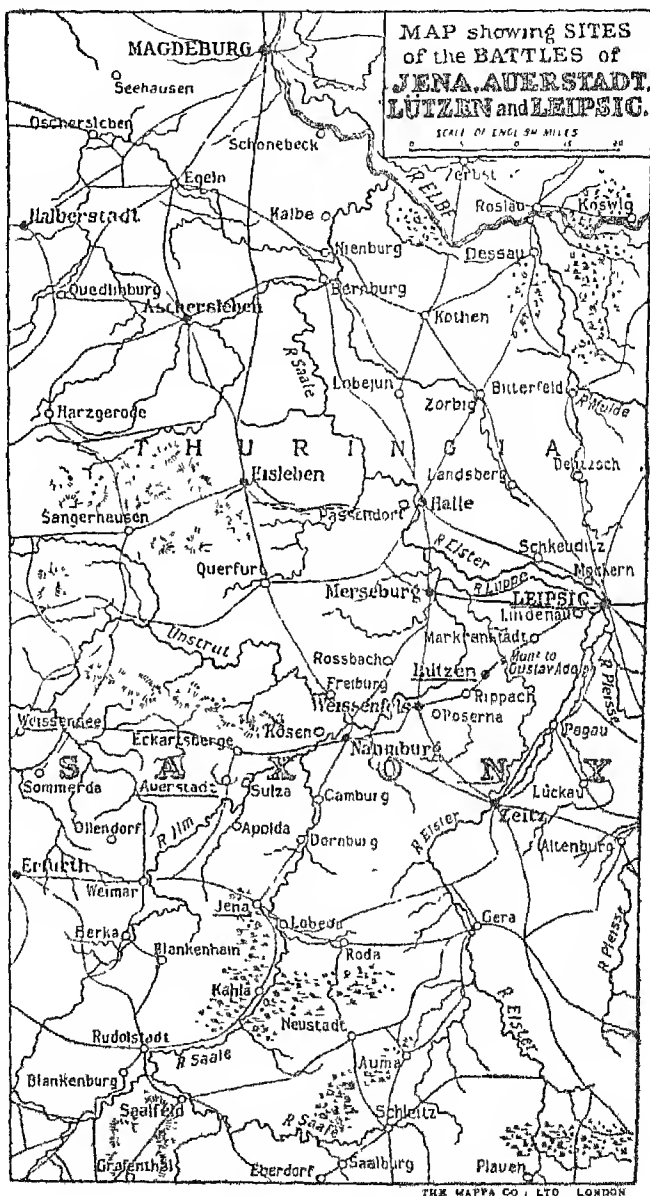
1806) the French attacked. Hohenlohe's men fought bravely, but they were not only outnumbered but had been outgeneralled, and by the time the crisis came N. had disposed of two-thirds of their army. At this critical moment N. launched his guards and cavalry against the foe and completed the victory. In their flight the Prussians fell in with another beaten army. *See AUERSSTADT.*

**Jena, Campaign of (1806).**—The violation of the territory of Ansbach during the Austerlitz campaign had aroused Prussia to anger. She speedily mobilized and sent Haugwitz to N.'s headquarters to demand an explanation. But N. put him off on the plea of business till Austerlitz was won, and he returned evidently satisfied that the French intended no mischief. The Prussian Army demobilized. At this time, although memories of the prestige of Frederick the Great still lingered in the Prussian ranks, the lessons of modern warfare had by no means been assimilated by the staff and higher commanders, who, though highly trained, lacked a leader. Again, the Prussian Army totalled only 110,000 men; it was in public disfavour, and was, indeed, almost as much a caste army as that of Austria.

N., assured that he could not reap the fruits of his Austrian victories until he had crippled Prussia, sat down to elaborate a strenuous campaign against the north German state. With the utmost skill he so disposed the troops fresh from their Austrian conquests in south Germany that a series of forced marches would suffice to concentrate them upon important strategic points. He permitted his army a long rest throughout the summer in the fruitful south German country, and it was not until the beginning of Oct. that Soult, Ney, Davout, Lannes, and Augereau received marching orders. The keynote of the campaign lay in its initial surprise, and to this end all the cavalry were kept in rear of the first infantry columns, which were ordered to advance at a given signal in dense masses, in order to crush the outposts and so check and overwhelm

those advancing columns which depended upon outpost resistance until they came up with the French. The Prussians had stretched their columns in line along the road leading from Mainz to Dresden. The frontier was lined with outposts, and at points along the road mentioned the Prussian corps leaders were stationed. They had intended an offensive movement into Franconia, and, indeed, had commenced concentration about Weimar, Jena, and Naumburg, when the French burst upon them from the Thuringian forests, swept away their outposts like straws, and advanced with astonishing rapidity. N. was, however, ignorant of the whereabouts of the bulk of the Prussian Army; indeed, so anxious was he regarding this, and so little information did he receive from his cavalry on the point, that he offered a reward of 6,000 francs to be enlightened regarding the Prussian point of concentration. Murat, Bernadotte, and Davout were sent forward to Naumburg, Lannes and Augereau to Jena, and Soult to Gera. Had the Prussians concentrated their 120,000 against Lannes and Augereau, Soult could not have come to their assistance until, in all probability, it was too late to save them; but they were ill-informed and slow in their movements and dispositions, and spent most of their time in pedantic staff

discussions. The men were starving and were suffering badly from nerves consequent upon the defeat of the outposts. Indeed, on one occasion a panic broke out at Jena which it



required all the address of Hohenlohe to stem. The Saxon contingent threatened to withdraw unless properly provisioned. Goethe, the poet, was at that time commissary at Weimar, and to him appeals were made for pro-



visions and fuel; but, probably wrapped in the bliss of artistry, he ignored the message, and his wretched countrymen spent the night shivering over the cold ashes of their fireless bivouacs.

Early on the morning of 13 Oct. reports began to come in regarding the Prussian dispositions. Instructions were forwarded to Davout to turn westward from Naumburg towards Kösen, and to bring Bernadotte with him if in touch with him. N. seems to have considered, however, that Bernadotte was already on his way to Dornburg. But he was with Davout, and from the terms of the Emperor's dispatch he thought he had missed an order instructing him to proceed to Dornburg. Fearful of the consequences, he attempted to conceal what he thought his mistake by pushing on towards Dornburg, with the result that his corps was lost to the Emperor when it was most required.

Lannes occupied Jena, and, having come into touch with Prussian troops to the north, asked for instructions. For answer the Emperor pushed forward, reached Jena in the afternoon, and proceeded to reconnoitre. His view was restricted, however. The Prussians were about to move to the attack when von Massenbach, a member of the headquarters staff, arrived and, claiming to speak in the name of the King and commander-in-chief, induced Hohenlohe to return to camp. N., concluding that the entire Prussian Army was on his front, issued orders for the entire *grande armée* to concentrate on Jena. But the Prussians, doubting the safety of their line of retreat on Berlin, retired towards the river Unstrutt and Eckhardtsherge, leaving Hohenlohe and Rüchel to act as rear-guard. Therefore, on the afternoon of the 13th they were encamped in that position.

On the early morning of 14 Oct. 1806 over 60,000 Frenchmen stood on the narrow plateau which crowns the Landgrafenberg. Luckily for them, they were hidden by a dense fog, otherwise they would have presented a capital mark for the Prussian artillery. Hohenlohe's plan was to drive

the French into the valley beneath their position, but he was ignorant of the numbers with which he had to deal. Through lack of space to manoeuvre, he could only throw a few battalions forward, and these had to wait until the fog cleared away somewhat. They were met by active and determined resistance on the part of the French skirmishers, who drove them back in confusion. Between Landgrafenberg and the plateau of Jena is a narrow neck—what might almost be described as a peninsula of rock—and across this the French poured in dense masses, occupying the plateau, whilst on either hand of them Soult and Augereau scaled the heights to their assistance. The Prussians advanced as if on parade, and halted to fire, but they could not be induced to advance again, and the French, seeking the cover of hedges and buildings, poured such galling fire upon their ranks that they soon fell into confusion. The French and Prussian artilleries were too well matched to render much assistance to their own infantry, while the Prussian cavalry charged in squadrons instead of in mass, and were easily taken in detail. The Prussians were soon outnumbered and outflanked, but nevertheless they put up a sporadic resistance until 2 p.m., when the guards and cavalry were let loose upon them, and a *sauve qui peut* commenced. At this point Rüchel's division arrived and made a gallant attempt to cover the retreat, but the fugitives poured through their intervals and broke up their ranks, so that shortly they joined the general rout. By 4 p.m. the Prussian Army was in full flight.

Faulty strategy was at the bottom of their failure, for although outnumbered their position permitted of the attainment of local superiority at nearly every point, and there were signs that the men and company officers would have acquitted themselves to much better purpose under more competent leadership.

Davout had received orders to cross the Saale at Kösen, and in doing so encountered the Prussian main army, headed by the King of Prussia in

## JENNER

person, while marching from Auerstadt towards the Elbe. The French at once deployed and opened out in the Kosen defile and the plateau of Auerstadt above it. The Prussians were so occupied in keeping step that the French had swung into line before they had taken up a position. A desperate struggle ensued, and by noon Davout's forces were in a critical position, whilst the Prussian guards, numbering eighteen battalions, under Kalckreuth, who had not yet engaged them, stood fresh and unbroken. At the critical moment, however, the Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded, and Scharnhorst, the chief of staff, was engaged in another part of the field. Rumours of defeat at Jena began to reach the field, and Kalckreuth, learning of these, refused to attack with his eighteen battalions without a direct order from the commander-in-chief, alleging that it was his duty to cover the retreat, and that he was responsible to the King for the guards corps. A determined cavalry charge would certainly have saved the day, but the troops of the mounted arm had been scattered among the infantry commands, and as they were unaccustomed to charge in mass it was found impossible for them to attack.

A retreat was therefore commenced by order of Scharnhorst. The French, practically broken, were incapable of following up the enemy. Bernadotte arrived too late at Jena. During the night the Prussian retreat continued; order among them was soon re-established, and they retired towards the mouth of the Elbe. They were, however, in evil case. The pursuing French were hailed with outward pleasure by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who fed and attended to them whilst neglecting their own troops. On 26 Oct. Davout reached Berlin, where he was met by the corporation. Hohenlohe surrendered on the 28th to Murat, and Blücher was pressed into Lübeck. See EYLAU AND FRIEDLAND, CAMPAIGNS OF.

**Jenner, Dr., and Napoleon.**—Dr. Jenner (1749-1823), the discoverer of vaccination, was highly respected by

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N.; and, as an instance of the esteem he accorded to men of science, the following episode is worthy of record: A relative of Dr. Jenner, Dr. Wickham by name, became by some chance a prisoner of war, and was incarcerated at Verdun. Hoping to obtain Wickham's release, Jenner sent a petition to the Emperor, who, merely glancing at it, put it aside. Josephine, standing near, picked it up, and, seeing the signature, realized who was the petitioner. She drew N.'s attention to the fact, and he immediately complied with the request, and Wickham was released. Further, N. made a point of refusing Dr. Jenner nothing, and subsequently whole families of English prisoners were set at liberty at his simple request.

**Josephine, The Empress (1763-1814).**—Marie-Rose Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, first married to Alexandre de Beauharnais (*q.v.*), secondly to Napoleon Bonaparte, was born on 23 June 1763 in the island of Martinique, the daughter of Joseph Gaspard Tascher de la Pagerie and his wife Rose-Claire Desvergers de Sanois, both belonging, like the Beauharnais, to the lesser Orléanais noblesse. Josephine (Geyette being her pet name) was the eldest of three daughters, the second sister, Catherine Désirée (1764-71), being first thought of as a bride for the young Vicomte de Beauharnais, a fever carrying her off, however, before the matter was finally arranged. The third daughter, Marie Françoise (Manette), born in 1767, was next preferred, but, dreading and refusing to leave her home, Josephine was chosen.

Josephine was educated at a convent at Port Royal, and appears, by some accounts, to have been accorded an unusual amount of liberty. Sufficiently weird, and by all accounts well supported, is the famous story of the prophecy uttered by an old negress of Martinique, who, seizing the hands of the young girl, foretold her early marriage, her sudden widowhood, and next her being crowned Queen of France: "Thou shalt be greater yet less than Queen of France." If this story be true it may well account for that supersti-

tious trait in Josephine so often remarked upon in later years.

Josephine's marriage was arranged by her aunt, Mme. de Rénaudin, *née* Tascher, who "occupied an equivocal position in the household of the Marquis de Beauharnais" and later became his third wife. The Tascher and Beauharnais families had met when the latter was governor in Martinique, but at this period the marquis had returned to France. The preliminaries being at length satisfactorily arranged, she sailed for France, and landed there in the same year as N., then on his way to Brienne. She was met at Havre by her fiancé, and on 13 Dec. 1779 they were married at Noisy-le-Grand. Accounts are conflicting as to the degree of happiness enjoyed by Josephine and her husband, though Mme. de Rémusat claimed to have read some letters of Beauharnais to his wife that expressed the most tender sentiments, letters that were carefully treasured by Josephine. Both were well received socially, Alexandre being one of the best dancers at court, while Josephine was petted by Marie Antoinette, being twice received by her at the Trianon, notwithstanding the fact that she had never been presented in the usual manner. Whispers against Josephine's conduct aroused the jealousy of Beauharnais, whilst he on his part openly and flagrantly followed his errant fancies. Their son Eugène (*q.v.*) was born in 1781, Hortense (*q.v.*) in 1783. By the time of the latter's birth Beauharnais was in Martinique, whither he had gone to win glory in the great conquests over the English promised by the Marquis de Bouillé, the newly appointed governor of the island. While in Martinique the Vicomte fell under the influence of a creole, a woman older than himself, who had much to say regarding Josephine's behaviour before she went to France. For some reason this woman hated the Taschers, especially Josephine, and this was her method of revenge. The intimation of his daughter's birth Beauharnais utilized as an opportunity for writing an abusive letter to his wife in which he recounted all he had heard against her, while declar-

ing his determination on a complete separation, and, further, disavowed the paternity of Hortense. In Martinique, Josephine's father, wrathful at his son-in-law's conduct, reproached him severely and offered to take back his daughter, whilst she in Paris (Nov. 1783), despairing of any healing of the breach, retired to the convent of Pantlemont, whose superior was the Princess of Condé, whence she lodged a legal complaint against her husband. How far these charges against Josephine are founded on fact it is practically impossible to say, so conflicting are the statements; but some details which are beyond doubt are illuminating, namely, that fifteen months later Alexandre amply apologized for his letters, written, he said, under the influence of passion; that as to the paternity of Hortense, not only did he not persist in such an unjustifiable disclaimer, but assumed full rights as to the control of the child, and also that in the dispute the Beauharnais family took Josephine's part. The legal proceedings resulted in a vindication of the wife, and a separation was formally arranged by March 1785, when she left the convent. The agreement was that Josephine was to retain the custody of Hortense, also of Eugène until he reached the age of six, and, further, that Beauharnais was to allow his wife a yearly income of 10,000 francs. This separation, it would seem, was never cancelled or its provisions contravened, though assertions to the contrary have been made, doubtless based on the fact that husband and wife corresponded on the subject of the children, that occasional meetings took place, and that both owned friends in common. It is thought that Josephine, after leaving the convent, resided at the house of the Marquis de Beauharnais at Fontainebleau. Three years now elapse of which there is practically no record, but doubtless it was at this period that Josephine's social education, which resulted in so exquisite a manner and charm, was begun. At Pantlemont she had made many desirable acquaintances who helped in precisely this direction, and, further aided by her beauty and distinctive grace, she made

good her claim to social recognition, which her husband's neglect and treatment would otherwise have discredited. Then in the summer of 1788 comes the journey back to Martinique with her daughter, the reasons for which are largely problematical, Bingham giving that of the death of her father and the need of looking after the paternal property. However this may be, she remained there for nearly three years, when the racial war broke out in Martinique. A friend of the Beauharnais family, Durand de Braye, was in command of the naval division in West Indian waters, and offered not only a refuge on his ship to the vicomtesse but to take her back to France. This offer was gratefully accepted, and Josephine and her daughter set sail under fire from the forts, which were now in the hands of the negroes, and in Nov. 1790 were back again in Paris, settling at Fontainebleau. Her husband was now an important personage under the revolutionary régime, one of the most influential members of the Assembly for a while, and necessarily his wife and children shared in the reflected glory. But, as was usual with careers at that time, his was short-lived, and after his lack of success as commander-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine he was recalled and arrested. He was imprisoned in the Carmelites, where, little more than a month later, he was followed by Josephine, also a prisoner, perhaps because of her efforts to obtain her husband's release. Further representations were made to the authorities on behalf of Beauharnais, but after a perfunctory trial he was condemned to death, and suffered on 23 July 1794, sending pathetic letters of farewell to his wife and children. The surroundings in which Josephine was now placed were sufficiently terrible, the Carmelites having already been made famous in the dreadful Sept. massacres, when nearly 8,000 persons were slaughtered by the mob. Fear was only natural, and added to this was the anxiety for her family. The sufferings of Josephine and those in a similar position must have been intense. It is said that some saved their lives by bartering their honour, and this has been alleged as

the only possible reason of her escape. But her liberty was due to a cause which also meant freedom to many more. On the same day that Josephine learned of her husband's fate she also received the intimation that she was to be removed to the Conciergerie and thence to the guillotine. But four days later Robespierre fell, and Josephine was free. Being practically without means, she and her children would have fared ill but that "family friends came to the rescue, claims on the nation were advanced and admitted, loans solicited and obtained, while even dependants lent their savings." In her prison Josephine was universally beloved by reason of her kindness and sweetness of character. There she had made many friends, chief amongst them Mme. de Fontenay, Thérèse Cabarrus, who on her release became Mme. Tallien (*q.v.*), and through her the *ci-devant* Vicomtesse de Beauharnais was introduced to that heterogeneous collection of individuals and interests which then constituted French society, and rival camps were soon formed which followed the fantastic fashions set by each. These two women, both "friends" of Barras, a term used by many in its most invidious sense, were queens of the Paris that knew the *Merveilleuses*, the *Incroyables*, the *Jeunesse dorée*—the Paris that was then rejoicing over the fall of the Terrorists. Though not so beautiful as Mme. Tallien, Josephine, now an accomplished woman of the world, was more than her equal in grace and charm, qualities which she possessed to such a remarkable degree that not only friends but enemies have left eloquent testimony to the fact.

Such was Josephine in the year 1795, when Napoleon Bonaparte rendered signal service to the French Government by scattering the malcontents of Paris on Vendémiaire (5 Oct. 1795)—a service which marked him out and brought him to the front. Regarding the first meeting of these two famous personages, N. gives the story of the boy Eugène and his visit to himself to beg his help in recovering his dead father's sword. Thus Josephine met the man who was to bring about the startling fulfilment of that prophecy of

her girlhood. This story has been doubted, but, however they met, or whatever the cause, N. was from the first moment Josephine's devoted admirer. No one who has read his letters written to her during that wonderful Italian campaign can doubt the fervour and depth of his passion for her, and in considering the emotional history of N.'s life one cannot but believe that in this love he reached the highest and best of his nature.

The civil marriage of N. and Josephine took place on 9 March 1796 before the mayor of the second ward of Paris. Already N. was preparing for the Italian campaign, working night and day, and therefore Josephine and her friends, including Tallien and lawyer Calmécot, had arrived some time before the bridegroom. The ceremony had been arranged to take place between eight and nine in the evening, but it was ten o'clock before N., his aide-de-camp Lemarrois, and Barras appeared. The ceremony was then hurried through, and the marriage certificate contained several flagrant errors which affected its validity. Josephine was thirty-three, N. twenty-seven years of age. This discrepancy was not apparent in the certificate, which records the age of each as twenty-eight.

Two days later N. set out for Italy. In the fact that Josephine did not accompany him, but chose to stay behind in Paris, enjoying the round of social pleasure, many have found cause for blame, but reasons are not hard to seek which made this arrangement desirable and advantageous. For one thing, it was as well in that time to have a friend at court if duty called one far afield. It was during this absence that N. wrote those impassioned letters to his wife which Sainte-Beuve has said come near to being a national epic. From contemporary evidence we learn that Josephine refused to take them and their fervid declarations seriously, and Thibaudeau records that after reading one she smilingly said: "Il est drôle, Bonaparte." Not only this, but with the ingrained sloth of the creole temperament, she disliked letter-writing and rarely replied to her husband's letters.

Also, devoted to Paris and its gaiety as she was, when he asked her to join him in Italy her reluctance was only too manifest and her excuses for delay numerous. That potent word "if" is irresistible at this juncture, and many writers on the subject have reasoned as follows: that if Josephine had but returned his love with greater fervour—if she had but devoted herself to his wishes and interests rather than to society and its pleasures—then she herself had never been repudiated, however powerful N.'s ambitions, or never would have suffered the chagrin caused by his later infidelities.

After various excuses and delays Josephine joined N., to his great joy, at Montebello, near Milan, in the early summer of 1797. There, as in Paris, her grace and tact won the hearts of foe and friend alike, with the notable exception of her husband's family. N.'s mother, according to Lucien, "was dissatisfied with the marriage of her son the general with the ex-Marquise de Beauharnais, considering her too old and that she would not bear him children," while the sisters from the first always regarded her with jealousy and spite and a mark for their scandal-loving tongues. Whether Josephine gave cause for it or not at this time is a question which has never been satisfactorily answered, but, apart from this, the family's behaviour in many respects tried not only Josephine but N. himself. The rancour and hatred against his wife never ceased till finally appeased by her divorce.

In 1798-99, during the Egyptian campaign, scandal arose concerning Josephine's relations with an officer, Hippolyte Charles (*q.v.*) by name, a scandal which, actual or imaginary, was duly communicated to N., by Junot, it is said. His anger and despair are apparent in a letter to Josephine, and it is evident that he contemplated divorce, to the joy of his family. In the Charles affair as good a case can be made out in Josephine's defence as that brought against her. One fact is also certain, that her good nature and kindness of heart were not only taken advantage of but often vilely misrepresented.

Hearing of N.'s arrival in France from Egypt, Josephine, accompanied by Louis Bonaparte, set out to meet him, but the wrong route was chosen, and N. arrived to find an empty home, though a family chorus was soon deafening his ears with tales of his wife's failing. That very evening, however, after Josephine's return, and through the unconscious pleadings of her children Eugène and Hortense, a reconciliation was effected, much to the chagrin of the Bonapartes. There is no doubt that now Josephine loved her husband with all the strength, whether great or little, of her nature, while N., though she must always remain first with him, sought distraction elsewhere. This much granted, yet there existed between them many bonds of sympathy, and Josephine's power over her husband still counted for more than anyone cared to challenge. True to his prejudices, he never admitted her into political matters, yet in other directions he often made use of her good sense and judgment. But this same judgment of hers saw only too clearly reason for anxiety in the growing ambitions of N., a feeling which developed into a haunting fear. From the time he became First Consul, with powers over the choice of a successor, the idea of divorce was present, an idea which his family fostered to the best of their ability, always harping on the fact of Josephine's childlessness. That Josephine divined this only too well is apparent in that pathetic wish of hers when, on the eve of coronation, she was married anew to N., this time with the rites of religion. Yet even in this there was an omission of one formality, the presence of the parish priest, which was duly noted. During this period the charges of frivolity, extravagance, and lack of seriousness on certain occasions were repeatedly brought against the Empress, charges supported by varying degrees of evidence. That her position was essentially a difficult one cannot be denied, constantly subjected as she was to the espionage and jealous insinuations of the Bonapartes, despite the fact that often she was the peacemaker between them and N., and generally to their

advantage. Throughout her years of power a kindness towards all was her distinguishing characteristic, devoid as she was of malice or bitterness. When she could exert her influence on affairs it was always on behalf of peace and moderation, the royalists and *émigrés* owing much to her. Once only did she fail, in the case of the Duc d'Enghien.

At last, in 1809, driven by political and dynastic considerations, N. decided on a divorce. His desire for an heir, and the impossibility of his wife realizing that desire, were the reasons for divorce, and after the campaign of that year he announced the decision to Josephine. Heartbroken, she pleaded against it, yet at length, "making the sacrifice for France," she acquiesced, and at a family council, with the triumphant Bonapartes for audience, she read aloud, or tried to, her agreement with N.'s decision, to which she tremblingly affixed her signature. That her husband suffered greatly is undoubted, apart from the intense dislike he had to breaking with old associations and custom.

The day after the family council Comte Lapepède introduced the resolutions to the Senate. "It is to-day that, more than ever before, the Emperor proves that he wishes to reign only to serve his subjects, and that the Empress has merited that posterity should associate her name with that of Napoleon." The decrees of the *Senatus-Consultus* were: "(1) The marriage contracted between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine is dissolved. (2) The Empress Josephine will retain the titles and rank of a crowned Empress-Queen. (3) Her jointure is fixed at an annual revenue of £80,000 from the public treasury. (4) Every provision which may be made by the Emperor in favour of the Empress Josephine out of the fund of the civil list shall be obligatory on his successors." (In addition to the above jointure N. also allowed her £40,000 a year from his own privy purse.) As well as the above decrees the Senate made separate addresses to N. and Josephine.

Even in the midst of her suffering Josephine's judgment ranged itself with N., and she urged on the Aus-

trian alliance as preferable to others for its political and moral values. Mme. de Metternich, wife of the Austrian ambassador, writing to her husband in Jan. of that year, gave a description of a visit she paid to Malmaison, where both Hortense and Eugène de Beauharnais spoke of their Austrian sympathies, followed by Josephine, who said that she had been pleading with N. that his bride should be the Austrian archduchess.

Popular feeling was not wholly with the Emperor. The army especially remained faithful to Josephine, notably veterans who remembered her in the Italian campaign. Later, when disaster was overwhelming N., they traced it to the repudiation of Josephine.

By his letters to Josephine written at this time it may be seen how much N. felt the separation. Always he showed the greatest care and concern for her health and comfort, and more than once he went to consult her upon matters in which he valued her tact and sense above all others. But, as the veterans said, N.'s star was on the wane—good fortune seemed to leave him with Josephine.

So at Malmaison, with loyal friends and surrounded by her beloved flowers, the Empress spent her remaining years in dignified retirement. There she heard of N.'s marriage with Marie Louise, of the birth of the King of Rome, of N.'s disasters—foretold by the cards she consulted every night—of his abdication, of his exile to Elba, and if it had been possible she would have been beside him there. The health of Josephine began to fail early in 1814, and she grew rapidly worse. It was at this time that William III. of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander paid their visits at Malmaison, leaving it impressed with the unfailing charm and sweetness of the Empress. Soon after, on 24 May 1814, she breathed her last. The news of her death reached N. at Elba, and, in his own words, "it was one of the most acute griefs of that fatal year." Again he visited Malmaison, during the fateful Hundred Days, before he left for Waterloo, and there he said of the woman to whom he had written those magnificent love-letters, who had in-

spired him to that wonderful campaign of 1796: "Pauvre Joséphine. . . . She had her failings, but she would never have abandoned me"—at once his great tribute to her and his damning judgment on Marie Louise.

**Joubert, Madame, née Marie de Bleschamps.**—See BONAPARTE, MARIE ALEXANDRINE CHARLOTTE LOUISE.

**Jourdan, Jean Baptiste, Count (1762-1833).**—French marshal; was born at Limoges on 29 April, 1762. Entering the army, he saw service in the Revolutionary wars, and was made general of division in 1793, in which year he won a victory over the Austrians at Wattignies (16 Oct.). The victory of Fleurus (26 June 1794) followed, when he drove the Austrians back to the Rhine. On 11 Oct. 1795 he received a check at Höchst, and in the following year he led the right wing of the army in the advance on Vienna. Successful at first, he was afterwards repeatedly defeated by the Archduke Charles, and forced to retire into civil life, when he devoted himself to politics. He was restored in 1799, but suffered further defeat at the hands of the Archduke Charles, and again resigned his command. In 1800, his early opposition to the new régime having been overcome, he took service with N., and was made a marshal of France in 1804. In 1808, as military adviser to Joseph Bonaparte, he took part in the Peninsular War, and sustained defeat at Vittoria (1813). Peculiarly pliant, or peculiarly indifferent as to where he bestowed his allegiance, Jourdan at the first Restoration gave his adherence to the Bourbons, returned to N. during the Hundred Days, and again during the second Restoration he became a Bourbonist and was made a count and a peer of France. He died on 23 Nov. 1833.

**Journalism.**—Under the régime of N. the liberty of the press was practically extinct, only a handful of carefully censored journals existing. The monstrous excesses of the revolutionary press were succeeded by a period of such flatness as has seldom been experienced in Gallic journalism. N. on one occasion

stated that, naturally, he regarded the liberty of the press as limitless, but that he did not consider an entirely free press suitable to the requirements of the French people. Whatever his true sentiments regarding this question, he exercised a truly tyrannical control over French, and especially over Parisian, journalism, and instituted a carefully considered system of espionage in connexion with the principal journals.

As regards the general character of French journalism under the Napoleonic régime, it can only be characterised as venal and despicable in the extreme, and it is probable that no such servile press ever existed even in the republics of Latin America. Truth was absolutely foreign to its columns, and the most obvious and puerile falsehoods were daily published therein. The class of men in whose hands this type of journalism flourished were, as may be imagined, persons of the most mercenary and debased character. Nor was the literary style they employed in any way superior to their moral outlook. It was, indeed, a mixture of cant and bombast, interspersed with dull and affected apostrophes to nature, outrageous tropes, and pseudo-poetical flourishes, leavened occasionally by the cheap philosophy of the day. The consequence of this was that the French public were, perhaps, the worst-informed of any in Europe regarding the trend of affairs and upon topical questions. An acute observer has placed it on record that in 1802 he was commissioned by a certain English newspaper to engage a competent Parisian correspondent. After interviewing a great many celebrated men, all of whom were eager for the post, and having perused the writings sent by them as examples of their work, he concluded that none was fit for the position. Not only was the style of composition bombastic and hollow, but the writers appeared to be incapable of grasping one of the initial principles of journalism—that news, instead of being compiled from graceful nothings, should consist of a series of well-authenticated facts written in a straightforward and intelligible manner.

From out the hurly-burly of revolutionary journalism there emerged some nineteen daily journals of an average circulation of some three or four thousand apiece. The Consular government reduced the number of these to thirteen, among which the *Moniteur*, founded in 1789, and the *Journal de Débats*, instituted in the same year, were by far the most important. The *Moniteur* was the only political paper regarded with the eye of favour by the Napoleonic government: indeed, it may be said to have been its official organ. It was the nominal property of Roederer, the editor, and Hautrive, the sub-editor; and among its correspondents were Barrère, the Decemvir, Treilhard, the ex-advocate, Portales, who was responsible for the religious articles, Chaptal, minister of the interior, and many other political writers. Talleyrand himself occasionally contributed an article. If the paper possessed any definite policy, this may be interpreted as a Chauvinist attitude towards everything British. The *Journal de Débats* had been acquired by one Bertin from Bandouin, the printer, for 20,000 francs. He called to his aid two writers, Geoffroy and Fievée, and succeeded in converting the *Débats* into a paper having a circulation of 30,000 and producing an annual profit of 200,000 francs; but this journal was regarded by N. with no very friendly eye. In 1805 a special censorship was proposed at the instance of Fouché, and at that juncture N. himself wrote to Fievée that the only means of preserving a newspaper from suspension was "to avoid publication of any news unfavourable to the government until the truth of it is so well established that the publication becomes needless." Fievée only avoided the censorship in question by consenting to become the responsible editor, and the title of the paper was altered to *Journal de l'Empire*, N. disliking the word "Débats." The old title, however, was resumed in Aug. 1815, and the *Journal de Débats* still remains.

The *Journal de Défenseurs de la Patrie* provided sensible articles and useful literary criticisms, but no political matter. The *Chef du Cab-*



not rendered a fairly faithful account of continental news, and was notable for its typographical excellence. This paper and another, *Le Publiciste*, had for their principal correspondent a member of the Senate and of the National Institute called Garot, who commenced his career by writing paragraphs for *Le Mercure*, and rose to the editorship of the *Journal de Paris*, accompanying the French ambassador to England in 1792, in which year he was made editor of the *Gazette Nationale* by the Convention. Two months later he was appointed minister of justice. Flown with insolence and success, he published a book in which he compared himself to the greatest figures of antiquity, and even to the Redeemer. Later he became the apologist of N., and received a pension of £3,000 per annum from the public funds. All this he won by pure truckling; and in some measure he may be said to be typical of the French journalist of his day. The *Citoyen Français* was, perhaps, the most independent paper in Paris, and prior to the coronation of Napoleon was frequently furnished with articles by Tom Paine. The *Journal de Commerce* usefully fulfilled its object to cater for the commercial classes.

Of philosophical, literary and other periodical publications, the most important was the *Journal de Physique*, edited and conducted by the able Dr. de Meteheric, professor of mineralogy in the Collège de France. All the eminent chemists in France contributed to the *Annales de Chémie*. One of the most valuable publications of the day was the *Annales de l'Agriculture Française*, published by Tessier. Other outstanding journals of this class were the *Annales Statistiques*, a well printed and arranged monthly, the *Bibliothèque Commerciale*, *Annales des Arts et des Manufactures*, in which good engravings appeared, and the editor of which was O'Reilly, a violent Jacobin. *Le Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique* appeared three times every month, and had the largest circulation of any periodical in France. It posed as a philosophical and atheistical organ, a critical review, poetical repository, and maga-

zine of fiction, and it would be hard to parallel for sheer imbecility the matter which appeared in its columns. For the most part, however, such journals as dealt with science and experimental philosophy were of a high standard, and the matter published in them was in sharp contradistinction to the rubbish which filled the columns of the daily political press.

In Feb. 1810 a decree was promulgated organizing a general censorship of printing and publishing with increased severity. No more than sixty printers were to be permitted to practise in Paris, and even booksellers were to be licensed. All printed matter had to be submitted to the general censorship, and in case of appeal to the minister of the interior; but beyond that the general police and the prefects could suspend publication if they chose, and an incredible strictness was practised by these bodies. Censors and official editors were forced upon the principal journals. Subsequent to 1810 the control of the press became still more severe, if possible. In the provinces the number of newspapers was reduced to one for each department, and after Oct. 1811 there were only four newspapers left in Paris—the *Moniteur*, *Débats* or *l'Empire*, *Journal de Paris*, and the old *Gazette de France*, which gave special prominence to religious news. In Sept. 1811 all the Parisian newspapers were confiscated, and from that moment until the fall of N. the press may be said to have ceased to exist. Political news was only published at rare intervals and only with the government's consent, and such news was more often false than correct.

**Junot, Andoche, Duc d'Abrantes (1771-1813).**—French general; born at Bussy-le-Grand. He was educated at Châtillon, and was studying law at Paris when the Revolution broke out. During his first year of active service he distinguished himself so greatly as to come under the special notice of N. during the siege of Toulon. As the latter's aide-de-camp in Italy he was chosen to carry back the captured colours after the Battle of Millesimo; and later became a general of brigade during the expedition to

Egypt. Always a faithful friend of the Emperor's, Junot became involved in a quarrel between his master and General Lanusse, and was badly wounded in a duel in which he acted as N.'s substitute. He had to be left in Egypt owing to his wounds, which, added to those he had received at Millesimo, caused some mental malady that was destined to prove fatal in the end. On his return to France he received promotion, and married Mlle. Laure Permon. During the months which followed he served in many campaigns. The first of these was at Arras, when his general behaviour evoked the praise of the Emperor. Next he was sent as ambassador to Lisbon, but rejoined the Imperial forces soon after and gave fresh evidence of his valour in the Battle of Austerlitz. Although zealous and brave, Junot was a man of uncertain temper and domineering character in private life, which latter fault made him disliked among his colleagues. For this reason he was sent to Parma to put down an insurrection which had broken out there, but in 1806 he returned and was nominated governor of Paris. While in this position Junot became once again implicated at court—it is thought with one of the Imperial family, Pauline Bonaparte—and as it became desirable to change his headquarters he was appointed to command the force invading Portugal. In 1807, at the head of 1,500 men, Junot crossed the Beira Mountains and stormed Lisbon. But his chief aim, to seize the Portuguese fleet, was frustrated, for it had already sailed for Brazil with the regent and court. However, in return for Junot's well-conducted expedition he was made Duke of Abrantes and Governor of Portugal. An administrator's life did not agree with Junot. His conduct aroused the wrath of the people, and his régime in Portugal was brief and marked by weakness. After the engagement at Vimiera with Wellesley, Junot was obliged to leave the country with his entire army, and only escaped being court-martialled. N. sent him to Spain, where in 1810 he was once more severely wounded while serving under Masséna. He had now to face

the Emperor's serious displeasure, loss of prestige, and mental illness, and these combined to hasten the final catastrophe. His last campaign was that of Russia, and later N. appointed him governor of Illyria; but in 1813 his misfortunes brought about insanity—and he threw himself out of a window at Monthard, with fatal consequences. He died on 29 July 1813.

**Junot, Laure, Duchesse d'Abrantes (1784-1838).**— Daughter of Mme. Permon (*q.v.*) and wife of General Junot, whom she married early in the Consulate, he having been madly in love with Pauline Bonaparte, as he was afterwards to be the lover of her sister Caroline when Mme. Murat. Notwithstanding Mme. Junot's air of superiority, displayed in her memoirs, she entered feverishly into the gaieties of Paris, and was soon distinguished for extravagance amid an extravagant society. She had a witty tongue, and N. teasingly called her *petite peste*, the little nuisance, always treating her and her husband with the greatest generosity. Despite this fact, Mme. Junot, though excessively anxious to prove her intimate friendship with N. and his family, was never deterred by gratitude from slandering her benefactor in her Memoirs, which contain many doubtful statements regarding N. Her extravagance increased, and when Junot returned to Paris in 1806, after his diplomatic mission to Lisbon, he was in dire straits largely owing to his wife's prodigality, though his own personal expenses to some extent accounted for his financial condition. When she joined him in Lisbon, after his entrance into that city, she received much of the spoil and also valuable presents, but even this did not satisfy her greed or meet her expenditure. She was with her husband throughout the Peninsular War. On her return to Paris she set herself to annoy and displease N. by expending her vaunted wit in criticism, and also by the cultivation of people whom he disliked. In 1810 she was engaged in a serious flirtation with Metternich, much to Caroline Murat's chagrin, who had thought to have undivided possession of her quondam lover on

the occasion of her visit to Paris for the wedding of N. and Marie Louise. But Caroline had her revenge. She took care that Junot should hear of his wife's defection, with the result that Mme. Junot was debarred from entering society for some little while, so severe was the physical castigation she received from the hands of her indignant spouse. When ruin stared her in the face on the mental collapse of Junot she averted this—as is stated on good authority—by lending herself to the royalist intrigues for restoring the Bourbons in 1814. During the Hundred Days she was also active against her former benefactor. After 1815 she settled in Rome, cultivating the literary and artistic society of that city, and writing her *Memoirs*, which were published in 1831-4 in eighteen volumes.

*Memoirs.*—Mme. Junot occupies the opening chapters of her *Mémoires* with an account of her childhood and girlhood. Perhaps the most interesting event described in these early chapters is that of the death of N.'s father in her mother's house at Montpellier. Her father had heard that three Corsicans had just arrived at a miserable inn in the town, and that one of them was very ill. Her mother, who was a Corsican herself, at once bade him inquire regarding them. Her father, who disliked Corsicans, was willing to show M. Buonaparte all the attention which his situation demanded, but Mme. Junot's mother would have nothing less than the conveyance of the invalid to her own house. So it was that Mme. Junot's mother was at the bedside of N.'s father when he breathed his last. He strongly recommended to her his young son, N., who had just left Brienne and entered the military school at Paris. She was kindness itself to Joseph and to his uncle Fesch, who had accompanied N.'s father to France—a kindness which Joseph never forgot.

They are full of racy matter, these opening chapters. In those days, as well as in later life, the authoress tells that N. could not relish a joke, and that when he found himself the object of merriment he grew angry. Mme.

Junot's sister, Cecile, who was at that time twelve or thirteen years of age, told him that since he wore a sword he ought to be gallant to ladies, but she had laughed at him and he had turned on her with the contemptuous remark: "You are nothing but a child." "And you," said Cecile, highly indignant, "are nothing but a puss-in-boots!" This excited a general laugh, and N. flew into a violent temper, but he had sufficient tact to remain silent. As a youth N. was fond of airing his views upon political matters, for which he was occasionally checked by his elders. His views were liberal, if not revolutionary, and often offended and surprised the bourgeois with whom he came into touch in those days when royalty was regarded as almost divine. The Revolution and its incidents occupy several chapters, and then the memoirist passes on to the arrest of Bonaparte, his conduct in Corsica, his friendship with Junot, his rivalry with Salicetti, his early struggles in Paris, Junot's love affair with Pauline Bonaparte, and N.'s reply to him when he asked for her hand. Through the turmoil of the later revolutionary scenes we can see a chastened Paris, sketches of metropolitan society, and a pen-portrait of Mme. Bonaparte, who, with her daughter, appeared at a ball at the Hôtel Thelusson, and who, Mme. Junot says, did not seem to be much older than Hortense. The Italian campaign is then touched upon, as is the rivalry of Lannes and Mme. Junot's brother Albert. Parisian society prior to 18 Fructidor is well described. The feminine fashions of the day are alluded to as Greek and Roman in style; the *incroyables*, or dandies, of the time are spoken of with good-natured sarcasm. In the midst of this gaiety comes the bombshell of the *coup d'état*—what Mme. Junot calls the "restoration of society," with its fashionable parties and aping of the *ancien régime*. Prior to this an account has been given of the Egyptian campaign and Junot's part therein. He, it will be remembered, remained in Egypt after N. betook himself thence, and was captured by the English on his way home. On

his return to France he was appointed governor of Paris. The events of 8 Nov. 1800 are detailed at length. The danger in which the Bonaparte family existed at that date is alluded to. Mme. Mère's Spartan attitude could not altogether conceal her uneasiness; her extreme paleness and the convulsive movement she made whenever an unusual noise struck her ears gave her face a ghastly appearance. "In these moments she appeared to be truly like the mother of the Gracchi, and her situation added force to the idea. She had, perhaps, more at stake than the famous Roman matron! She had three sons under the stroke of fate, one of whom would probably receive the blow even if the others escaped. This she strongly felt." But the danger passed away, and the winter of 1800, with its restoration of order and general security, is happily spoken of. Our object here is to touch upon such events and circumstances in the career of N. as are not alluded to by other contemporary memoirists, therefore we feel that we may leave history to more competent judges than Mme. Junot. Her future husband is well described: his fondness for Burgundian friends, his familiarity with the authoress's family, his proposals for her hand. The fullness of these Memoirs and their frequent bad taste make it impossible to quote largely from them. The authoress's marriage is well described, and her presentation to the First Consul. The consular court comes in for a good deal of attention, as does the revival of general prosperity and the popularity of N. In fact, the conclusion of the first volume is a regular phantasmagoria of the teeming and brilliant life of the Paris of the time.

Passing quickly over the period of Jena and Eylau, with which the third volume commences, we occasionally come upon a piquant passage, as, for example, when Josephine, playing patience, received a letter from the Emperor, the latter part of which no one could decipher until the arrival of Junot. A painful interview between the Emperor and Junot is described as follows: "When the Emperor arrived at Paris the storm

had already gathered. The clouds had been collecting in Poland. The Emperor had received written intimation that Junot was compromising the Grand Duchess of Berg; that his livery was seen at unsuitable hours in the court of the Elysée, and that numerous corroborating circumstances might be adduced. It was one of Junot's comrades, still living, who preferred this accusation. Napoleon's heart was wounded by this news, and when Junot presented himself before him on his return he met with a stern reception and constrained language. Junot's fiery spirit could not endure the Emperor's coldness, and he asked an audience. It was immediately granted, and was stormy. The Emperor accused him without reserve, and Junot, sorely wounded, would not answer upon any point, asserting that the Emperor ought to depend upon his care for the honour of his name. 'Sire!' he exclaimed, 'when at Marseilles I loved the Princess Pauline, and you were upon the point of giving her to me—I loved her to distraction—yet what was my conduct? Was it not that of a man of honour? I am not changed since that period; I am still equally devoted to you and yours. Sire, your mistrust is injurious to me.' The Emperor listened, watching him meanwhile with marked attention; then walked the room in silence, with his arms crossed and a menacing brow. 'I am willing to believe all that you say,' at length he replied; 'but you are not the less guilty of imprudence, and imprudence in your situation towards my sister amounts to a fault, if not to worse. Why, for example, does the Grand Duchess occupy your boxes at the theatres? Why does she go thither in your carriage? Hey! M. Junot! you are surprised that I should be so well acquainted with your affairs and those of that little fool Madame Murat.' Junot was confounded at finding that the Emperor had been informed of this circumstance, which, nevertheless, was sufficiently important, considering the relative situation of the two personages, to fix the attention not only of the police but of the public; nothing but the infatuation

which so often blinds those who are entering upon the career of ruin could have caused his astonishment at the natural consequences which had followed his conduct. 'Yes,' continued the Emperor, 'I know all that and many other facts which I am willing to look upon as imprudences only, but in which also I see serious faults on your part. Once more, why this carriage with your livery? Your livery should not be seen at two o'clock in the morning in the courtyard of the Grand Duchess of Berg. You, Junot! You compromise my sister!' And N. fell into a chair. Before proceeding further I wish to explain the motives which have induced me to raise the veil which, with my own hand, I have thrown over the private life of Junot. All the other connexions which he formed acted only upon my own happiness, and in no way upon his destiny. Here the case was totally different; I do not hesitate to ascribe all my husband's misfortunes, and even his death, to his unhappy entanglement with the Queen of Naples. I do not charge this connexion with real criminality; I even believe that there was only the appearance of it; but the suspicious appearances which really did exist led to the most fatal consequences: they kindled the lion's wrath. Subsequently, circumstances produced an eruption of the long-smothered volcano, and the tempest burst forth." Junot's departure for Portugal consequent upon this interview, his troubles with General Loison, the melancholy presentiments of the Empress, the bickering of N. and his brother Lucien, the Emperor's family history, and the gaieties of Paris, occupy a large space in this volume. The news that she had been made a duchess is given by Mme. Junot in sprightly fashion: "I was on duty with Madame at the Tuileries, and used to accompany her to the family dinners which took place every Sunday. On one of these occasions, while I was waiting in the *salon de service* in the Pavilion of Flora, I perceived Savary approaching me. 'Embrace me!' cried he; 'I have good news.' 'Tell me the news first,' said I, 'and then I shall see whether it

be worth the reward.' 'Well, then, I am a duke.' 'That is news indeed,' said I; 'but why should I embrace you for that?' 'My title is the Duke of Rovigo,' continued he, marching up and down the room in an ecstasy of joy. 'And what do I care for your ridiculous title?' said I in a tone of impatience. 'Had he told you that you are a duchess,' said Rapp, stepping up to me and taking both my hands in his, 'I am sure you would have embraced him as you will embrace me for bringing you the intelligence.' 'That I will,' said I, presenting my cheek to my old friend Rapp, whose frank and cordial manner quite delighted me. 'And another for Junot,' said he, smiling. 'Well, be it so,' answered I, 'and I promise you I will inform him that you were the first to tell me this good news.' 'And, moreover,' said Rapp, 'you have the best title of the whole batch of duchesses. You are the Duchesse d'Abrantès.' I perceived that the Emperor had given Junot the title of the Duc d'Abrantès as a particular compliment to him. I therefore was doubly gratified. Junot was so deeply impressed with the Emperor's kindness that, as he afterwards told me, he was moved to tears on receipt of the intelligence."

To detail all the rich biographical and personal matter in these *Memoirs* would indeed be a heavy task. Mme. Junot attempted the rôle of historian of her time as well in its political as in its private aspect. The narrative is often as dramatic as it is racy, and bristles with personalities and scandals; and the malice of an old woman writing of her youthful past is apparent in many passages. Ill-natured remarks are so frequent, and awkward situations so constantly alluded to, that we begin to wonder which were the most scandalous, the persons who took part in these adventures, or the woman who lays them bare. It must be admitted that the gossip has his or her place in history, but perhaps nothing is less likely to assist the historian than a mere *chronique scandaleuse*. The authoress frequently forgets that she is writing of men and women whose genius and abilities have

placed them in the very front rank of humanity in the eyes of posterity. Is it necessary that we should be bored with the weaknesses of such people? Above all, is it necessary that their weaknesses should be insisted upon at the expense of their strength? There is a type of memoir much in fashion at the present time which sedulously collects all the nastinesses it can retail concerning the great dead, and which studiously interlines notices concerning these when recounting their triumphs and virtues. Such a chronicle is this; and if we know the personages who walk through its pages the more intimately after perusing it, we are left with the impression that we know them far too well and that it would have been better, for the sake of great names and for the sake of common human decency, had these pages never been penned at all.

## K

**Kalisch, Treaty of.**—An event of considerable importance in Prussian history is the Treaty of Kalisch, by which Prussia definitely threw off the French yoke and joined with the Allies in the War of Liberation. It took its rise during the campaign of 1812 in a secret military convention between Dichtsch, the Russian general, and York von Wartenburg, commander of the Prussian corps attached to the *Grande Armée*, whereby the Prussian Army was neutralized. This step was secretly approved by Frederick William, King of Prussia, who at that time was looking for a way of escape from his French alliance; he, however, still kept up a semblance of good relations with France, and when the understanding between the Russian and Prussian troops became more and more evident he even went the length of dismissing York von Wartenburg. But by this time the popular feeling of Prussia had risen in a great tide of nationalistic sentiment, and the King was forced to take decisive action. Being disappointed in his first hopes of an alliance with Austria, he allied himself with Russia by the Treaty of Kalisch, concluded on

26 Feb. 1813, but not made public till 13 March, when Prussia declared war on her erstwhile ally. By the terms of the treaty Russia was to provide 150,000 troops, Prussia 80,000; the latter country was to acquire certain territories in northern Germany, while by a secret article the Tsar engaged himself to restore her to her original status of the period before 1806. The effects of the treaty on a reduced and impoverished Prussia were soon apparent. N. had crushed the unhappy monarchy almost out of existence, but under the influence of the new alliance it slowly began to recover. Its army, too, grew with the progress of the War of Liberation, and in a few years more was destined to accomplish great things in the history of Europe.

**Kätzbach, Battle of (Leipsic Campaign).**—On 26 Aug. 1813 Blücher's army (95,000 Russians and Prussians), after the retreat from Dresden, was placed amidst the hilly country which surrounds the Kätzbach and its tributary, the Neisse. The French, 80,000 strong, under Macdonald, had crossed the latter river near its junction with the Kätzbach, and were in pursuit of their enemy. Before the French troops could be properly deployed, however, they were attacked by Blücher, in driving rain-storms, and after a fearful struggle were defeated. The Allies pressed their victory and succeeded in utterly demoralizing the worn-out army, capturing 18,000 prisoners, 103 cannon, two eagles, and a vast quantity of ammunition and stores.

**Kellermann, François Christophe de, Duke of Valmy (1735-1820).**—Marshal of France; was born at Strassburg, and entered the French Army, serving in the Seven Years' War and in the expedition to Poland in 1771. He was made lieutenant-colonel, and rose to the rank of general. He commanded the army in Alsace; and won a great victory at Valmy, from which he afterwards took his title. For a time he served in the army on the Moselle, but because of a disagreement with his general, Custine, who accused Kellermann of insubordination, he was kept in Paris

for thirteen months. Until the Italian campaign, when his army was incorporated with N.'s, he commanded the Army of the Alps, suppressed a rising at Lyons and repelled the Austrians on the south-eastern border. Owing to his age and the rising up of a younger generation of able officers, Kellermann retired from active military service. He was appointed senator in 1800, when N.'s power was established, and was of great assistance to the Emperor, who valued his advice on the question of the administration of the army. His long experience caused him to be much appreciated in managing the home defence forces, and in 1803 he was named honorary marshal of France. He was created duke in 1808, and raised to the house of peers in 1814, when he sided with the Bourbons on the fall of N. The latter has said that he was a brave soldier, but that he would never have made a very excellent commander. Kellermann's name will perhaps best be remembered by his famous cavalry charge on the field of Marengo, to which the victory was immediately due. He died in Paris in 1820.

**Kléber, Jean Baptiste (1753-1800).**— Was born at Strassburg on 9 March 1753, the son of a builder. Destined for the profession of architect, he was educated in his native city and at Paris. A military career had always attracted him, and when, in return for his opportune assistance in a tavern brawl, two German nobles offered their influence, he accepted it and obtained entrance to the military school at Munich. In 1772 he gained a commission in one of the Austrian regiments of the Low Countries. After ten years' service, being still a lieutenant owing to his humble birth, in a fit of disgust he applied for leave of absence and returned to Strassburg, where his relations persuaded him to relinquish the service and resume his former profession. This course he adopted, and he was next appointed inspector of public works at Belfort, where he further studied fortification and military science. On the breaking out of the Revolution he enlisted in the Haut-Rhin volunteers, and on account of his military knowledge was

at once made adjutant, and later lieutenant-colonel. His corps was called to Mainz, where, in the defence of that town, Kléber so distinguished himself that, though imprisoned by the Convention, together with the rest of the garrison, he was quickly reinstated, and in Aug. 1793 promoted general of brigade, despite the fact that when at Paris and called upon to bear witness against Custines, who was suspected of treachery in the affairs relating to Mainz, he yet had the courage to speak in his favour before the revolutionary tribunal. Kléber next proceeded to La Vendée, where he again earned great distinction, and in two months' time was further promoted. He was wounded in the engagement at Torfou, but defeated the Royalists at Le Mans, Savenay and Noirmoutiers. He was, however, recalled by the Directory for the open expression of his opinion that the Vendéans should be treated leniently. In April 1794 he was again reinstated, and, with the army of the Sambre and Meuse, showing characteristic skill and courage in the many engagements around Charleroi and in the victory of Fleurus, where he commanded the left wing of the French Army opposite the Prince of Orange, whom he defeated at the bridge of Marchiennes. In command of three divisions, his skill in manœuvres was notable throughout the whole of this campaign, in July at Mons, which he took, also Louvain, and again at Liège and Maestricht, the latter place only surrendering after eleven days' fighting in the trenches by the besiegers. In 1795 he commanded the passage of the Rhine before Düsseldorf, and after the first retreat of Jourdan and Pichegru refused to accept the command which had belonged to the latter when offered to him by the Directory. He in a great measure contributed to the successes of Jourdan in 1796, and fought a brilliant rear-guard action at the bridge of Neuwied. After the retreat to the Rhine, Kléber declined the chief command of the army, and withdrew into private life in 1798. He, however, accepted a division in the Egyptian expedition under N., and in the

first engagement at Alexandria was wounded in the head. This prevented him taking any further part in the Campaign of the Pyramids, and N. appointed him governor of Alexandria. In the Syrian campaign he commanded a division at the siege of Acre, took El Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa, and finally won the notable victory of Mount Tabor on 15 April 1799. When N. returned to France at the end of 1799 he left Kléber in command of the French forces. The reason for this was that Kléber was a great favourite with the army.

The trust which had thus devolved upon him was not wholly desirable, for it was onerous to the last degree. He had but 15,000 troops, while the Turks were recruiting theirs in every direction. He was also without money, ammunition was reduced to almost nothing, and reinforcements from France an impossibility. Disposing his troops in the most advantageous manner and defeating the Turks in several engagements, he found it necessary to enter into the convention of El Arish. Sir Sidney Smith directed these negotiations with Kléber in the name of the Turks and the Vizier. But later Kléber received an intimation from Sir Sidney to inform him "that the English Government had not approved of this treaty, and that the commander of the English fleet in the Mediterranean had orders to oppose its execution." Kléber then had recourse to arms, and to rouse his troops had copies printed of the letter from Admiral Keith proposing a humiliating capitulation and distributed among them. He attacked the Turks at Heliopolis with a force of 10,000 men, whilst the enemy numbered 60,000, yet he defeated them utterly. Next he retook Cairo, which had revolted, and from the contributions levied on the place as punishment for rebellion was at last in possession of finances for his army. Kléber then raised a body of Copts, together with a Greek legion; he developed a camel corps, arranged a committee of administration to prevent wasteful expense, and then, on 3 June 1800, left Cairo to make a rapid progress through Egypt, as he

was anxious to conclude a separate treaty with the Turks, whom he wished to divide from England. On 14 June, after having reviewed the Greek legion, he returned to Cairo to view some alterations being made in his residence. While he was talking with the architect on the terrace of the garden he was assassinated by a fanatic named Solyman (*q.v.*), who had concealed himself in the cistern, and offering Kléber a letter, stabbed him whilst the general unfolded the paper. This happened on the same day that his friend and comrade Desaix fell at Marengo. Their names are always associated as those of the two bravest among N.'s great generals, N. himself saying: "Of all the generals I ever had under me Desaix and Kléber possessed the greatest talents. . . . Kléber and Desaix were an irreparable loss to France." The remains of Kléber were interred with great pomp, and a monument erected to his memory. N. caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, bearing on one side the bust of Kléber, with the words: "General Kléber, born in 1753, assassinated at Cairo the 14th of June 1800," and on the reverse: "Surnamed, from his stature and intrepidity, the French Hercules. He braved death a thousand times in the field and fell at Cairo under the dagger of an assassin." As a second in command Kléber was unparalleled, but some strange distrust of his own powers rendered him inferior as a commander-in-chief. His conduct of affairs in Egypt under the most difficult and dangerous circumstances amply prove that his gifts of administration were as great as those he displayed as a general.

**Königsberg, Treaty of** (see TILSIT).—A supplemental treaty to that of Tilsit, concerning the withdrawal of French troops from Prussia under the proviso that full payment was to be made to France of what was due to her for outstanding war contributions. If this condition were recognized they were to be withdrawn by 1 Oct. 1807.

**Königswartha, Battle of**.—An incident of the Leipsic campaign. On



19 May 1813 a division of Italians, under Bertrand, while reposing in loose order after dinner in a wood, were surprised and totally routed by Barclay de Tolly, who was in command of 15,000 Russians. Bertrand's division dispersed and took refuge in the neutral territory of Bohemia; thus the bulk of the 20,000 Italians escaped.

**Krasnoi, Battle of (Moscow Campaign).**—During the disastrous retreat from Moscow the Russian advance-guard endeavoured, on 19 Nov. 1812, to head off the French column. N. decided to halt for a day to let his troops close up, then attacked the enemy and managed to clear the way, at the cost, however, of leaving Ney and the rear-guard to their fate. Ney, by an heroic and daring night march, accompanied by terrific losses, succeeded in rejoining the main body, but with only 800 out of his 6,000 men.

**Kulm, Battle of (Leipsic Campaign).**—On 29 Aug. 1813, after the French victory at Dresden (*q.v.*), the Austrians and Russians under the Prince of Schwartzberg found it necessary to take up a position behind the village of Kulm, as their retreat was barred by a French corps under Vandamme. But disaster awaited the erstwhile victors: the Allies received reinforcements, and a corps under Kleist succeeded in taking the French in the rear. Vandamme and his men fought magnificently, but being greatly outnumbered were at last utterly defeated. They lost all their cannon, and a force of 40,000 was only survived by bands of exhausted stragglers.

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**Labédoyère, Charles Angelique François Huchet (1786-1815).**—Was born at Paris on 17 April 1786; descended from an old Breton family. He entered the army, and became aide-de-camp to Marshal Lannes and subsequently to Eugène de Beaubarnais. In 1811 he commanded a battalion, and in 1812 was promoted colonel by N. During the retreat from Moscow, as well as at Lützen, Bautzen, and Kolberg, his courage and valour were

conspicuous, and he was made general of brigade.

After the first abdication he remained in Paris, but though still retaining his position in the army made no secret of his Imperialist sympathies. His handsome appearance and frank and boyish manner made him a great favourite, and many were the attempts made by the royalist ladies to convert him to the Bourbon cause. Together with Charles de Flahault, his cousin, he was the leader of the young and ardent group of Bonapartists who gathered about Queen Hortense. They publicly discarded wearing the Cross of the Legion of Honour on account of the base uses to which it was put by the Bourbons.

On N.'s return from Elba, Labédoyère, then stationed at Grenoble as colonel of the seventh of the line, went over to his former master, together with his men. At Waterloo it was he who carried many of N.'s orders during the battle, and when all was over he was one of the last officers to leave the ghastly scene. Back in the capital, he championed the fallen Emperor's cause and that of Napoleon II. In the Upper Chamber he scathingly reminded its members—all of them, for interested motives, ranged openly or secretly against their former ruler—of their oaths of fidelity so recently taken.

"Shall we never hear anything other than perjuries in this place?" he said in his indignation.

This courage was to cost him dear, a fact of which he seems to have had some premonition, for, dining one evening at the house of Queen Hortense, it was noticed that thirteen guests were present. Overhearing a comment upon this, Labédoyère laughingly bade the rest be easy, for, by the way things were shaping, it would be his name that would be missing from the roll-call a year later. His cousin, Flahault, at once crossed the frontiers, but Labédoyère, anxious for his wife and child, delayed his departure from Paris, and was arrested. He fell a victim to royalist hatred and vindictiveness, the Duchesse d'Angoulême (*q.v.*) being foremost in

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the ranks of those who howled for blood. Labédoyère was tried summarily by court-martial, and shot on the plain of Grenelle on 19 Aug. 1815.

**La Favorita.**—The battle which is known by this name took place on 16 Jan. 1797 during the Rivoli campaign and shortly before the capitulation of Mantua. It was fought on the road leading to a country seat of the Dukes of Mantua, La Favorita, between the French under Sérurier and the Austrians under Provera. The latter had to surrender his entire force and equipment.

**Lafayette, Marie Paul Motier, Marquis de (1757-1834).**—Was the son of an officer who fell at Minden a few months before Lafayette was born. His mother died while he was yet an infant. He inherited a large fortune, and when only seventeen contracted a marriage with an heiress, Mlle. de Novilles. When but twenty years of age, and regardless of brilliant offers of promotion at court, he fitted out a ship at his own expense and proffered his services to Washington in aid of American independence. These were accepted, and for two years he fought in the War of Secession, was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine, and in the retreat of Barren Hill evinced great courage and tactical skill. Hearing of the possibility of an outbreak of war between Great Britain and France, he returned to his native country. During his visit he persuaded Louis XVI. to send out 4,000 men under his command and that of Count Rochambeau to the assistance of Washington; and to this reinforcement much of the final success of the American arms was due. Lafayette defended Virginia against Lord Cornwallis, whom he forced to capitulate at York Town. He returned to France in 1785 when only twenty-eight years of age with a glorious reputation, and was elected member of the states-general for Auvergne. He was subsequently elected vice-president of the Assembly, was in Paris during the taking of the Bastille, and made every effort to produce a tone of greater moderation in the revolutionary party. When the mob

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attacked Versailles he succeeded in rescuing the lives of the royal family, and during their terrible drive to Paris he rode the whole way by the side of their carriage for the purpose of protecting them. He was suspected of having assisted their flight to Varennes, and after this incident his popularity waned considerably. He was placed in command of the army on the frontier, and by his organizing skill succeeded in infusing into it some kind of order and discipline; but he reported unfavourably of the Jacobin Club, was deprived of his command and forced to fly from France. He was arrested in Austria and imprisoned for five years at Olmütz, where he was joined by his wife and daughters, who had escaped from the dungeons of Robespierre after fifteen months' captivity. On his release the Directorate refused permission for him to return to France, but he re-entered his native land after 18 Brumaire, when he was received with favour by N., who made him a counsellor, and offered him the position of senator. He voted against N.'s appointment to the life consulate and as emperor, and retired from public life until after the Hundred Days, when he took part in the provisional government which directed affairs until the Allies re-entered Paris. The government of the Restoration showed him little favour, for his opinions were too liberal, and he was suspected of republicanism. In 1824 he returned to the United States, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Its government voted him in land and money a sum equivalent to £30,000, and he was the hero of the hour. Returning to France, he took a leading part in the revolution of 1830, and greatly assisted Louis Philippe in obtaining the crown, as he regarded the constitutional monarchy as the best of republics. He died in 1834 at the age of seventy-seven.

**La Fère Champenoise, Battle of.**—On 25 March 1814, during the Allies' advance on Paris, the Russian and Austrian horse utterly defeated Marmont's and Mortier's corps near the village of La Fère Champenoise, taking 2,500 prisoners and fifty guns.

**Laharpe, Frederic Cesar (1754-1838).**—Swiss politician; born at Rolle, in the canton of Vaud, Switzerland. He became president of the Helvetia Republic in 1798, and held this office for two years. As tutor to Alexander I. of Russia he was known as the Swiss Laharpe; and he was instrumental in biasing the opinions of his royal pupil to such an extent that, throughout his reign, Alexander had leanings to the idealistic side of philanthropy. Laharpe was also able to be of service to his country by interesting the Tsar in Swiss institutions, and at the Congress of Vienna he represented Tessin and Vaud. He wrote *Reflexions on the True Nature of the Consulship for Life*, which showed N. as a tyrant, and was the outcome of Laharpe's recent visit to Paris. During his whole life he exercised a restraining influence on Alexander I., who in his turn became as powerful as his hostile neighbour the Emperor of France. Laharpe died at Lausanne in 1838.

**Lannes, Jean, Duc de Montebello (1769-1809).**—One of N.'s most celebrated marshals, to whom he was greatly attached. Born at Lectoure (Gers), the son of a stable-keeper, he had few opportunities for education. He was destined for a civil life, but on the outbreak of the Spanish War he joined a battalion of volunteers at Gers, and in 1792 he became sergeant-major of a division. Subsequently he distinguished himself and was promoted *chef de brigade*, but lost his position in 1795, when in Thermidor the army was reorganized. On the declaration of war with Italy he re-enlisted as a private in the reserve, and this time came under the direct notice of N., who promoted him general of brigade. He accompanied N. to Egypt, and fought with distinction in several campaigns, exhibiting marked strategic ability during the retreat from Syria. He rendered signal service to N. on 18 Brumaire, and became commandant of the consular guard. In 1800, thanks to Lannes's initiative and the cool, collected manner in which he carried out his instructions, the battles of Montebello and

Marengo became French victories. He was created Duc de Montebello a few years later. The following year N. sent him on a diplomatic mission to Portugal, but this is the only occasion on which he was so employed. Created a marshal of France on the establishment of the Empire, he commanded the left of the *grande armée* at Austerlitz. His division was stationed on a rugged eminence, and constituted one of the seven corps of the reserve of the imperial guard. N. entrusted Lannes and Murat with the defence of this position, and a brilliant cavalry charge was directed from this point which severed the enemy's line. Lannes also served in the striking campaign of 1806 at Saalfeld and at Jena; and his vigorous and able conduct at Friedland was only surpassed by his further conspicuous command at Tudela in the Spanish campaign. In 1809 he took possession of Saragossa, which he captured after a famous defence. It was at this time that he was created Duc de Montebello and given supreme command of the advance-guard. He was enabled to render service in the Austrian War, and led the French across the Danube, a task requiring the utmost courage and resolution. On the field of Aspern-Essling he was mortally wounded, and as he was being carried through the zone of fire he was met by the Emperor, whose self-control utterly broke down even in the midst of battle at sight of the pitiful condition of his old comrade. Thus passed away a man of extraordinary courage and high principle for whom N. cherished a most profound affection.

**Laon, Battle of (Allied Invasion of France).**—After meeting with a repulse by N. at Craonne the Allied forces fell back on Laon, a town situated on a terraced hill. Blücher arranged his forces in and around the city, and on 9 March 1814 he was attacked by the French. After severe fighting the French met with partial successes in the suburbs, but were unable to make good their holding, and N. was obliged to retreat the following day on Soissons. The losses were fairly even on both sides, between five and six thousand men each.

**La Palud, Convention of.**—At the beginning of the Hundred Days the most serious royalist opposition which N. encountered was that of the Duc d'Angoulême, who, with a Provençal army of 10,000, purposed marching on Lyons. On the way he was twice victorious over small bands of imperialists, but was checked at Valance by the news that Grouchy was in his path, whereupon his volunteer army failed him. By the Convention of La Palud (8 April 1815) he and his officers were allowed to go free, while his troops, on laying down their arms, were to be pardoned.

**La Rothière.**—A battle of the Allied campaign in France, fought on 2 Feb. 1814. After some temporary success at Brienne, N., with about 40,000 French, drew his line with its centre at La Rothière, to which village his troops clung obstinately, although attacked by greatly superior numbers. N. was, however, eventually forced to retreat across the Aube after a sanguinary battle lasting two days. Each side lost about five thousand killed and wounded.

**Larrey, Jean Dominique, Baron (1766-1842).**—French surgeon; born at Beaudéan, near Bagnères-de-Bigorre. He entered the navy and served his apprenticeship at Toulouse, and there began studying surgery under his uncle, Alexis Larrey, chief surgeon of the hospital. In 1787 Larrey proceeded to Paris, and there was made auxiliary-surgeon to the royal marine. A little later he embarked on *La Vigilante* as major-surgeon to the expedition to South America. On his return to Paris he again resumed his medical studies, and became second surgeon to the institution where Sabatier was chief. In 1792 he joined the army of the Rhine, and there invented the "flying ambulance." He was next placed in charge of the military hospitals of Toulon, Antibes, and Nice, and in that of the first named he founded a school of surgery and anatomy. After going through several campaigns he became professor at the School of Medicine and Military Surgery at Val-de-Grâce at Paris. He was then called upon by N. to accompany him to Italy (1796). At Frioul he checked an

epidemic, and was decorated by N. Egypt was his next destination, and there he superintended the wounded under Desgenettes, and was later wounded at St. Jean d'Acre while attending to the fallen soldiers; at Alexandria he killed all his horses to supply his patients with food, stores having run low. On his return to Paris he became chief surgeon of the consular guard; in 1804 officer of the Legion of Honour; in 1805 chief surgeon of the imperial guard. He was indefatigable in his labours throughout the campaigns in Germany, Prussia and Spain. At Eylau the intense cold made his work hazardous and difficult, but he carried it through with great bravery; and in Spain, while attending the French and English troops, he fell a victim to typhus. At Wagram, for his valour and devotion, he was created baron and received an endowment, and a little later a pension of 3,000 francs, which in 1814 was withdrawn by the Bourbons for some time, though eventually restored. In 1812 Larrey was made chief surgeon of the *grande armée* by special decree, and throughout the Russian campaign displayed remarkable courage and devotion, often operating in the open air. At Waterloo he was made a prisoner after being wounded. N. speaks of "the virtuous Larrey" as the "soldiers' friend," and left him a large bequest in his will, always having held him in the greatest esteem. At the Restoration Larrey was appointed chief surgeon to the *Gardes Royales*, and was one of the first members of the Academy of Medicine. He wrote on army surgery and the treatment of wounds, and was in charge of the medical section of the work containing the scientific results of the Egyptian expedition. Baron Larrey died at Lyons in 1842, and a statue to him stands in front of the church of La Val-de-Grâce, Paris.

**Lasalle, Antoine Chevalier Louis Collinet, Comte (1775-1809).**—Entered the French Army at the age of eleven, and three years later was a lieutenant. During the Revolution he enlisted in the ranks, and by 1795 had regained the commission he had lost on account of his aristocracy by

sheer bravery and quality of leadership. He distinguished himself as a staff officer with the army of Italy. He accompanied N. to Egypt, and there saved Davout's life in action. In 1800 he was promoted colonel, and in the campaign of the same year had two horses killed under him and broke seven swords. He served at Austerlitz as general of brigade, leading the light cavalry, while in 1806, after Jena, he captured the fortress of Stettin, though only supported by a force of 600 hussars and not a single piece of artillery. For this feat of arms he was made general of division; he served in the Polish campaign, and saved Murat's life at Heilsberg. On the outbreak of the Peninsular War Lasalle commanded one of the cavalry divisions, and in several battles distinguished himself, such was the vigour of his attack. One of the cavalry divisions of the *grande armée* was entrusted to Lasalle by N., and in the Austrian campaign he again distinguished himself, but at Wagram he was killed at the head of his men. Not only was Lasalle an almost perfect cavalry commander, but he possessed to a great degree the talents and instincts of a great leader. In 1891 his remains were brought from Austria to the Invalides, while in 1893 a statue to him was erected at Lunéville.

**Las Cases, Emmanuel Auguste Dieudonné, Marquis de (1766-1842).**

—Was born at the château of Las Cases, near Revel, Languedoc, in 1766. He was educated at the military school in Paris, and at the age of sixteen he left it to join the navy (1782), becoming a lieutenant in 1789. He saw service in the West Indies, and spent some years at San Domingo. At the outbreak of the French Revolution, owing to his connexion with the old nobility, he emigrated, taking refuge in England in 1792. He supported himself in London by giving lessons and writing under the name of Le Sage. In 1799 he published his *Atlas Historique et Généalogique*, which met with considerable success. Returning to France during the Consulate, he vainly tried to procure employment, and it was not until 1809 that he attracted the notice of N., who

appointed him his chamberlain, while in the following year he was created a count of the empire. N. soon discovered his good qualities, while Las Cases on his part gave his loyal adherence to the Emperor, who accordingly entrusted him with many important offices of state. During the first Restoration he was appointed a councillor of state, but in this capacity he refused to sign any document for depriving N. of the throne. He returned to the Emperor's side during the Hundred Days, and after Waterloo accompanied him to Rochefort, while he acted as N.'s mouthpiece in the negotiations on board the *Bellerophon*. It appears somewhat doubtful as to whether it was his genuine wish to accompany N. to St. Helena, as many suppose to have been the case, or that circumstances made it impossible for him to withdraw. Evidence seems to support the latter view. During his exile Las Cases compiled his *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*, which is a record of N.'s conversations, including his various opinions, during the first months of his captivity. In Nov. 1816 Las Cases was arrested, on account of a letter in which he had criticized N.'s treatment by the governor in too strong terms, and was transported to the Cape, where he was for some time confined, later being transferred to Frankfurt. On N.'s death he was permitted to return to France, and in 1831 he was elected to the chamber of deputies for St. Denis. He died at Passy-sur-Seine on 15 May 1842.

*Memoirs.* — "Circumstances, the most extraordinary," says Las Cases, "have long kept me near the most extraordinary man that ever existed." He continues: "I collected and recorded day by day all that I saw of N., all that I heard him say during the period of eighteen months in which I was constantly about his person." The work is therefore a species of diary, relating to the life of N. after his surrender. It is, of course, impossible to give in this place anything like a full summary of all the conversations that Las Cases had with the Emperor. It can only be by passages selected from a work which reviews

the whole of N.'s political and personal career that we can come to the heart of these Memoirs. One of the first conversations at St. Helena that Las Cases had with the Emperor turned upon the subject of the Council of State :

"'The Council of State,' said the Emperor, 'was generally composed of well-informed, skilful and honest men. Fermont and Boulay, for example, were certainly of this class. Notwithstanding the immense law suits which they conducted, and the vast emoluments they enjoyed, I should not be surprised to learn that they are not now in very flourishing circumstances.' The Emperor employed the Councillors of State individually in every case, and with advantage. As a whole, they were his real council—his mind in deliberation, as the ministers were his mind in execution. At the Council of State were prepared the laws which the Emperor presented to the legislative body, a circumstance which rendered it altogether one of the elements of the legislative power. In the Council the Emperor's decrees and his rules of public administration were drawn up; and there the plans of his ministers were examined, discussed and corrected."

Las Cases says: "Contrary to the general opinion, in which I myself once participated, the Emperor is far from possessing a strong constitution. His limbs are large, but his fibres are relaxed. With a very expanded chest, he is constantly labouring under the effects of cold. His body is subject to the influence of the slightest accidents. The smell of paint is sufficient to make him ill; certain dishes, or the slightest degree of damp, immediately take a severe effect on him. His body is far from being a body of iron, as is generally supposed: all his strength is in his mind. His prodigious exertions abroad and his incessant labours at home are known to everyone. No sovereign ever underwent so much bodily fatigue. The most remarkable instance of the Emperor's activity and exertion was his riding post from Valladolid to Burgos (a distance of thirty-five Spanish leagues) in five hours and a

half—that is to say, upwards of seven leagues an hour."

An interesting ride through the valley with the Emperor is described by Las Cases: "After breakfast he directed me to ride out with him on horseback. We rode along by the side of the gum trees, beyond the confines of Longwood, and then attempted to descend into a very steep and deeply furrowed valley, whose sides were covered with sand and loose stones, interspersed with brambles. We were obliged to dismount. The Emperor desired General Gourgaud to turn off to one side with the horses and the two grooms who accompanied us, and insisted on continuing his journey on foot, amidst the difficulties which surrounded us. I gave him my arm, and, with a great deal of trouble, we succeeded in clambering over the ridges. The Emperor lamented the loss of his youthful agility, and accused me of being more active than himself. He thought that there was a greater difference in this respect than the trifling disproportion of our ages would justify. I told him that the pleasure of serving him made me forget my age. As we were going along he observed that anyone who could have seen us at that time would recognize without difficulty the restlessness and impatience of the French character. 'In fact,' said he, 'none but Frenchmen would ever think of doing what we are now about.'"

N. delighted in criticizing the characteristics of his generals, their feats of arms and behaviour on the field. In this way he spoke of Lannes, Duroc, Corbineau, and, in fact, from time to time of practically every marshal or general who had served him. On learning of the execution of Marshal Ney the Emperor alluded to him as a "martyr." He said that he had been ill-attacked and as ill-defended. His opinions of many of the celebrated men with whom he had mingled, Metternich, Bassano, Cambacérès, Fouché, Talleyrand, are scattered throughout these Memoirs in such a manner as to defy collection. "Talleyrand," said the Emperor, "was always in a state of treason, but it was in partnership with fortune.

His circumspection was extreme; he treated his friends as if they might in future become his enemies, and he behaved to his enemies as if they might some time or other become his friends. M. de Talleyrand had always been, in my opinion, hostile to the Faubourg St. Germain. In the affair of the divorce he was for the Empress Josephine. It was he who urged the war with Spain, though in public he had the art to appear averse to it." Thus it was from a kind of spite that N. made choice of Valençay as the residence of Ferdinand. "In short," said the Emperor, "Talleyrand was the principal instrument and the active cause of the death of the Duc d'Enghien."

"Fouché," said N., "was the Talleyrand of the clubs and Talleyrand was the Fouché of the drawing-rooms. Intrigue was to Fouché a necessary of life, but intrigue at all times, in all places, in all ways, and with all persons. Nothing ever came to light but he was found to have a hand in it. He made it his sole business to look out for something that he might be meddling with."

In a work which deals with world events as most memoirs deal with domestic and social affairs, it is exceedingly difficult to pick out the salient facts. Speaking of the origins of the war with Russia, N. said: "No events are trifling with regard to nations and sovereigns, for it is such that govern their destinies. For some time a misunderstanding had sprung up between France and Russia. France reproached Russia with the violation of the Continental System, and Russia required an indemnification for the Duke of Oldenburg, and raised other pretensions. Russian troops were approaching the Duchy of Warsaw, and a French army was forming in the north of Germany. Yet we were far from being determined on war, when, all of a sudden, a new Russian army commenced its march towards the duchy; and, as an ultimatum, an insolent note was presented at Paris by the Russian ambassador, who, in the event of its non-acceptance, threatened to quit Paris in eight days. I considered this as a declaration of war. It was long

since I had been accustomed to this sort of tone. I was not in the habit of allowing myself to be anticipated. I could march to Russia at the head of the rest of Europe; the enterprise was popular; the cause was one which interested Europe. It was the last effort that remained to France. Her fate, and that of the new European system, depended on the struggle. Russia was the last resource of England. The peace of the whole world rested with Russia. The event could not be doubtful. I commenced my march, but when I reached the frontier I, to whom Russia had declared war by withdrawing her ambassador, still considered it my duty to send mine (Lauriston) to the Emperor Alexander at Wilna: he was rejected, and the war commenced!"

Occasionally, too, N. spoke of his family. Of his mother and his sister Pauline he said: "Pauline was too careless and extravagant. She might have been immensely rich, considering all that I gave her, but she gave all away in her turn. Her mother frequently lectured her on this subject, and told her that she would die in a hospital. Madame, however, carried her parsimony to a most ridiculous extreme. I offered to furnish her with a very considerable monthly income on condition that she would spend it. She, on the other hand, was very willing to receive the money provided she were permitted to hoard it up. This arose not so much from covetousness as excess of foresight; all her fear was that she might one day be reduced to beggary."

Regarding Joseph, he said: "His qualities are only suited to private life. In the discharge of the high duties which I confided to him he did the best he could. His intentions were good, and therefore the principal fault rested not so much with him as with me who raised him above his proper sphere."

The burning of Moscow, according to N., was not the act of the population thereof. He said: "The people were far from having plotted that atrocity. Even they themselves delivered up to us three or four hundred criminals who had escaped from prison and

fired the town." "But, Sire, may I presume to ask," said Las Cases, "if Moscow had not been burnt, did not your Majesty intend to establish your quarters there?" "Certainly," answered the Emperor, "and I should then have presented the singular spectacle of an army wintering in the midst of a hostile nation that was pressing upon it from all points; it would have been the ship beset by the ice."

Speaking of the Waterloo campaign at great length after breakfast one morning, he said that the situation of France was critical but not desperate after the Battle of Waterloo, when every preparatory measure had been taken on the supposition of the failure of the attack upon Belgium. Paris had had twenty-five days to prepare itself for defence, and the mass of the Russian and Austrian Armies could not take the field before a later period. Neither arms, nor ammunition, nor officers were wanting in the capital; the number of sharpshooters might be easily augmented to 80,000, and the field artillery could be increased to 600 pieces.

Throughout the pages which deal with the Hundred Days Las Cases strongly supports the Napoleonic view of affairs. To him the Emperor said: "But in the situation in which I was placed, the circumstance which served to fill up the measure of my distress was that I beheld the decisive hour gradually approach. The star paled; I felt the reins slip from my hands, and yet I could do nothing. Only a sudden turn of fortune could save us: to treat, to conclude any compact, would have been to yield like a fool to the enemy. I was convinced of this, and the event sufficiently proved that I was not mistaken. We had, therefore, no alternative but to fight; and every day, by some fatality or other, our chances diminished. Treason began to penetrate into our ranks. Great numbers of our troops sank under the effects of fatigue and discouragement. My lieutenants became dispirited, and consequently unfortunate. They were no longer the same men who figured at the commencement of the Revolution, or who had distinguished themselves in the

brilliant moments of my success. I have been informed that some presume to allege, in their defence, that at first they fought for the Republic and for their country, while afterwards they fought only for a single man, for his individual interests and his ambition."

It is impossible in this place to follow these Memoirs farther, as the history with which they deal is the history of France during nearly twenty years. The care with which they have been prepared is manifest, and, indeed, is witnessed to by the great vogue they have enjoyed since their original publication.

**Latouche-Tréville, Louis Réne Madeleine Le Vassor de (1745-1804).**—French admiral; was born at Rochefort, and served in the American War. Later he was a deputy to the United States, and was subsequently dispatched by the Directory with a squadron against Naples. He was in command at Boulogne when Nelson made his unsuccessful attack with gunboats in 1801, and three years later was appointed to the Mediterranean squadron. About this time a letter, in which the French admiral bragged of having made Nelson "run," fell into the hands of the latter, who vowed that he would make the writer eat it if they ever met! Latouche-Tréville died at Toulon, owing, according to popular report, to his constant exertions in walking to the summit of a hill whence he could see the British fleet.

**Latour d'Auvergne, Théophile Malo Corret de (1743-1800).**—Named by N. "the first grenadier of France"; was born at Carhaix, in Brittany, on 23 Dec. 1743, the son of an advocate named Corret. From the first he desired a military career, and in 1767, by means of a certificate of nobility signed by his friends, he was nominally enlisted in the *Maison du Roi*, afterwards being commissioned in a line regiment under the name of Corret de Kerbaufret. He was descended from an illegitimate half-brother of Turenne, and in 1771 he assumed the surname of Latour d'Auvergne by permission of the Duc de Bouillon. In 1781 he volunteered for service in the Duc de Crillon's Franco-Spanish ex-



pedition to Minorca, and for his signal bravery in action was made an offer of promotion into the Army of Spain, but this he refused, as it necessitated changing his allegiance. In 1784 he was created captain, and in 1791 received the Cross of St. Louis. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was attached to the Augonnois regiment, and refused to emigrate, as did many of his brother officers, rather than swear to the Constitution, Latour remaining in France from patriotic motives. Apart from military affairs, he took a great interest in coins and medals, also in the question of languages, and in 1792 he published a work on the people of Brittany. That same year he served under Montesquiou in the Alps (1792) and in the Pyrenees (1793), again with singular courage and bravery. He was offered promotion, which, however, he declined. His health now broke down owing to his having to live on nothing but milk, a dietary necessitated by the loss of his teeth. In consideration of this he left the army in 1795, and returned to Brittany by sea, during which voyage he was captured by the English and kept prisoner for two years. Regaining his freedom, he settled at Passy, and published his work *Origines Gauloises*. His quixotic character is well indicated in the next incident. An old friend was in great grief because his only son had been taken as a conscript. He made an appeal to Latour d'Auvergne, who thereupon rejoined the army as a substitute for the son of his friend. In 1797 he served on the Rhine, and in 1797-99 in Switzerland with the rank of captain. His record of unexampled courage and his rare modesty now came before the notice of N., who, by a decree of 27 April 1800, named Latour d'Auvergne "the premier grenadier of France." In his gratitude at such a mark of esteem and honour Latour again volunteered, and met his death on the battlefield at Oberhausen on 27 June 1800.

The almost fabulous valour and the personality of this "son of Brittany" had obtained a marvellous hold over the affections of the French soldiery. When French troops and their allies

of the Rhine confederation passed his grave on the battlefield they never failed to march past at attention. His heart had been embalmed, and for many years remained in the possession of the grenadier company of his regiment, the 46th. By strange chances it passed into the keeping of Garibaldi, but in 1883 was given to the city of Paris. To this very day his memory is kept alive, and the same tribute rendered to his memory as it was in 1800 by the order of N. "The name of Latour d'Auvergne is to remain on the pay list and roll of his company. It will be called at all parades, and a non-commissioned officer will reply: 'Mort au champ d'honneur.'" Whenever the colours are taken on parade the 46th regiment still pay this honour to the name of "the first grenadier of France."

**Lauriston, Jacques Alexandre Bernard Law, Marquis de (1768-1828).**—Soldier and diplomat; the son of a French general; born at Pondicherry. He entered the artillery in 1786, and served on the staff in the Revolutionary campaigns, reaching the rank of brigadier of artillery in 1795. The next year he resigned his commission, but re-entered the service in 1800 as an aide-de-camp to N., whose personal friend he had been in early life. Shortly after this he became director of the artillery school at La Fère, and from that post was sent as envoy to Denmark. He also conveyed to England the ratification of the Peace of Amiens in 1802. In 1805 he was promoted general of division, and took part in the Austrian War. In 1807 he became governor-general of France, and took part in the negotiations at Erfurt in 1808, and became a count. He accompanied the Emperor to Spain in 1808-9, and held commands under the viceroy, Eugène Beauharnais, in the Italian campaign and the invasion of Austria in the same year. He was in charge of the artillery at Wagram, and arranged the "preparation by artillery" which had such decisive effect in that struggle. In 1811 he was sent to Russia as ambassador, held a command in the army which invaded Russia in 1812, and did good service in covering the retreat

from Moscow. He commanded the 5th army corps in the campaign of Lützen and Bautzen, and in the autumn campaign the 5th and 11th corps. Being taken prisoner by the enemy in the retreat from Leipsic, he remained a captive until the fall of the Emperor. He joined Louis XVIII., to whom he remained faithful during the Hundred Days. For this he was rewarded with a seat in the house of peers and a command in the royal guard. In 1817 he was created a marquis, and in 1823 marshal of France. During the Spanish War he besieged and took the town of Pampluna. He died at Paris on 12 June 1828.

**Lavalette, Antoine Marie Chamans, Comte de (1769-1830).**—Was born in Paris in 1769, the same year as his friend N. His father was a tradesman, who, however, gave his son an excellent education at the Harcourt College. Being of a studious turn of mind, Lavalette acquiesced in his parents' desire that he should devote himself to the Church, and, taking holy orders, became under-librarian at Ste. Geneviève. The outbreak of the Revolution, however, unsettled his arrangements and aroused his interest and ambitions. He entered the National Militia, which Lafayette organized for the defence of king and country. Though royalist in sympathies, he was gradually alienated by the obstinacy of Louis XVI. and his brother the Comte de Provence (later Louis XVIII.) in the affair Favras, which aroused his indignation. In 1792 he signed the royalist petition of the ten thousand, but after 10 Aug. he enlisted in the Legion of the Alps and so joined the Army of the Rhine, and served with great distinction throughout the campaign, being at first adjutant of engineers and afterwards aide-de-camp to General Baraguay d'Hilliers. After the Vendéan War Lavalette, like his general, d'Hilliers, joined the Army of Italy, attracted thereto by the fame of Bonaparte. It was Lavalette's bravery that first brought him to the notice of N., and on the field of Arcola he received the title of aide-de-camp and the rank of captain. He was entrusted with

the dangerous Tyrol mission, and was wounded, and again publicly complimented by Bonaparte, who was not long in discovering the many excellent qualities which Lavalette possessed besides courage: "solid information, a scrutinizing mind, wonderful sagacity, prudence, and perfect good breeding." The confidence his new chief reposed in him is shown by the fact that it was Lavalette whom he chose to send to Paris to observe and report upon the political movements and developments in the capital. Though young, inexperienced and unknown, he justified Bonaparte's trust by the remarkable prudence which he displayed amid the dangers and intrigues of political life. By frequenting all the social circles and cliques and connecting himself with none he was able to discover the real aims of each, despite the different disguises they all adopted. Disapproving of the behaviour and acts of Barras, Lavalette took the step of refusing to him the monies Bonaparte had promised Barras out of the funds of the Army of Italy, a step which N. fully approved when he knew of the reasons. For Lavalette, however, the immediate effects were to rouse the fury of the Directory against himself and the "brutal anger of Augereau." Thus threatened, Lavalette proceeded to rejoin his chief, which he did at the castle of Passeriano. A few days afterwards he was deputed to humble and chastise Genoa, which had insulted the French, a mission which he carried out most thoroughly. After the Peace of Campo Formio he accompanied Bonaparte through Switzerland, but was left at Rastadt by the latter, entrusted with secret powers, to watch the negotiations between the Directory and the German representatives. In a few months he was recalled by Bonaparte, who there and then married Lavalette to Emilie de Beauharnais, a niece of Josephine. The marriage proved most happy, and a description of the hurried wooing is to be found in the Memoirs of Lavalette. Very soon after his wedding he was called upon to accompany Bonaparte on the Egyptian campaign as his aide-de-camp. He was his close companion throughout

the whole period, and has left on record intensely interesting accounts of both general, officers, and incidents. On Bonaparte's return to France, Lavalette accompanied him, and proved useful in the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire (Nov. 1799). Soon afterwards he was sent to Dresden with full powers to treat with Austria, but peace being concluded by Moreau, the chief negotiator, he returned to Paris. Bonaparte, now First Consul, knowing well the sterling qualities of Lavalette, distinguished him among the first of his followers by making him commissioner-general of the post office. On the proclamation of the Empire he was styled postmaster-general, and a little later count, councillor of state, and grand officer of the Legion of Honour. Lavalette carried out his duties, arduous and delicate as they were, in an exemplary manner. In 1814, when the Emperor was at Elba, Lavalette retired into private life, but on N.'s return he was at once recalled and offered the ministry of the home department. He, however, preferred to resume the postmaster-generalship, in which capacity he showed much clemency to suspected persons in the department. During the Hundred Days he was much with the Emperor, both in his councils and private life. After Waterloo Lavalette, trusting in the terms of the treaty, remained in Paris, but the vindictiveness of Louis XVIII., and especially his niece, the Duchesse d'Angoulême, demanded a victim from the civil ministers of N. as well as from his officers, as Marshal Ney. Lavalette was the chosen one. He was arrested, and after a tedious trial was sentenced to death as an accomplice in the conspiracy which had brought about N.'s return from Elba. Despite the efforts of influential people, no mercy could be obtained, Mme. Lavalette being slighted when she would have pleaded with Louis and the Duchesse d'Angoulême. At last Mme. Lavalette, seeing such means were hopeless, concocted plans for the escape of her husband, and, with the help of M. Bandus, the plan was successful. Lavalette was concealed in the rooms of M. Bresson in the hotel of the

minister for foreign affairs, and was thus saved from the rigorous search of Paris by the authorities. He stayed there for many days, and at last three Englishmen, admirers of Lavalette, undertook to convey him safely out of France. The foremost of these three was General Sir Robert Wilson; the others were Mr. Michael Bruce and Mr. Hutchinson. In the uniform of a British officer and under the name of Col. Losack, with Wilson for a travelling companion, Lavalette reached Belgium and finally Bavaria, the King of that country refusing to accede to the demands of the French Government to deliver Lavalette into their hands. They, however, succeeded in imprisoning for three months Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Hutchinson for their humane behaviour. An unpleasant feature is the fact that the Prince Regent acquiesced in this treatment of these Englishmen. Las Cases records with what great joy N. received the news of Lavalette's escape.

In 1822 Louis XVIII. granted letters of pardon to Lavalette, but his return to France was saddened by the condition of his wife, who did not recognize him, she having lost her reason after the strain of those terrible hours of anxiety spent in planning his escape and the treatment she had received when the authorities discovered her in prison in the place of her husband. Henceforth her husband devoted his life to her, and was repaid, for she at length regained her reason. In 1826 Lavalette was in London supporting Sir Robert Wilson, his heroic rescuer, in his parliamentary candidature in the borough of Southwark. He died in 1830, surrounded by family and friends, and kept unsullied to the last a spotless reputation and a character of peculiar uprightness and loyalty.

*Memoirs.*—The first eight chapters of these *Memoirs* are occupied with the author's personal reminiscences of the Revolution. With the ninth chapter we enter upon that part of the work which deals with N. Lavalette's introduction to him is dramatic. Barras, he says, having been a commissioner of the Convention with the southern army in 1783, had remarked a young officer of artillery whose courage and

advice had great influence on the retaking of Toulon. This artillery officer laughed both at scruples and resolutions of most of the statesmen and politicians of his day, and demonstrated to his companions that the Parisians were nothing but fools led on by cunning rogues. "His firmness, his eloquence, his consciousness of great superiority, which his countenance does betray, inspired confidence and carried persuasion into the minds of everyone. This young man's name was Bonaparte." After describing the events of 13 Vendémiaire, Lavalette proceeds to deal with the days of the Directory, the marriage of General Bonaparte with Josephine Beauharnais, his departure for Italy, the pacification of La Vendée, and his own dispatch to the Italian peninsula, where, on his arrival at Milan, he was appointed aide-de-camp to the general-in-chief. Confining ourselves to such parts of the work as deal with the character and exploits of N., we find these Memoirs valuable for their intimate account of the Italian, Egyptian and Russian campaigns. But here and there they touch on more private affairs. There is a good chapter on the divorce of Josephine, and towards the end the autobiography is almost purely personal, describing as it does the imprisonment and adventures of Lavalette himself.

In that portion of the book which deals with the Italian campaign the personality of the various commanders is treated in a series of paragraph pen-pictures, which greatly assist us in our comprehension of the several paladins who wielded their swords under Bonaparte in the north of Italy. Nor is political matter wanting, if it is tersely described, for here and there the great questions of the day are touched upon, and the political international affairs which made the campaign essential are clearly and briefly stated.

The short paragraphs which deal with personalities are illuminating if outspoken. For example, the author, dealing with Marmont, says: "Marmont, a colonel of artillery, was also born in Burgundy, of an ancient and respectable family in that province.

His education had been particularly well attended to, and he had entered very young into the army. The principal features of his character were at that time an unbounded passion for glory and ambition, and an attachment to his general that amounted to enthusiasm."

A mission to Tyrol followed, which was not without its dangers. It ended in a small action in which the French lost twenty-five men killed and wounded and three officers. But Lavalette's report of the affair was well received, although N. blamed him for having penetrated so far into the country without sufficient support. The truce between the Austrians and French is described, and the cession of Venice to Austria. The Directory and its membership are cleverly pictured, and the political machinations which proceeded from the domicile of Barras, to whose *salon* Lavalette was a constant visitor. The motives which impelled the expedition to Egypt are outlined. The condition of Egypt, the commanders and personalities who took part in the Egyptian campaign, and the engagements which composed it, occupy from the sixteenth to the twenty-first chapters inclusive. N.'s welcome at Paris, the conspiracy to overthrow the Directory, the constitution of the Third Year, and the tri-consulate are sketched. The conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, and the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien are touched upon.

The passage which relates to the murder of the Duc d'Enghien is interesting because of the almost novel theory advanced by the author for its reason. After stating that the visits of the duc to the left bank of the Rhine had given cause for uneasiness in Paris during the season of the Pichegru conspiracies, Lavalette goes on to say: "Another motive, perhaps the most peremptory, must be sought for in Bonaparte's character—impetuosity and love of revenge, which might be called *vendetta Corsica*. That feeling was, besides, at the period I am describing, raised to the highest degree by his enemies. I heard him say a few days afterwards: 'Let them throw all Europe on my shoulders; my part

will then be to defend myself; their attack is a legal one. But to blow up whole streets, to kill or maim more than one hundred persons in the hope of coming at me; to send, as they now have done, forty bravoos to murder me—that is too much. I will make them shed tears of blood. They shall learn at their expense what it is to make murder legal.”

The return of N. from Russia is a topic which is not dealt with by many of his memoirists and historians, and it is interesting to find a pretty full report of it in Lavalette's book. On arriving in Paris, whither he had posted in haste, N. found the public mind in considerable agitation. “He admitted everybody; showed severity towards some—intrepidity in presence of all. He explained the cause of the misfortune of the campaign, and without seeking to dissemble the fault that had been committed, he boldly claimed the support he wanted to begin the war anew, repel the enemy, and conclude a peace, of which he, more than anyone, felt the absolute necessity. His noble courage in wrestling with misfortune electrified the whole country. Three hundred thousand men were granted; the young came forward with courage, the old with firmness. Within a few months an army was raised, admirably brave, though still uninstructed, and the fields of Lützen and Bautzen witnessed fresh triumphs. The disasters of the campaign of Moscow had brought Russia and Austria to an understanding, and alarmed the powers of the second class. Peace was, however, proposed to the Emperor, but they had no longer to treat with the sovereign of the world. He began to feel that, after having been conquered by the elements, he would be so by man.” The conclusion of the campaign which ended in the deliverance of Prussia and the German States from N.'s rule is also well told, not without a touch of self-pride on the part of the author. “I think,” he writes, “I have already said in these *Memoirs* that whenever he was unfortunate he turned to me. I must not be proud of that circumstance. My attachment to his person was a duty. . . . The principal subject of

our conversation was the situation of France. I used to tell him, with a degree of frankness, the truth of which could alone make him pardon its rudeness, that France was fatigued to an excess; that it was quite impossible for her to bear much longer the burthen with which she was loaded, and that she would undoubtedly throw off the yoke and, according to custom, seek an alleviation to her sufferings in novelty, her favourite divinity. I said in particular a great deal of the Bourbons, who, I observed, would finally inherit his royal spoil if ever fortune laid him low. The mention of the Bourbons made him thoughtful, and he threw himself on his bed without uttering a word; but after a few minutes, having approached to know whether I might retire, I saw that he had fallen into a profound sleep.”

Lavalette's account of the campaign of 1814 and the abdication of N. differs very little from those of other writers. The departure of the Emperor from Elba, the residence of Josephine at Malmaison, the discontent of the army, are all graphically drawn, but unfortunately space forbids the extension of any of these topics. A visit of the Emperor Alexander to Josephine is a point of real interest. The Emperor was charmed with her, and considered that she greatly resembled the Empress Catherine. Prince Eugène chanced to be in Paris, and with him Alexander was so prepossessed that he promised to give him a German principality, the population of which should not be less than 60,000 inhabitants. Alexander, in a moment of effusion, said to Eugène: “I do not know whether I shall not one day repent having placed the Bourbons on the throne. Believe me, my dear Eugène, they are not good people. We have seen them in Russia, and I know from experience what to think of them.”

The death of Josephine is described. We are told how the Emperor Alexander brought her his own physician, and remained a whole day with her, and how she expired in the arms of one of her ladies of honour. This part of the *Memoirs*, in short, is rich in personal matter concerning what might

be called the post-Napoleonic days of Josephine and her family. The errors of the government, the discontent of the army, the conspiracy of Excelmans in which several marshals were implicated, the news of N.'s landing and the sensations produced by it, are described with a graphic pen, as is the aspect of the Tuileries on the arrival of the Emperor. Lavalette then proceeds to relate how he resumed his old service at the post office, and the great drama of the Hundred Days is unrolled in a few words. The return of N. to the Elysée after Waterloo is described in poignant words: "The next morning the Emperor arrived. I flew to the Elysée to see him. He ordered me into his closet, and as soon as he saw me he came to meet me with a frightful epileptic laugh. 'Oh, mon Dieu!' he said, raising his eyes to heaven and walking two or three times up and down the room. This appearance of despair was, however, very short: he soon recovered his coolness, and asked me what was going forward at the Chamber of Representatives." Lavalette's last conversations with his master are then described, as is the Emperor's departure and the arrest of the author.

The remainder of the *Memoirs* are entirely personal, but are perhaps the most fascinating part of the book, because of the circumstance of adventure which surrounds them. The work as a whole is among the most interesting and intimate of the memoirs of N., but the incidents are briefly described, and it can hardly be said that Lavalette wrote them with the pen of a statesman. They are, indeed, more of a summary of the times than anything else, and it is only when we come into contact with the master whom Lavalette adored that we find the author at all willing to be discursive, and even then he is sometimes disappointingly brief, especially at such moments as we would expect from him a generous wealth of detail.

**Lebrun, Charles François, Duke of Piacenza (1739-1824).**—French statesman and financier. A native of St. Sauveur Lendelin (Manche), Lebrun was born on 19 March 1739. His father, though of limited means,

gave him a very good education, and he visited several foreign countries with the view of perfecting himself in natural and civil law, in which branch of learning he was especially interested. Returning to France, he settled in Paris to follow the profession of a lawyer, later becoming confidential secretary and adviser to Maupeou, whose downfall in 1774 he shared. Lebrun then retired into the country, and devoted himself to literature and the upbringing of his family. In 1789 he reappeared in public life as the author of the *Voix du Citoyen*, a fair and unbiased work which predicted the course of the Revolution and suggested a liberal constitution as the only remedy. He was later elected deputy for Dourdain in the Constituent Assembly, in which he opposed the issue of paper money and the creation of lotteries, and brought forward several financial laws. In 1792 he successfully quelled riots which occurred in his department, but later he suffered imprisonment and narrowly escaped execution.

In 1799 Lebrun was nominated Third Consul by N.—partly, perhaps, because he was believed to be at heart a royalist, and N. may have hoped that his example would influence the undecided. He took a large share in the financial administration of France and proved most useful to the First Consul in his money transactions, thus establishing his reputation as one of the greatest financiers of his time. He also assisted in the drawing up of the *Code Napoléon*. Lebrun was one of the four pages who supported N.'s train at the Coronation, and in the same year (1804) received the appointment of arch-treasurer of the empire. For a year he acted as governor-general of Genoa in an able and moderate manner, but on his return to Paris, after remonstrating with N. on the proposed abolition of the Tribunal, he resigned his arch-treasurership and retired into private life.

Lebrun strongly opposed N.'s re-establishment of the *noblesse*, and was very unwilling to accept the title of Duke of Piacenza, which was conferred on him in 1800. He was

entrusted with the organization of the departments in Holland, of which he acted as governor-general from 1811 to 1814, finding favour in the eyes of the Dutch, who named him "the good Stadtholder."

He concurred in the restoration of the Bourbons and received a seat in the house of peers from Louis XVIII., but he returned to his allegiance to N. during the Hundred Days, and was appointed Grand Master of the University. At the second Restoration he was at first excluded from the house of peers, but was reinstated in 1819. Having now reached his eightieth year, he retired to his estate at St. Mesmes, where he died on 16 June 1824.

It is said that Lebrun was of a phlegmatic and parsimonious, though honest, nature, and was more of an administrator than a leader; but he possessed literary ability and, above all, a great talent for finance. The last-named gift had probably much to do with his appointment as Third Consul, and there is no doubt that N. also valued his intellectual and administrative qualities, as his appointment (which was practically a command) to the governorship of Holland at the advanced age of seventy-one plainly shows.

Lebrun's literary work, previous to the Revolution, includes translations of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1774) and Homer's *Iliad* (1776).

**Lebrun, Charles.**—Son of the Duke of Piacenza and aide-de-camp to the Emperor, a deputy, and under the Second Empire a senator and grand chancellor of the Legion of Honour. He died in 1859.

**Leclerc, Victor-Emmanuel** (1766-1802), **General.**—Was the son of a rich mill-owner at Pontoise, and became the first husband of Pauline Bonaparte (q.v.). A sister of Leclerc married Marshal Davout at N.'s wish, and a brother became a prefect under the empire. All three had been given an excellent education by their father, from which they profited. Leclerc entered the service as a volunteer, and in 1791 was appointed a lieutenant in the 2nd battalion of Seine-et-Oise. He became aide-de-camp to General

Lapoype in 1792, and finally joined the Army of Italy as adjutant-general. He married Pauline Bonaparte in 1797 at Montebello, and had a son, Dermide (so named by his godfather N. in his admiration of Ossian), who died in childhood. In the winter of 1800 Leclerc was given command of the French Army of 15,000 men operating in defence of Spain against Portugal, but in his rôle of commander-in-chief he displayed no genius sufficient to justify the preference shown him. By his aping of the manners, habits and even dress of his famous brother-in-law he earned the ridicule of his troops and the nickname "The blond Bonaparte." Finally, by an act which cannot but be stigmatized a crime, he became an object of hatred to his men. The incident is to be found described in General Thiébauld's *Mémoires*. Two soldiers belonging to Thiébauld's brigade were arraigned on a false charge, and their general acquitted them, though Leclerc had proposed to make an example of them. Angry at their acquittal, he caused another soldier of Thiébauld's brigade, innocent of crime, to be arrested and shot on the spot.

In 1801 N. organized an expedition to reconquer the island of San Domingo, the slaves of which had risen in 1792 and, being successful, had been masters ever since. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse was in command of the fleet, and Leclerc was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole expedition. It was a difficult task with which he was faced, and through his indecision of character and ignorance of colonial affairs, Leclerc made many blunders, though showing courage in some desperate circumstances. Under the combined effects of worry and climate Leclerc collapsed and died of cholera on 1 Nov. 1802.

**Lefebvre, Pierre François Joseph, Duke of Danzig** (1755-1820).—French marshal; was born at Rouffach in Alsace. When the Revolution broke out he was a sergeant in the Gardes Françaises, and, like most of his fellows, took the side of the people. Soon afterwards he received a commission, and, distinguishing himself in the revolutionary wars, was created

a general of division. He went through most of the revolutionary campaigns from Fleurus to Stokach with a deep sense of discipline and duty, but in the last of these engagements he was so severely wounded that he had to return to France, where he gave assistance to N. during the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire. At the beginning of the First Empire he was created a marshal, commanded the infantry of the guard at Jena, besieged Danzig, from which town he received his ducal title, and commanded a corps in N.'s campaign in Spain. He led the Bavarian contingent in 1809 in the engagements of Abensberg and Eckmühl. He commanded the Imperial Guard in the Russian campaign of 1812, fought through the last campaign in France and distinguished himself in many of its engagements. On the Bourbon restoration he was made a peer of France, but rejoined N. during the Hundred Days. As the result of this action he was not permitted to resume his seat in the house of peers until 1819. He was a man of great simplicity, and if he did not possess much genius he had a wide and deep experience which stood him in good stead during his military career. The exercise of supreme command he was incapable of, and was hardly fitted to lead a detachment, but as a subordinate he was trustworthy, brave, and intensely loyal. His speech and manner were plain and even rustic in character; and he did not raise himself by marriage, as he married a laundress. He died at Paris on 14 Sept. 1820.

**Lefebvre-Desnoëttes, Charles, Comte (1773-1822).**—French cavalry general. He joined the army in 1792 and served in various revolutionary campaigns, among them that of the Rhine. In 1798 he was appointed aide-de-camp to N., with the rank of captain. At Marengo and Austerlitz he received further promotion, and after the latter battle was made a colonel. He served in the Prussian campaigns of 1806-7, and in 1808 was made general of brigade and a count of the empire. He accompanied the army into Spain, and commanded a

detachment which unsuccessfully invested Saragossa. He was more fortunate in the Battle of Tudela, but was taken prisoner at Benavente by the British cavalry. Transported to England, he remained a prisoner there for more than two years, living on parole at Cheltenham. He managed to escape in 1811, and joined the *grande armée* in the Russian invasion of 1812 as cavalry leader. During the Hundred Days he rejoined N., and was wounded at Waterloo. The restored Bourbon régime condemned him to death, but he escaped to America and took up farming at Louisiana. He received permission to return to France from the government of Louis XVIII., and embarked in a vessel, the *Albion*, for that purpose, but it went down off the coast of Ireland with all hands on 28 May 1822.

**Legion of Honour.**—Instituted by N. in 1802. All citizens above twenty-five years were eligible to receive this military or civil order of merit, whatever their birth, rank, or religion. An oath to uphold the principles of liberty and equality had to be taken on admission, and salaries were attached to the order. Under N.'s organization a grand council of seven officers was elected to administer the legion, which was further divided into fifteen cohorts, including so many officers, commanders, and legionaries, and at the headquarters of these "cohorts" hospitals were maintained for the sick and infirm legionaries. The rank of grand eagle (now grand cross) was founded in 1805, and after a temporary eclipse was reinstated after the Revolution in 1830. The president of the Republic is now grand master of the order. The numbers of recipients of the order *sans trailement* are limited. Before a candidate can be eligible for the rank of chevalier twenty years' active service must have been gone through, and extraordinary service, whether in time of peace or in time of war, can be rewarded by admission to any rank. The old form of decoration was the Napoleonic grand cross and ribbon, the inscription round the medallion being "République Française." In the present order a laurel wreath re-



places the imperial crown, with the symbolical head in the centre. Women are eligible for the decoration; it is very rarely conferred on them, but since 1805 an institution has existed for the education of female relatives of members of the Legion of Honour.

**Leipsic.**—The Battle of Leipsic was one of the most important in modern history, and is sometimes called "the Battle of the Nations." It raged during three days, 16, 17 and 18 Oct. 1813, and was composed of a series of desperate engagements, resulting in terrible scenes of carnage. The French troops numbered about 190,000 at the beginning of the conflict, and the Allied forces (Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Swedes) about 200,000, but the latter were able to replace their losses to the extent of another 100,000 men. N. commanded the French, and Schwartzberg, Blücher, and Bernadotte the Allies. By the night of the 16th the Emperor was in reality beaten, but he did not acknowledge it and endeavoured to extricate the remains of his army: on the 17th he proposed an armistice, which was naturally refused, as his enemies were well aware that he was in their power. The fight recommenced on the 18th, and the French were gradually pressed back upon Leipsic, although struggling bravely. At last, at nightfall, N. ordered the retreat, and the whole of the next day the rout continued through Leipsic and across the only bridge that spanned the Elster. The disasters of that awful day were crowned by the premature blowing up of this bridge, which left thirty generals, 33,000 men, 260 cannon and 870 ammunition wagons in the Allies' hands. Among the hundreds who threw themselves into the flooded stream and were drowned was Prince Poniatowski. The total losses were enormous, not only amongst the French but also amongst the Allies. For plan and fuller account of the battle, see pp. 267-269.

**Leoben, Peace of.**—At the conclusion of the first Italian campaign the preliminary terms of peace between France and Austria were signed by Bonaparte at Leoben on 18 April 1797.

These terms were ratified late at Campo Formio (q.v.).

**Léon, Comte (1806-1881).**—Son of N. and Eléonore Revel; was born at Paris on 13 Dec. 1806. At one time it is evident N. thought of adopting the boy. The suggestion, beyond doubt, was made by Caroline Murat, and the child was first under the care of Mme. Loir, nurse of Achille Murat, but later, in 1812, N. convened a family council and, making ample provision for Léon, appointed two guardians, M. Mathieu de Mauvières and Baron de Méneval, his own private secretary. In 1814 N. again made further arrangements, while in the codicil to his will, made at St. Helena, he leaves Léon 320,000 francs that he may purchase an estate.

In 1815 the Emperor, striving to make provision for those dependent on him, confided the child to Mme. Merc and Cardinal Fesch. Physically Léon was remarkably like N.; mentally and in character he was markedly dissimilar. When he was twenty-five his reputation as a gambler was notorious, and he meddled in speculations and politics.

In 1848 he entertained an idea of offering himself for the presidency of the Republic in opposition to Louis Napoleon, and took part in the legislative elections of 1849. However, he was not elected.

Several times his debts were paid out of the civil list, and a small pension was granted him by Napoleon III., which, however, expired with the Second Empire. He died at Pontoise on 15 April 1881, and is said to have been buried in a pauper's grave.

**Leopold I. (1790-1865), King of the Belgians.**—Fourth son of Francis, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, uncle of Queen Victoria; was born at Coburg. He entered the Russian Army at the age of eighteen and served with Alexander at Erfurt, but subsequently spent some years with N. He became a general in the Russian Army and served in the campaign of 1813. At the Congress of Vienna he represented his house and took his place among the other sovereigns

met together there. He returned to England with the Allied kings, and married Charlotte, only child of George IV., heiress to the British throne (1816). This alliance only lasted a year, but on the Princess's death he remained in England as the Duke of Kendal, to which title he had claim through his naturalization on his union with the Princess. He refused the throne of Greece in 1830, and became King of the Belgians the following year. In this act he had the approval and support of the other powers of Europe, with the exception of the Dutch king, William I., who rendered the first eight years of Leopold's reign difficult. From 1839 to 1865 Belgium's progress was marked by the King's wise administration, and he won for himself from contemporary powers the name of the "Nestor of Europe."

**Liberation, War of (1813), Lützen, Bautzen, Dresden, and Leipzig Campaigns.\***—The disaster which the French armies met with in Russia heartened the Prussian people to make a resistance themselves against the usurpers in their land. Stragglers passing through Germany brought news of the enormous losses which the *grande armée* had sustained, but the authorities were aware that the resources of France were almost boundless, and they dreaded the ever-active genius of N., which they greatly feared would be well able to counteract any movement towards freedom which they might strive to make. North Germany was, of course, riddled with secret societies, the aim and object of which was the liberation of Teutonic soil. But new French armies were rapidly forming on the Rhine, and if the situation was not without its brighter side it could not be called very hopeful.

Pressure was, however, brought to bear upon the civil powers by the military party, who clamoured for war. By degrees the French garrisons throughout Germany found themselves surrounded or were forced to quit the country. Assassinations were numerous. Peasants firing from

\* The map given at p. 268 will be found useful in connexion with this article.

behind trees and hedges cut off such French stragglers as they chanced to meet with, and at last the situation became such that N. was forced to reorganize a fresh army for the reconquest of Prussia. This he was well able to do, as the army he had thrown into Russia was composed for the most part of the troops of his Allies, and he had carefully conserved the native legions of France. The creation of a new national guard also greatly assisted the object he had in view, for although it was enlisted for defence only, the troops which it became the means of training were constantly being drafted into the regular army. From the Rhine Federation also he drew a goodly number of men, and even Italy was called upon for fresh troops. In this way, by the end of March 1813, he had upwards of 200,000 men whom he was able to move towards the Elbe. These he concentrated in the angle formed by the Saale and Elbe, so that on the one hand he menaced Dresden and on the other Berlin.

On the part of the Allies, patriotism seems to have mingled with not a little confusion and disorganization, but they had collected troops almost to the number of those which N. had gathered, and had managed to place a corps of observation along the Elbe which would give timely notice of any advance towards the capital of Prussia. The majority of the German forces were massed around Dresden—their object being to proceed by the course of the Elbe and take the French flank in the right. But the two armies were practically groping for one another, as scouting and reconnaissance on both sides seem to have been of the most primitive description. This was caused for the most part by the lack on both sides of a sufficiency of cavalry.

**Lützen Campaign.**—N. assumed the chief command of the army at Erfurt on 25 April. The dispositions of his forces at this date were as follows: Ney was stationed in front of Weimar, commanding the Kösen defile; the Guard were with N. at Erfurt; Marmont was at Gotha; Bertrand at Saalfeld; Oudinot at

Coburg; while Eugène, with the corps of Macdonald, Lauriston and Regnier, was stationed at the Lower Saale. In the usual Napoleonic manner a powerful advance-guard of all arms was thrown out, and the bulk of the army followed them in masses of manoeuvre, the objective being Leipsic and Meiseberg. On their part the Prussians, aided by the Russians, had hastened forward concentration and were stationed a little to the south of the French advance. On 1 May N. and the advance-guard entered Lützen. Wittgenstein, who was in command of the Allies, learned of his proximity, and thinking the French advance-guard to be the entire army made up his mind to attack it on its right flank. On 2 May, about nine o'clock in the morning, he commenced an attack on the French advance-guard in Lützen, whilst the rest of his men were thrown against N.'s right and rear. But just as they were moving off, the French main body made its appearance: N., taking in the situation at a glance and hastening to his main body, grouped them for battle, leaving the advance-guard to fend for itself. Relying on his old plan of beating down the enemy's front by artillery practice, he sent forward and massed nearly 100 cannon, whose case-shot tore through the enemy's line and made an enormous gap in it, through which he marched his reserve. His lack of cavalry did not allow of pursuit, and the Allies made good their retreat. Perhaps none of his battles so well illustrates N.'s strategic genius. He recognized, too, that he was not fighting mere automata, as the German troops had so often proved themselves to be in the past. "These Prussians have at last learned something," he said. "They are no longer the wooden toys of Frederick the Great." He also perceived that his own men were inferior to those whom he had led at Austerlitz, and in this connexion he was more than once forced to rally the conscript troops under his banner, and it is still maintained in the French Army that he even compelled their advance in individual cases by a free use of kicks and cuffs.

His object was now to press so closely on the Prussians as to give them no rest. Ney was dispatched across the Elbe to turn the Allies' position at Dresden, which they immediately evacuated and retired over the river. They had hardly left the city when N. entered it, but as they had blown up the bridge over the Elbe a delay of several days was occasioned in the army's advance into the Saxon capital, as no pontoon trains travelled with the French forces. The march was resumed again on 18 May. By this time the Allies had fortified themselves near Bautzen in a very strong position indeed, but N. attacked them at this point on the 20th, and after a dogged struggle of two days' duration succeeded in carrying the position. The Allies retired in good order, however, and N. found himself absolutely powerless to follow up his successes owing to his lack of cavalry, as the Germans were enabled to carry away with them cannon and other stores of war, and practically no prisoners were taken. So keen was the Emperor to rectify this omission that he forced his corps commanders to push on their infantry brigades in pursuit of the retreating Germans. This led to loose marching and want of care in reconnaissance, and Blücher, taking advantage of this, fell upon Maison's division with some Landwehr cavalry and practically decimated it. This greatly sustained the Prussian morale; nevertheless, the Allies continued to retreat, and N., somewhat alarmed at the length of his lines of communication and at the attitude of Austria, opened negotiations for a truce, and the Prussians agreed to six weeks' armistice. This has been times without number pointed out as the gravest error of N.'s military career, his reiterated excuse for which was want of adequate cavalry.

*Bautzen Campaign.*—The suspension of hostilities lasted till 15 Aug., and N. took advantage of this truce to withdraw his forces from the rather dangerous position they occupied with reference to a possible Austrian advance. He then decided to group his corps round Bautzen and Görlitz, so that they could either meet the enemy

advancing from Breslau or attack him in flank over the mountains should he attempt to enter Saxony by way of the Elbe valley. He thus found it necessary to take up a strong position at Dresden, to the neighbourhood of which he dispatched the first corps. Greatly impressed by his want of cavalry, he decided to take up the offensive on the line of the Elbe. He had been constantly reinforced of late, and at the beginning of Aug. had nearly 400,000 men in Germany. His objective was now Berlin, upon which he hoped to mass some 300,000 men, liberating the French garrisons at Stettin, Küstrin, and Danzig. Bernadotte had by this time joined the Allies, who to the number of 135,000 were stationed around Berlin and Stettin. Blücher with about 95,000 Russians and Prussians was in the neighbourhood of Breslau, and 180,000 Austrians and Russians under Schwarzenberg were disposed in Bohemia.

No sooner had the armistice expired than the advance against Berlin commenced, N., however, remaining behind with the main army until he could better gauge his enemy's plans. After a while he threw forward a portion of his army in the direction of Blücher, who retired with the intention of ambushing N. Hearing that Schwarzenberg and his Austrians were moving down the Elbe valley, he left Macdonald to observe Blücher and hastened back by forced marches to Bautzen, intending to advance against the Austrians. But alarming dispatches reached him from Dresden, so, changing his plans, he sent Vandamme against Schwarzenberg and hurried with the bulk of his army towards the capital of Saxony. In seventy hours he marched ninety miles, an advance almost unprecedented in military history, and entered Dresden on the morning of the 26th. The Allies did not give him much time, but attacked almost at once.

*Dresden Campaign.*—The Battle of Dresden was the last of N.'s great victories. Occupying two days' time, 26 and 27 Aug., it began late on the afternoon of the former day, Schwarzenberg having waited as long as pos-

sible for the corps of Klenau, which formed his extreme left wing on the Freiberg road. About six o'clock in the evening he decided to wait no longer, and hurled six heavy columns against the suburbs of Dresden, which were defended by Gouvion St. Cyr. The assault was covered by no less than 300 cannon, and the city was shortly in flames in several places. On the right the Russians under Wittgenstein and the Prussians under Kleist and Prince Augustus, with the Austrians under Colloredo, moved upon the Morcinski redoubt, where most desperate fighting took place and which was repeatedly taken and retaken. To the west an attack was made by the other Austrian corps. Klenau, however, had failed to come up, and the French defences remained firm. A counter-attack against the Allied left was made by N. The Morcinski redoubt was finally recaptured from the Austrians, and the Prussians were driven out from the position in the Grosseärten. The Allied attack had failed, for fresh Napoleonic forces were coming up, and the Austrian leader, perceiving the strength of the French, retired once more to the heights. Vandamme was, however, by this time in his rear, and his position was precarious.

On the next day, the 27th, N. resolved to throw the weight of his attack upon Metzko. The deep ravine of the river Plauen separated part of the Allied line from the rest. Metzko had occupied the villages west of the Plauen ravine, and against him the Emperor resolved to throw the infantry under Victor and Murat's cavalry, hoping thus to isolate and overwhelm the Austrian general. The centre, he considered, was capable of looking after itself, and the left under Ney, including Kellermann's cavalry and the Young Guard, was to attack the Russians on the Pirna road. Thus both flanks of the enemy would be essayed. His object in concluding such a plan is a little vague. Some authorities appear to think that, his scheme successful, the Pirna road would have been open to him, but it is probable that the attack by his left was purely tactical, for there was

massed the main body of the Prussians and Russians, and the Napoleonic method was ever to concentrate attack where the enemy was most heavily massed—that portion of his ranks, indeed, which offered the best target to artillery. In the morning the ground was heavy with rain which had fallen through the night, but this assisted the Emperor, as his artillery was considerably more mobile than the German, and was able to take up positions and move rapidly where his enemy's guns sank in the mud. Metzko found himself quite unsupported and isolated, and had to retire to the higher ground towards the south-west under the assaults of Victor. He was outflanked on the left by Murat's cavalry, which, acting in conjunction with Victor's men, practically annihilated Metzko's division, the Austrian general himself falling at the head of his men, three-fourths of whom were killed or taken prisoner.

On the left Ney encountered a strenuous Russian resistance in the defence of Seidnitz, Grossdöbritz, and Reick, which villages were doggedly held by the Muscovites. The Allied generals devised a counter-attack of the French centre by way of Stralen, thinking to cut off the French left from Dresden. The plan was tried, but owing to bungling and general misunderstanding was an almost complete failure. The Allied centre remained inactive practically the whole day, being cannonaded by the Dresden redoubts the while. The Tsar, King of Prussia, Schwarzenberg and the headquarters' staff, watching the fighting from the hill, offered a capital mark to the French guns, which dropped shot amongst them, mortally wounding General Moreau (*q.v.*), N.'s old companion-in-arms, who was standing close beside the Russian emperor. The Allied sovereigns desired to continue the battle, but Schwarzenberg, who knew how exhausted his men were, decided to retreat, an operation which was quite unhindered by the French, who had insufficient cavalry to undertake any effective pursuit. Against 200,000 Austrians, Russians and Prussians N. had

brought only 90,000 French and Saxons. The Allies had lost 38,000 killed, wounded and prisoners, the latter numbering 23,000, fifteen colours and twenty-six guns, the French losses being about 10,000.

The Allied retreat continued. An attempt by Vandamme with his single corps to stop them was naturally unsuccessful, and he was overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers. Oudinot at Grossbeeren, near Berlin, and Macdonald on the Katzbach had both been severely defeated, but on the whole the arms of France had been successful in their main object. N. appears to have been in a condition of intellectual paralysis not only on the day of the Battle of Dresden but for several days afterwards, for the orders issued by him during that period are opposed to the strategical principles which he had himself laid down. He rode to Macdonald's command for the purpose of re-establishing order in it, and behaved so violently and improperly that it was only with the greatest difficulty that a scandal was avoided. Blücher became cognizant of his arrival and retreated, but was followed by the Emperor, who by this action left free the passes over the Bohemian mountains. Schwarzenberg seized this advantage, and N. found himself forced to retreat on Bautzen, but the Austrians deflected their march towards Dresden, on being apprised of which N. hastened back to that city, concentrated as many men as he could lay hands upon, and advanced to meet the Austrians. But Schwarzenberg relied upon the forces of famine, which were now working against the French Army, and apparently careless of these, the Emperor returned to Dresden, where for several weeks he remained in complete inactivity. By the beginning of Oct. he had created a fresh plan, in which he expressed his intention of giving up his communications with France and wintering in and around Dresden, though what he was to have done so far as the food supply was concerned he does not seem to have taken into consideration.

*Leipsic Campaign.*—While the Emperor remained inactive his enemies began to gather around him. Blücher,

Schwarzenberg, and Bernadotte were all drawing near and holding him in check. On 6 Sept. Ney and Oudinot had been defeated at Dennewitz—a battle won by Prussian prowess alone, which greatly exalted the *morale* of the Prussian Army. Once more the Emperor altered his plans. He decided to fall back towards Erfurt, and retired into winter quarters between that place and Magdeburg. Dresden, he said, had failed to be of use to him as a base. A final plan was drawn up on 7 Oct., and in this the hand of the old N., the man of action, is visible. This plan he at once proceeded with, as it was now perceptible to him that his line of retreat was seriously threatened both by Blücher and Schwarzenberg. Although he had arranged that St. Cyr and Lobau were to quit Dresden with him, he finally decided to leave them behind him. On the 13th, while at Düben, Blücher was reported near Wittenberg and Schwarzenberg to the south of Leipsic. The army of the north, under Bernadotte, lay on the Prussian general's left near Halle, but this circumstance was unknown to the Emperor, who decided to throw the most of his forces against Blücher, and, if successful against him, deflect the course of his army southwards on Schwarzenberg and cut off that commander's communications with his base. This movement brought him on the 14th into Bernadotte's vicinity, who, when he heard of N.'s approach, decided to retreat northwards, although both Blücher and Gneisenau entreated him to stand fast. On the 15th the Emperor collected his forces to the east of Leipsic, and on the evening of the same day the Allies formed their armies in battle array to attack him. N.'s plan was to hurl the bulk of his forces upon Schwarzenberg, and with this object he massed his men to the south-east of Leipsic. The Austrian general advanced against him down the valley of the Elster and Pleisse. Most of the Austrian troops were on the right bank of the Pleisse, while a column of considerable strength marched on the left bank with the object of joining Blücher on the north. Stern fighting took place on

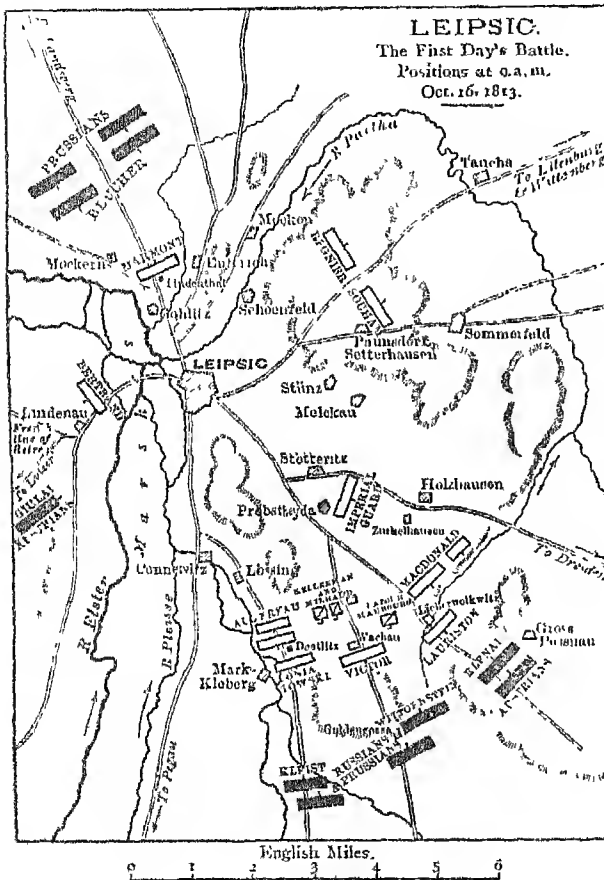
the 16th, but practically no impression was made upon the French position. Indeed, the Austrians on the left bank under Giulay were forced to retreat. Blücher, however, impetuously carried the village of Möckern, and came within striking distance of Leipsic itself. On the 17th nothing was effected except skirmishing on a large scale. Blücher was waiting for Bernadotte to join him and Schwarzenberg with reinforcements, but Giulay's position was shifted nearer to the Austrian centre, and this move opened a line of retreat for the French towards Erfurt. N. at once threw the fourth corps forward to keep this road open. Next day hostilities were resumed. Bernadotte now came up and filled the gap between the Austrians and Blücher, and the Allies were further assisted by the defection of the Saxons, who had remained faithful to the French cause but who now went over to the Prussians.

This battle, one of the most important and decisive in the world's history, and aptly termed the "Battle of the Nations," is known to the Germans as the "Folk-Slaughter," and from it, indeed, may be dated the rise of modern Germany as a national community. Blücher's orders had been to march upon Leipsic and to effect a junction with an Austrian division at Markranstadt. A survey by the Allies of the position, however, decided them to make ready for a great battle on the 16th in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, where N. had arrived on the 14th. Things were not looking well with him. There was much sickness among his men, who had suffered greatly by hunger and the sword, and his Rhenish troops were disaffected and meditated desertion. If he could break Schwarzenberg before the arrival of the army of the north he might yet be successful, even although he had Blücher to face. He had still 190,000 men, and if the Allies had 300,000 troops they had to strive against want of cohesion in leadership. The *morale* of the Allied troops had, however, risen greatly of late, and a spirit of vengeance, or at least a desire for revenge, was actively show-

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ing itself in all ranks of the Prussian Army.

N. sent Bertrand to take up a position at Lindenau, west of Leipsic, with 10,000 men. The city was to be covered to the north by 50,000 French troops, who were to co-operate with the main army in the event of their remaining unhampered by the enemy.



The main army itself amounted to about 110,000 men, and was drawn up in crescent formation south of the city, and against this position the Allies advanced in a wide semicircle, not unlike that favoured by the Zulus in their wars of extermination, the visible object of which was to throw out surrounding "horns," or tentacles. The most unwise advice on the Allies' side was given by the Tsar Alexander, whose rede was that the Russians and Prussians should remain on the right

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bank of the Pleisse, while only the larger portion of the Austrian forces crossed that river. This move left the Allies numerically inferior to the French, for by its provisions they could only throw 84,000 on to the main battlefield. It had another effect, for through it three separate engagements took place, at Lindenau, at Connewitz, and on the right bank of the Pleisse.

The 16th Oct. was raw, misty and cold, and from time to time rain fell heavily. The Allies advanced in four columns, and almost instantaneous success was won by the Prussians, who wrested the village of Mark-Kleberg from the French. The second column, under the Prince Eugène, advanced against N.'s centre at Wachau, which was also taken. The French line was badly shaken, but with the appearance of the Emperor on the field things assumed a different complexion. Massing no less than 177 guns at Wachau, he opened a terrific cannonade, under cover of which he threw forward immense masses of infantry, who forced the Russians back into the plain, where, failing to find a shred of cover, the grape-shot played havoc in their ranks. The Austrians to the west also had at first a partial success, capturing village, which, however, the Russians had to surrender. The determination was, as a break through the weakest Allied line. This, he persisted at Wachau, and he disallowed to turn their right. was recognized by the Allied who resolved to bring their strength to the threatened good deal of time was lost, ere this was accomplished. Each advance began shortly

after midday. Under cover of a devastating fire 10,000 cavalry under Murat charged forward against the Prussians. Behind these again advanced massed infantry. The cavalrymen were at first successful. They scattered two battalions of infantry, took twenty-six Russian guns, and came to the foot of the Wachberg, where the Emperor Alexander stood. Had the French infantry followed up this charge the battle would have been won, but the cohesion among the cavalry was not very strong, and their advance was checked by a marsh between two lakes. From all sides opposition arose against them, and their advance was stayed. The retreat which followed might almost be called a rout, while the French guns fired indiscriminately upon friend and foe. A similar tale had to be told regarding the attack on the Allied left. Hastily the retreating French columns formed square to repel the counter-attack, and a sanguinary encounter ensued.

The main Austrian forces had meanwhile been losing heavily on the left bank of the Pleisse, until at last Schwarzenberg resolved to betake himself to the chief theatre of action. On the whole the Austrians had lost severely, and the Army of Bohemia had been repulsed in its attack. The victory for the first day, therefore, may be said to have lain with the French arms, and had Marmont and Ney, who were engaged with Blücher, succeeded in coming up to the Emperor's assistance, a decisive French victory would undoubtedly have been the result.

N. had been absent from Wachau at the supreme moment of the cavalry charge, for having heard the sound of guns from the direction of Möckern, he galloped thither at full speed. Blücher had been aroused by the sound of the heavy firing at Wachau, but as he was unsupported by Bernadotte, it was necessary for him to advance with extreme caution. He was not long in meeting with Marmont. The French marshal at once saw that Blücher must be kept back at all costs, and with this in view, he took up a strong position between Möckern and Euterich, behind which village he posted a large park

of artillery. Blücher was fully aware that the Army of Bohemia must be relieved, and that therefore he must advance at all costs. A sanguinary struggle now raged around Möckern, which the French stubbornly defended. Savage hand-to-hand fighting took place in the narrow streets of the village, but the French artillery prevented a complete occupation. An attack on the heights behind Möckern was repelled with great loss, but just as matters seemed at their worst for the Prussians, York threw his entire cavalry forces upon the French, who gave way. The cavalry charge was at once followed up by an infantry attack, and Marmont's men began to retreat upon Leipsic in considerable disorder.

N. did not attack on the 17th, and for this the Allies were only too grateful, as next day they expected the arrival of Bernadotte and Bennigsen. N. had dispatched an offer for an armistice to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, which, however, remained unanswered. He sent Bertrand to cover a possible retreat by securing the passages of the Saale, and Mortier to the pass of Lindenau. He thus concentrated his whole army around Leipsic, forming a semicircle on its north, west and south sides. By this time the Allies were twice as strong in numbers as he, and more than one-third of them were fresh troops. The main Allied army, under Schwarzenberg, consisted of three columns. The first, under the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, was to drive the French from the Pleisse; the second, under Barclay, to advance by way of Wachau; and the third, under Bennigsen, was to push forward by way of Holzhausen. It had been arranged to commence operations at 7 A.M., but Bennigsen did not arrive till two in the afternoon, nor Bernadotte until two hours later. The Austrians on the extreme left commenced by capturing several villages, but at Connewitz they came into collision with the Young Guard. Barclay on their right had been met by such a heavy fire that he was brought to a standstill at Probstheyda, from which they were finally ousted after a most sanguinary contest. Barclay had been



doubtful of advancing without Bennigsen's support, and when the latter at length came up he marched against Macdonald. His advance told by reason of the numbers at his disposal, and Holzhausen and the neighbouring villages fell into the hands of the Allies. On Macdonald's side stood Reynier with the Saxons and the Württembergers. These German troops deserted to the Allies. The northern army and the Prussians under Bülow now came to the rescue. They stormed the village of Paunsdorf, but N., coming up with the Old and Young Guard, recaptured it. These were, however, forced to retire by sheer weight of numbers. Meanwhile a violent struggle had been taking place at Schoenfeld, north of Leipsic, between Marmont and Langeron, the Russian general. It persisted till nightfall, when the French evacuated the village, in which there lay 10,000 dead and wounded men. The French were at length forced back to their entrenchments before Leipsic. When this dreadful day of slaughter came to an end each side had lost about 25,000 men, and even yet no decisive result had been reached by either army. The French right wing had been successful in repulsing every attack, but on their left and centre they had lost a number of villages. In front of Blücher alone had they been driven back upon Leipsic, and their line of retreat by Lindenau was still open to them.

N., recognizing the danger of his position, gave orders for a retreat. This was a dangerous and difficult operation, as his order for the construction of bridges had not been attended to, and the army was forced to wind its way through the narrow streets of Leipsic, and crossed the Pleisse by a single bridge. All order was lost, and the Emperor himself joined in the stream of fugitives.

The troops left in the city of Leipsic offered a strenuous resistance, and this greatly interfered with the Allies' pursuit of the retreating French, who reformed. No great efforts were made to follow them unless by Blücher, who failed to come up with them. Wrede, however, intercepted them at Hanau with 30,000 men. Here, after a bril-

liant artillery action under Drouot, the French literally overwhelmed Wrede's forces and resumed their march, reaching Mainz on 5 Nov.

*Campaign of Defence.*—There was evidently no great desire on the part of the Allies' political advisers to force matters to a crisis, and the young German party, led by Blücher, had much ado to get permission to pass the Rhine. This they did on 1 Jan. 1814. The Silesians, 50,000 strong, were the first to cross, and they were to be supported by Schwarzenberg with 200,000 men and Bernadotte with about 120,000, who was to move through the Netherlands to Laon. The Emperor could not collect so many as 200,000 men to meet these forces, and of that number more than 100,000 were held in check by Wellington on the Spanish frontier. Only 80,000 could therefore be sent to guard the east and north-eastern frontiers. About the end of Jan. Blücher entered Nancy, moved up the Moselle valley, and came to La Rothière, where he was surprised and nearly captured by a sudden attack. He retreated to a strong position which covered the valley of the Bar-sur-Aube. At that point he was joined by the Austrian advance-guard. A consultation decided them to fight, as their retreat would be greatly hampered by traffic and baggage-wagons. They were attacked by the Emperor on 2 Feb., but the weather was so extremely bad that he found his artillery useless in the drifting snow, and his columns lost their way. He retired to Lesmont and thence to Troyes, leaving Marmont to hold the enemy in check as best he could.

Blücher, irritated at Schwarzenberg's inactivity, transferred his operations to the valley of the Marne. He advanced from Vitry down the valley, much hampered by the terrible weather. His men were scattered in order that they should not "eat up" the country too quickly. Once more he was surprised in the night. He attempted to rally his scattered detachments, but N. quickly took them in detail, defeating Sacken at Montmirail, York at Champ Aubert, and Blücher and the main body at

Etoges. The entire Silesian Army was thus compelled to retreat, and N., leaving Mortier and Marmont to deal with them, returned to Troyes with his main body to strike at Schwarzenberg. At Mormont on 17 Feb. he successfully defeated his enemies and forced them to fall back in great disorder upon Bar-sur-Aube. Blücher had, however, rallied his detachments and drove Marmont and Mortier before him by sheer weight of numbers. Ceasing his movements against Schwarzenberg, N. returned to Blücher, whose left he attacked, driving him back upon Soissons. He thought that he would pin them upon that fortified place and thus force them to fight or surrender; but, unluckily, the French garrison of the town had capitulated only the day beforehand, a circumstance of which he was unaware. This permitted the escape of the Silesian Army, which, marching northwards, effected a juncture with Bernadotte at Laon, so that Blücher had now over 100,000 men at his disposal. With this force the Emperor came up at Craonne on 7 March, and drove it back upon Laon, where he met with Blücher's main body on the 9th. Here he sustained a severe check, or, more properly speaking, a defeat, and with about 30,000 men was compelled to retire upon Rheims. Schwarzenberg recommenced his advance, but, hearing once more of N.'s approach, retreated to Brienne. The Allies then agreed to march upon Paris, which at that time was an open city. The Emperor had determined to rally such garrisons as he could and raise the whole country against the invaders, and this plan he was in process of putting into execution when his instructions fell into the enemy's hands. They continued their march to the capital, and although opposed by Marmont and Mortier on the Montmartre heights, these gave way on 31 March, just as the Emperor, with what was left of the Guards, was hurrying to Fontainebleau to join them. The military operations connected with the fall of the First Empire end at this point, and the resulting political situation will be found detailed in the articles which deal with it.

**Ligny, Battle of (Waterloo Campaign).**—The last of N.'s victories, fought on 16 June 1815, and one of the most fiercely contested encounters of a bitter campaign. The Prussian Army, 87,000 strong, under Blücher, lay on a slope behind the village of Ligny—a position which exposed them to the full force of the French artillery, yet which was stronger than it looked. N. determined to attack with his 60,000 men, and sent orders to Ney merely to hold Wellington at Quatre Bras and to bring the rest of his force and sweep down upon the enemy's rear. About three o'clock the action began, and only then did the Emperor realize the true strength of his enemy. The battle raged fiercely with varying fortunes until about 5.30, when a fearful thunderstorm broke forth, under cover of which the French succeeded in breaking the Prussian front, and, badly mauled, the Prussians were compelled to retreat, which they did in good order. The Prussians lost about 14,000 in dead and wounded, and the French 11,000. It was a great victory for N.—yet not so great as he had planned, and had Ney and d'Erlon understood their Emperor's commands and come to his aid at the rear of the broken Prussians, the latter could hardly have escaped annihilation. During the fray Blücher's horse was shot under him, and he himself severely bruised. For plan of this battle and further particulars, see WATERLOO CAMPAIGN.

**Linois, Charles Alexandre Léon Durand, Count (1761-1848).**—French naval officer; was born at Brest, entered the navy at the age of fifteen, served in the American War, and received a command in 1794. After being captured by the British and released, he went to the East as rear-admiral in 1799. In 1801 he successfully repulsed de Saumarez's attack in Algeciras Bay. In the following year he was again sent to the East, was once more captured, and taken to England, where he spent some years as a prisoner. Returning to France, he was made governor of Guadeloupe in 1814. Being compelled to abandon the island to a British force, he was tried by a court-martial,

and unanimously acquitted of all blame.

**Literary Tastes of Napoleon.**—Several writers of classical repute have brought forward the theory that N. had little genuine appreciation of painting and the graphic arts in general; but that he lacked a love of literature has never been maintained by any competent or trustworthy historian, and we need not fear the possibility of that contention being brought forward at some future date. For the Emperor's own writings are in themselves abundant evidence of his fine instinct for literary excellence, this being true in particular of his letters, which, as Ste. Beuve aptly observes, come nearer than anything else to constituting a national French epic; while Bonaparte won the friendship of numerous authors of his day, and several of these have testified to his shrewd and affectionate understanding of both verse and prose. Prominent among those who bore such witness is the poet Antoine Vincent Arnault (1766-1834), who, speaking of his tragedy, *The Venetians*, relates that he derived the fifth act thereof—which is quite the best part of the whole work—direct from suggestions made by Bonaparte. And, assuming that this enthusiastic tribute should be discounted somewhat, for Arnault received divers state appointments during the opening years of the consulate, it is the case that N. elicited encomiums from sundry people who had no cause to feel well disposed to him personally, two who belong to this latter category being Chateaubriand and Mme. Récamier. Nor was it only from French writers that the Emperor gained homage, Kotzebue and Goethe (to bracket together a strangely dissimilar pair) having both spoken of the pleasure they found in intercourse with him; and all this makes it the more regrettable that France, albeit she has already done so much to honour the memory of her greatest son, has never seen fit to collect the books which erstwhile belonged to him, placing them for all time in some suitable museum. The undertaking would be doubly interesting in that N. was something of a

bibliophile, caring for fine editions, and often having a book gorgeously bound in morocco, embellished with blind-tooling; yet this suggested garnering-in of his library would be attended with considerable if not insurmountable difficulties, as will appear presently.

Being blest with comparatively little leisure for reading so long as he remained in Paris, Bonaparte amassed but few books at the Tuileries, or at his other home in the French capital, the Hôtel de l'Elysée-Napoléon, and it was at his two favourite country seats, St. Cloud and Fontainebleau, that he kept the majority of the volumes he loved. Those he placed in the former château were left untouched on the débâcle of the empire, but after Waterloo Blücher and his dragoons came to St. Cloud, doing much damage there, and the Emperor's books were mostly taken away. A number of them eventually drifted to England, and, getting betimes into public auction-rooms there, they found eager purchasers, among those who acquired some of them thus being John Sainsbury, the compiler of an interesting and valuable work, *The Napoleon Museum*. Meanwhile the Fontainebleau library had undergone vicissitudes also, for Bonaparte himself had had the bulk thereof shipped to him at Elba, while, on his dramatic departure from that island, he had given these books *en bloc* to the municipality of the Elban capital, Portoferraio. Scarcely was this thoughtful act done, however, ere the Duke of Tuscany confiscated most of the volumes, carefully choosing the more important items; and, thanks to this spoliation and others which have occurred since, the collection now in the Hôtel de Ville of Portoferraio is a mere shred of what N. bequeathed. Then, as to the numerous books which he collected during his captivity at St. Helena, these were brought in 1879 to London, where they were put to the auctioneer's hammer; and so we see that, despite the eminent desirability of the project, it would be well-nigh impossible to bring together nowadays the several libraries which

formerly belonged to the Emperor. Bourrienne supplies us with evidence of N.'s early literary tastes. "From his first entrance to school," says the memoirist in dealing with the Emperor's brief sojourn at the École Militaire of Brienne, "he manifested an eager desire for acquiring knowledge"; and the same author tells us of the young Bonaparte's keen interest in Plutarch, whom he read in a French translation. Polybius, we are told, also delighted him, and Julius Cæsar's stirring martial work, *De Bello Gallico*, was one of his favourite books at this time. Indeed, the taste for that soldier's writings appears to have remained with the Emperor throughout the whole of his life, and, according to some good authorities, it materially affected his actions; while, almost from the outset of his career, he took a keen interest in everything relating to Oliver Cromwell, this interest being virtually inevitable, inasmuch as Cromwell was among the acknowledged heroes of Paoli, whom N. as a youth regarded as the very king of men.

On Bonaparte leaving Brienne in 1784, the inspector of the school, De Keralio by name, drew up a brief report on the conduct and capacities of the departing pupil. It is interesting to note that in this significant document there is a reference to the young man's fondness for history; and we find that during N.'s subsequent stay at Auxonne he continued to show himself an ardent student of this particular department of learning. Terribly poor as he was at this time, and living in what was little better than a garret, he still found the wherewithal to purchase books; and there is record of his versing himself in the doings of the ancient Persians, Scythians and Thracians, Athenians and Spartans, Egyptians and Carthaginians. He likewise developed a taste for English history, and a digest of that topic, from the coming of the Romans to the abdication of James II. in 1688, is contained in one of the voluminous notebooks he filled at Auxonne; while these notebooks further demonstrate that he was well acquainted with the works of Plato,

and certain entries in them hint that N. was planning the composition of a history of his native Corsica. His idea, probably, was that a book of that sort might help to bring about the emancipation of his island home; while, with the same end in view, he commenced writing what he called a *Dissertation sur l'Autorité Royale*, and in a preliminary sketch thereof, which is still extant, we find him proclaiming that "there are very few kings who have not deserved dethronement." These downright words suggest that the young author was fast becoming intimate with the countless speculative and iconoclastic writings then permeating France; and it is the case that about this period he evinced a marked fondness for the works of the democrat Pierre Thomas François Raynal (1713-96); while almost simultaneously he became a devotee of that famous defender of the rights of man, Jean Jacques Rousseau. There are highly eulogistic references to the latter in documents penned by N. as early as 1786, while on his ultimately renouncing the cause of Corsica, and espousing instead that of the revolutionary party in France, he naturally grew still more enthusiastic in his admiration for the writer of *Le Contrat Social*. This ardour was reflected shortly by N.'s own book, *Le Souper de Beaucaire*, published in 1796; but later in life the Emperor cooled towards his idol, and would sometimes speak of him disparagingly, as we learn from a passage in the *Mémoires* of Lucien Bonaparte. Another writer, Girardin, relates that N. used even to lament the influence Rousseau had exerted in France; while an equally important authority, Roederer, tells that once in 1803 Bonaparte exalted Voltaire at the expense of Rousseau with these memorable words: "The more I read Voltaire the more I like him: he is always reasonable, never a charlatan, never a charlatan: he is made for mature minds. Up to sixteen years of age I would have fought for Rousseau against all the friends of Voltaire. Now it is the contrary. I have been especially disgusted with Rousseau since I have seen the East. Savage man is a dog."

We may be sure that during his Italian campaign Bonaparte had little time for reading, but on his setting out for Egypt he determined to make good use of the leisure he expected to have *en voyage*, and gave orders that some three hundred volumes were to be put on board the ship that was to bear him over the Mediterranean. It is to Bourrienne we are indebted for this fact, and the same writer gives much interesting information concerning the nature of the library, telling that it embodied several works on military topics, together with others on travel, and a large number of historical volumes. One of these last dealt with India, another with Prussia; while the writings of Livy and Thucydides, Justin, Arrian and Polybius were all included; and there were lives of many eminent soldiers, such as Condé, Turenne and Saxe, Prince Eugène and the Duke of Marlborough. The section of poetry embraced French versions of Homer and Virgil, Tasso and Ariosto, these being supplemented by a copy of La Fontaine and numerous volumes representing the French drama; while it need hardly be said that the voyager took the legends of Ossian, for which he is well known to have entertained a fervent admiration, ranking them above the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. We learn, too, that N. had with him Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, while as regards prose fiction Bourrienne cites works by Le Sage and Marmontel, Prevost and Goethe; and he says there was a shelf of no fewer than forty English novels, but unfortunately he fails to give their titles. Finally our informant refers to a department devoted to philosophy and religion, and he tells that this embodied a book on mythology and also copies of the *Koran*, the *Veda*, and the *Bible*. Truly the collection was a motley one! But therein, before all else, lies its interest for us; for does not this diversity of his library illustrate—better, perhaps, than anything else—the wonderful breadth of N.'s mind and his eagerness to sound every depth and shoal of human knowledge?

Bonaparte, while in Italy, had acquired some highly valuable literary

treasures, among them what was supposed to be a genuine Virgil manuscript, formerly the property of Petrarch; and now, in Egypt, he showed a keen interest in that land's antiquities, at the same time giving every possible encouragement to the French *savants* who had come with him to explore this field of learning. Subsequently, while swaying the sceptre of France, he evinced a constant readiness to aid literature in any way, showing especial favour to such authors as shared his predilection for Ossian; while once, when it was proposed that an annuity should be conferred by the state on the lineal descendant of Corneille, the Emperor embraced the project gladly, his one disagreement being that the suggested sum of 300 francs was not nearly large enough and that 10,000 francs would be a more reasonable figure. Another of the great French dramatists whose works gained his whole-hearted admiration was Racine, passages from whose plays he was in the habit of declaiming to his secretaries. Even in Elba he showed himself ever willing to enact the part of Mæcenas, and the letters he wrote during his brief reign in the island empire disclose a number of illuminating references to his books. For example, we find him writing to Bertrand charging him to get certain volumes handsomely bound, an "N" to be tooled upon each; and divers further passages illustrate N.'s perennial care for his favourite books, his desire to see them in good condition and suitably adorned, while the following words are imbued with the true spirit of the bibliophile: "Tell your correspondent at Leghorn again not to pay for the books until they have been accepted, and with the reduction I have indicated for the old books. The first books which were sent were inferior editions and remainders. I prefer to wait and have a good library."

Gradually this aspiration was realized by the exile, and that collection we have already spoken of—the remains of the library which the Emperor bequeathed to the municipality of Portoferraio—is as diverse, almost, as the assemblage carried on

the voyage to Egypt. Besides works by Voltaire, Montaigne, Rousseau, and La Fontaine there are two English grammars for French students, there is a good array of fairy tales, there are French translations of Greek and Latin classics, and there are works on mechanics, chemistry and military science, archæology, physics and zoology, while books of ancient and modern history figure largely.

N.'s early fondness for historical study never forsook him altogether. His own *Last Instructions for the King of Rome* contains the wise and memorable phrase, "Let my son often read and reflect on history: this is the only true philosophy"; while those *Memoirs* which the Emperor dictated during his sojourn at St. Helena show that captivity had not weakened his warm interest in the past of France or his shrewd and critical understanding thereof. We observe, besides, that in these *Memoirs* the writer indulges in some fine, incisive comments on Julius Cæsar; nor was the latter the only one of his bygone literary idols to whom N. reverted during his last sad period of ostracism. It has been pointed out that while First Consul of France he hailed Voltaire enthusiastically, it has been noted that his library at Elba included that author's works, and now, in his island prison, he turned once again to these works, not only perusing them himself constantly but often reading them aloud to his entourage. Indeed, Montholon declares that the same plays, particularly *Zaïre*, were read rather oftener than the listeners cared for! While Lord Holland, in his *Foreign Reminiscences*, tells how annoyed N. always was when his hearers betrayed signs of inattention. "He watched his audience vigilantly," says our informant, "and 'Mme. Montholon, vous dormez!' was a frequent ejaculation in the course of reading. He was animated with all that he read, especially poetry, enthusiastic at beautiful passages, impatient at faults, and full of ingenious and lively remarks on style."

Is there not something curiously pathetic in this picture of the imperial exile striving to imbue others with a

taste for what he himself appreciated so well? And is there not a strange fascination in the thought of N., the storm and stress of his wonderful career nearly over, finding pleasure, if not consolation, in the very books he had loved during the days of his glittering triumphs? Well might he have said, with one of the greatest authors of his own time:

"On revient toujours

À ses premiers amours."

#### Literature Under Napoleon.—

It would have seemed no more than natural had N.'s martial triumphs evoked a worthy epic or some stirring chronicle in prose to vie with the pages of Froissart or Gibbon; and it would have seemed no more than inevitable had N.'s brilliant consolidation of France after the storms of the Revolution served to give the literature of the time a singularly definite and coherent character. The epic, however, went uncomposed, while no brilliant historian was forthcoming to record the wonderful campaigns; and the literary output of France in the Emperor's day, far from reflecting that unity of aim and style which mark coeval painting and sculpture, is curiously deficient in anything of that nature. In short, so far as literature was concerned the Napoleonic period was merely a transitional one, and its better writings are mostly an echo of the bygone school of the *siècle Louis XV.*, or, on the other hand, a faint promise, a foreshadowing, of that *école romantique* which was to dawn under Charles X. and Louis Philippe.

For though Voltaire and Rousseau had both been dead for twenty years when Bonaparte was made First Consul, the speculative and iconoclastic ideas promulgated by them—and by men like Condillac, Montesquieu, and Diderot—were still rife in France, if not actually dominant over the tenor of her thought. And the work of many Napoleonic authors consisted largely not in creating a new manner or a point of view of their own, but in striving to follow in the footsteps of the group mentioned above. To this category belongs Guillaume Raynal, with whom Bonaparte himself was

friendly as a young man, and who, albeit a churchman by profession, was as pronounced a pagan as Voltaire had been. He was, indeed, even more acrimonious and fantastic than the latter in assaulting religion, while he sought to emulate Rousseau as a trumpeter of the rights of man; and it is a significant fact that in some early editions of Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes* there is a frontispiece portrait of the author with the inscription, "The defender of humanity, of truth, of liberty." A more engaging figure is Bernardin de St. Pierre, who had known Rousseau personally and shared his faith in human nature, his belief in the possibility of wide reform; while Bernardin, again like Jean Jacques, was a lover of wild landscapes, as witness many pages of description in his *Voyage à l'Île de France*. He held that communion with nature in her wilder moods is of all things the one most beneficial to mankind—far more beneficial than that vaunted thing civilization—and this and kindred theories he sought to propound in his *Paul et Virginie*, an idyllic tale of the tropics which won an instant success, N. being among those who avowed keen admiration therefor. Somewhat akin to St. Pierre is a slightly later author, Etienne Pivert de Sémencour; but, while sharing his predecessor's love of wild nature, he is a much more introspective writer, and his best book, *Obermann*, was loved by Matthew Arnold on account of what that critic happily styled its "profound inwardness." Moreover, we mark in Sémencour a certain morbidity which is but little in evidence in St. Pierre; and the former, along with numerous of his contemporaries in literature, seems to have felt bitterly that the Revolution had been a mere will-o'-the-wisp, and that man was not destined really to be any happier after that great upheaval than he had been before it.

This feeling of disenchantment is apparent again in Benjamin Constant's *Journal Intime*. The same feeling is prominent in another of his works, his novel of *Adolphe*, a book which excited a great influence on Mme.

de Staël; and, pondering on the prevalence in Napoleonic literature of this particular sentiment, one naturally asks whether it was this which made many authors of the time look fondly into the remote past, to whose romance and beauty people had been rather blinded by the Revolution. N. himself, a keen lover of history and archæology, further showed his devotion to the antique world by his lively interest in the legendary poems of Ossian, and his taste herein was shared by a host of writers of the day, notably La Harpe, Arnault, and Baour-Lormian, the latter going so far as to essay a translation of the Celtic bard (1801), this translation being warmly received by literary Paris. Baour-Lormian further testified his love of antiquity by writing a play on a biblical theme, while simultaneously Creux de Lesser evinced an equal fondness for the dead world by exhuming and rewriting some of the Arthurian stories, a field of literature to which Frenchmen had lately been strangely neglectful. While the latter was at work in this praiseworthy and interesting way, the poet Marie Joseph Chénier—brother of that greater poet, André Chénier, who had perished on the revolutionary scaffold in 1794—strove to inaugurate a school of national tragedy with his drama of *Charles IX.*, and this attempt of his was followed by analogous efforts by various men, prompted, no doubt, by the knowledge that the Emperor was an ardent devotee and patron of the tragic muse. These endeavours, however, resulted in little excellence, the plays being mostly marred by pompousness and unnatural diction; nor were the accompanying essays in comedy much more successful. But the new love of the antique world, sending men into countries rich in historic associations as it did, at least begot several good books of travel, one of these being the Comte de Volney's *Les Ruines; ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires*. This work, as its title indicates, is among the things reflecting in some measure what we have spoken of already—the vast influence of the Rousseau group; and it would be almost impossible, in

fact, to exaggerate the spell which these men bequeathed to the France of the Consulate and the Empire. There were autobiographers prior to Jean Jacques, yet he, more than any writer before him, enticed men to the practice of unbosoming themselves in print. And perhaps he partly inspired Constant to the penning of the esoteric work already mentioned; perhaps it was his lead which induced Eugène Delacroix to keep that journal of his which is so valuable still to the student of painting; while, finally, it was possibly Rousseau's example which made Dominique Ingres think of writing his voluminous notebooks, rich not only in personal avowals, but in fragments of æsthetic theory. This same practice of theorizing about the arts increased very perceptibly during the Napoleonic period, and among the best results thereof was the *Pensées* of Joseph Joubert, written during the Empire, though not published till a later time; while we should also mention the critical writings of La Harpe, an author who has been already cited as an Ossianic devotee. He, on the eve of Bonaparte's attaining to imperial power, delivered a series of lectures on literature; and, if these show only too clearly that his knowledge of the ancient classics was superficial, they embody much shrewd and erudite matter about the great French authors, particularly those of the seventeenth century.

Turning our attention now to Mme. de Staël (*q.v.*), we pause, in the first place, to ask whether she belonged to the aftermath of the Louis XV. school, or if she was one of those prefiguring the *école romantique*; and we are constrained to answer that she had a foot in each camp, *soi disant*: she pertained partly to the old group, partly to the new. Although a good part of her life was made up of wanderings, she spent much of her girlhood in Paris, where she conversed freely with the men of letters of the time, and, being of alert intelligence, she soon became intimate with the current ideas about freedom, progress, and so forth. One of her first writings, accordingly, was a panegyric on Rousseau, while her next important work bore the title

*De la Littérature considérée dans ses Rapports avec les Institutions Sociales*, and here liberty of thought is exalted, the authoress maintaining that only when man is free does his intellect develop, and that only when he is developing thus can he possibly create vital literature. A further book of philosophical bent which Mme. de Staël produced was *De l'Allemagne*, while still later, in *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, she defended the Jacobins, while emphasizing their errors and their extravagances. But the authoress, being amply dowered with that egotism which as often as not accompanies literary gifts, was not minded to expend all her energies in writing speculative theses, and two very personal books which came from her pen were the novels of *Delphine* and *Corinne*. Each is the history of a woman of genius who, understood imperfectly by the world at large, has unfortunate love affairs besides, and in both books we detect a hint of that deification of individuality which was afterwards to be among the ruling tenets of the "Romantics."

While Mme. de Staël was widely read in her own time, not only on the Continent but in England, her work is little known to-day; and her name is remembered rather on account of her long duel with N., whose arbitrary sway she opposed strongly, being banished from France for her pains. Chateaubriand (*q.v.*) also, though admiring Bonaparte, had ruptures with the imperial rule; yet this author is not remembered for that reason, but by his writings. A scion of a noble house in Brittany, a district long famous for its loyalty to the crown, Chateaubriand naturally disliked the Revolution, and as a young man he demonstrated this dislike loudly in an *essai* on the fall of Louis XVI., in which he showed himself cynical about the doctrine of possible human progress. While busy with this work the death of his mother turned his mind towards religion, and having found much solace therein, he crystallized his feelings on the subject in his *Génie du Christianisme*. Here he called upon men to employ their imaginative faculty, without the use of which



Christianity cannot be appreciated; and so, while the *Génie* was partly a harking back to old ideals, it was simultaneously something of a herald of the romantic group. Certainly in two parts of it, *Réné* and *Atala*, the author anticipated that love for a recondite and bizarre setting which was afterwards to distinguish many of the young men who clustered round Hugo; while at the same time Chateaubriand forestalled some of these men by exalting the primitive at the expense of the modern civilized world, this criticism applying not only to the two writings named above but also to the writer's *Les Natchez*, which gives an idealistic picture of the life of Red Indians. This was followed by *Les Martyrs* and *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, these being succeeded by a book evoked by Spanish travel, *Aventures du dernier des Abencérages*; while the eve of the author's death witnessed the publication of his fantastic autobiographical work, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*. All these works are couched in a rich and highly coloured style, which we may well suppose proved a stimulant subsequently to Gautier, that arch-type of "romanticism"; and it is this wonderful style of his—more than any weight possessed by his philosophy, for thought has broadened since his day, and many of his speculations sound like truisms now—which merits Chateaubriand a place among the great Frenchmen. At one time holding a commission in the army, at another time a traveller in search of the North-West passage, and later in life an ambassador, he was yet preoccupied chiefly from first to last with high literary aspirations, and hence he is one of the very few Napoleonic authors who have won anything like immortality.

**Lodi.**—The battle of the Bridge of Lodi, as N. himself said, "first kindled the spark of boundless ambition" in his soul, and proved to be a turning-point of his career. During his pursuit of the retreating Austro-Sardinian Army under Beaulieu in May 1796, after a short, sharp fight, N. succeeded in rushing the bridge which was held by the enemy's rear-guard and barred his way to the town of Lodi.

The engagement was of small military importance, as Beaulieu's main army was far away, but it gained for N. the hearts of his soldiers and a reputation for great personal bravery. It is related by Las Cases that at the close of the day the French soldiers saluted their commander with affectionate admiration as *le petit caporal*—the phrase which has become immortal.

**Loison, Oliver, Governor of St. Cloud.**—Was a native of Domvillers, but the year of his birth, as well as his early history, is unknown. His father, however, was an attorney, and Oliver entered the military profession on the breaking out of the French Revolution. He began as a private in the Guards, and was among the first in that regiment to desert and join the standard of liberty. When the National Guards were formed at Paris he tried to obtain a commission from Lafayette, but the request was refused as Loison could neither read nor write. In revenge he became Lafayette's enemy, and accused him to the Jacobin Club.

He was one of the leaders in the mob which attacked the Tuileries in Aug. 1792, in which affair he was wounded and confined to hospital for seven months. During this time, it is said, he learned to read and write. On his recovery Robespierre gave him the command of a battalion, and he joined the Army of the Ardennes; and in 1795 he became general of brigade, and assisted Napoleon in the affair of the sections. Later he joined Masséna in Switzerland, where he became general of division and usefully served that commander. In 1800 Bonaparte sent Loison to organize a division of the Army of Reserve assembled at Dijon, but at the battle of Marengo he did not distinguish himself, and came into disfavour with the First Consul.

On the establishment of the Empire Loison received the cross of the Legion of Honour, and the governorship of St. Cloud. He distinguished himself in the campaign of 1805, and was made governor of the provinces of Münster and Osnabrück, where he remained two years, greatly, it is said, to his personal enrichment.

He took part in the invasion of Portugal in 1808, and there his path was strewn with deeds of the most unprincipled and cruel nature. Villages were pillaged and burned and their inhabitants massacred. Even the convents and churches were not respected, and the clergy were special objects of vengeance.

At the time of Napoleon's abdication in 1814 he went over to the royalist party, but he was believed to be an accessory to his late master's escape from Elba, and he served Napoleon zealously during the Hundred Days. After the battle of Waterloo he fled to Liège, where he possessed an estate, and there he died in 1816.

**Louis XVIII., "Louis le Desiré" (1755-1824).**—Louis-Stanislas-Xavier, Comte de Provence, was the third son of the dauphin Louis, son of Louis XV., and of Maria-Josepha of Saxony. His birth took place at Versailles on 17 Nov. 1755. Although his education was supervised by the devout Duc de la Vaugoyon, his tastes were for Voltaire and the encyclopædists. He married Louise-Marie-Josephine of Savoy in 1771, but no children were born of the union. His abilities were far greater than any his brother Louis XVI. possessed, and to these he added unbounded ambition, but his position necessarily limited any possibility of a career. Prompted by political motives and ambitions, Louis stayed on in Paris even after the taking of the Bastille, and Mirabeau, in his plans for a constitutional government, thought of him as a possible chief minister, but this fell through when Mirabeau perceived how the undoubted abilities of the prince were spoiled by his undue caution and timidity. In Dec. 1789 the *affaire Favras* aroused popular feeling against Louis, and it was commonly believed that *Monsieur* had conspired with Favras only to desert him, a belief certainly supported by the evidence of his character. In the month of June 1791 came the flight to Varennes, and *Monsieur* also considered it time to leave, but chose a safer route. With him was the Comte d'Avary, his confidant and counsellor,

and together they were successful in reaching Brussels. Here he joined the Comte d'Artois, and they next proceeded to Coblenz, which became the headquarters of the emigration. Here *Monsieur* instituted royal state, and made himself head of the counter-revolutionists. He appointed ambassadors and implored the aid of other governments, that of Catherine of Russia in particular. His selfish policy certainly did not help his brother Louis XVI., for not only was he far from understanding the development of affairs in France, but he balked in every way the representatives of the King and Queen. Moreover, he was surrounded by anti-revolutionists who preached a gospel of retaliation as bloody as that of the Revolution. On the death of Louis XVI. *Monsieur* proclaimed himself regent at Hameln, in Westphalia, where he had been forced to retire after Valmy. Later he settled at Verona, and here, on learning of the death of his nephew Louis XVII. (8 June 1795), he assumed the title of Louis XVIII. His life was from now onwards a turmoil of wandering, soliciting help, and incessant intrigue. In 1796 he joined Condé's army, then on the German frontier, but being asked to leave the country he next proceeded to Blankenberg, living on the hospitality of the Duke of Brunswick. In 1797, however, this was closed to him, and his next resting-place was Mittau, in Courland, where he was accorded permission to settle by Paul I. It was from Mittau he sent letters to Bonaparte inviting him, with adroit flattery, to play the rôle of Monk.

After Mittau, from which he was expelled by some whim of Paul I., Louis lived at Warsaw for three years, and bent his energies to the conversion of France to the Bourbon cause. A *secret conseil royal*, founded in Paris by Royer-Collard, Montesquieu, and Clermont-Gallerande, was working in his interest, but the rivalry of the Comte d'Artois obstructed all development. The cause was hopeless after 1800, with the failure of Cadoudal and the death of the Duc d'Enghien to warn the conspirators of the fate awaiting them. Meeting at Calmar

(Sweden), Louis and the Comte d'Artois, however, issued a protest condemning N.'s action. Louis was now warned not to return to Poland, hence he again returned to Mittau with Alexander's permission. After Tilsit it was decided that England offered the safest refuge, and Louis and the royalist following departed thence, residing first at Gosfield (Essex) and afterwards at Hartwell, Buckinghamshire. In 1810 his wife died, and in 1811 he lost his favourite and confidant, the Comte d'Avaray. His place, however, was supplied by the Comte de Blacas.

The hopes of the royalists revived after N.'s defeats in 1812, and to help matters towards the desired end Louis issued a proclamation in which he solemnly promised to recognize the liberties gained by the Revolution. Negotiations were also entered into with Bernadotte, who, however, was, as always, simply bent on serving his own interests. In March 1814 the return of the Bourbons was successfully negotiated by Talleyrand. To him belongs the doubtful credit of restoring their disastrous rule to France, for neither Austria nor Russia had any love for the family. Louis entered Paris on 2 May 1814, after the edict of St. Ouen, in which he had promised to give the country a constitution. But personal and family influences, foremost with him, drew him into unpopular measures dictated by the reactionary and clerical party, who flourished under the leadership of the Comte d'Artois and the narrow-minded Duchesse d'Angoulême. Suspicion of his good faith was aroused, for the Bourbon tradition commanded little respect in France, and personally the people had been revolted by the harsh expression and enormous obesity of the King. The army was shamefully treated and alienated by the creation of the *Maïson Militaire*, whilst politically any attempt at the formation of a united ministry was rendered impossible by the ever-present favourite Blacas. During the Hundred Days Louis took refuge at Ghent, and was well served by Fouché, Talleyrand, and other traitors to N. On the second Restoration, or, rather,

as a condition of it, the dismissal of Blacas was demanded. The 8th of July saw the return of Louis to Paris, as his enemies said, "in the baggage-train of the Allied Armies." His security he owed neither to personal popularity nor to the people's love for the Bourbons—it was simply owing to the material exhaustion of a nation which above all desired peace. In reward for their services Louis retained Talleyrand and Fouché in his first ministry, but having sufficient insight into their characters, he soon contrived to rid himself of them. The second Restoration was disfigured by the bloodthirsty execution of Marshal Ney (*q.v.*) instigated by the Duchesse d'Angoulême. Lavalette (*q.v.*) was likewise doomed to the same fate, but fortunately escaped.

The political affairs of the remaining years of Louis's reign were again dominated by favourites and disturbed by the reactionaries and clericals. N.'s death and the birth of a posthumous son to the Duc de Berry, together with the resignation of Richelieu, further strengthened their power. At length all rule passed out of the King's hands when the Comte d'Artois became associated with the government. The death of Louis took place on 16 Sept. 1824.

Louis XVIII. was a true Bourbon both in his love of power and in his cold and selfish nature. He was essentially unprincipled and false, his talent for intrigue making him a really good diplomatist. Kindness of heart he certainly never possessed, but sentimentality took its place, though any manifestation of charity was solely for favourites and family.

**Louis Philippe (1773-1850).—**Duc de Chartres, King of the French, and finally Count of Neuilly, eldest son of the Duc d'Orléans (Philippe Egalité); was born in 1773. He was educated by Mme. de Genlis (*q.v.*), to whose training one may trace many of his later characteristics. He entered the army, and when the Revolution broke out he enthusiastically embraced its principles. In 1792 he commanded the Army of the North, and was present at Valmy and Jemappes. Although posing as an adherent of the republic, at heart Louis Philippe was

a royalist, and was concerned in Dumouriez's plot (March 1793) to overthrow the republic. He managed to escape, and left France. At the death of his father on the scaffold in Nov. 1795 he became Duc d'Orléans and the magnet round which the Orleanist schemes gravitated. He, however, cautiously refused to be a party to these intrigues, and in 1796 he went to the United States, where he remained for four years. On hearing of the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire he returned to France, and was reconciled to the exiled Louis XVIII. He declined, nevertheless, to fight against France, and with his brothers went to Twickenham, not far from London, where they lived for seven years. Both of his brothers died of consumption, and in 1809 Louis Philippe married the Princess Marie Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand of Sicily. In 1814, after N.'s abdication, he returned to France, was well received by the King, and the remains of the Orleans estates were restored to him. N.'s return from Elba scattered the Bourbons once more, and England again became Louis Philippe's home until the expiry of the Hundred Days. From the year 1817 he resided permanently in France, until the revolution of 1830 and the deposition of Charles X. placed him upon the throne. In 1848 he was obliged to fly from France, and coming to England he took up his abode at Claremont, where he died in 1850.

**Louise (Auguste Wilhelmina Luise) (1776-1810).**—Queen of Prussia, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; was born at Hanover in 1776. In 1793 she was married to the Crown Prince of Prussia, who four years later ascended the throne as Frederick William III., and Louise became greatly beloved amongst the Prussian people. A woman gifted not only with beauty but with nobleness, and of no mean intellect, she was also a model wife, mother and queen. When Prussia lay bruised under the heel of N. she proved herself possessed of courage and dignity. After Jena (1805) she went to Königsberg with the King. During the negotiations which preceded the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit she

made a personal appeal to N. that Prussia should have Magdeburg, but he would only promise to think the matter over. It was now that the incident of the rose occurred. Louise, who had been N.'s honoured guest at dinner, spent a few moments talking to him before leaving. Selecting a lovely rose he gallantly offered it to her. The Queen hesitatingly extended her hand to take it, saying: "At least with Magdeburg." "Madame," N. replied coldly, "it is mine to give and yours to accept." Her efforts had been in vain. In 1808 she and her husband were at Memel, thence going to St. Petersburg, and during this time the royal pair were actually in want. N.'s treatment of Louise can only be described as shameful, and originated probably in his recognition and fear of her influence, which was considerable. His calumnies—the best known of which referred to the Tsar's relations with her—remained, however, unproved, and, indeed, only added to the love with which she was regarded in Prussia. She died in 1810, and was buried in the garden of the palace of Charlottenburg. A statue of her stands in the Tiergarten at Berlin.

**Louisiana, Sale of.**—The sale of Louisiana to the United States of America in 1803 is one of the most important events in the history of that republic. The name Louisiana was given to a vast tract of territory stretching northwards from the Gulf of Mexico along the western bank of the Mississippi almost to the Canadian lakes. It is probable that the first Europeans to traverse the Mississippi valley were Spaniards, but in 1682 a French explorer, La Salle, took possession of the territory in the name of Louis XIV., in whose honour he christened it Louisiana. An attempt which he made later to colonize it proved unsuccessful, though towards the close of the century a colony was founded under Iberville. In 1712 it was granted by the French king to one Antoine Crozat, who held it for five years at great cost to himself, for it was then a most unprofitable territory. In 1717 he transferred it to the Western Company, at the head of which was John Law, a Scottish

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financier, who planned the development of the Mississippi region. Under the supremacy of this company the prosperity of Louisiana greatly increased, while its capital, New Orleans, was founded by the French governor in 1718, and named after the Bourbon Duke of Orleans. In 1731, however, Law's company failed, and Louisiana reverted to the crown.

In 1762 the Mississippi valley was ceded to Spain by a secret treaty, and by the end of the eighteenth century it included Florida, New Orleans, and all the district to California. At this period both France and the United States had designs on Louisiana, the former desiring to build up a colonial empire in the western hemisphere, while the latter could not but recognize that the possession of New Orleans and the Mississippi valley would prove of incalculable value commercially, since all their exports must pass that way. As it was they were dependent on Spanish concessions, the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi having been opened to them by a treaty with Spain signed in 1795.

In Oct. 1800, by a secret convention signed at St. Ildefonso, Charles IV., King of Spain, surrendered Louisiana to France in exchange for the province of Tuscany (the kingdom of Etruria, as it now came to be called), which was ceded to the heir of Louis, Duke of Parma, son-in-law to the King of Spain. The bargain does not seem a very sound one from the point of view of the Bourbon king, but Charles was perfectly satisfied, and would not be dissuaded from the surrender by the protests of his more prudent minister Godoy. To the Americans the transfer of Louisiana from the weak rule of Spain to the powerful control of France was very odious, and the contemplation of such a step drew a remonstrance from the United States, which was met by the assurance that the transaction would not take place. Immediately afterwards N. tried to replace the convention of St. Ildefonso by a formal act of transfer which would confirm the cession of Louisiana. In addition he proposed that Charles should cede Florida to

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France in exchange for the Duchy of Parma, which had fallen to the Consulate on the death of the Duke of Parma, father of King Louis of Etruria, but to this the Spanish king would not agree.

Meanwhile N. had conveyed a French force to America for the purpose of occupying Louisiana, though it was ostensibly sent to the aid of Leclerc in San Domingo. The Gulf of Mexico was then (Oct. 1802) closed to United States shipping, to the intense indignation of the Americans, who roused their pacific president, Jefferson, into sending Monroe to Paris to effect a compromise. By this time various circumstances had combined to make his American colonies distasteful to Bonaparte. He would have liked to occupy Louisiana by force of arms, but knew that to do so would be to face an alliance of Great Britain and the United States, a step he was by no means prepared to take. Then the news reached him of Leclerc's death and of disaster to the St. Domingo expeditionary force. Moreover, he had begun to look longingly towards Egypt, and to dream of conquests in Europe and the Orient. Consequently the American minister found him in an unusually conciliatory mood.

Monroe had been authorized by his government merely to demand the restoration to the United States of free trading rights on the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, or at most to purchase the Floridas if these had passed into the hands of the French. The accession of Louisiana was a matter of such magnitude that Jefferson had not seriously contemplated it. But N. had already decided that he could not hope to retain his American colonies; therefore he nonplussed the American minister by offering to sell to the United States the whole of Louisiana. Finally, and still without the authority of his government, Monroe closed with the bargain, the price was fixed at the absurdly trifling sum of 60,000,000 francs, and on 30 April 1803 the sale was formally carried out. N., for his part, acted entirely on his own responsibility throughout, neither consulting the

deputies nor heeding the advice of Talleyrand nor giving ear to the protests of his brothers Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte, who for various reasons were keenly disappointed at the surrender.

The acquisition of Louisiana, now one of the busiest and wealthiest portions of the United States, with a population of over 15,000,000, as compared with 80,000 in 1803, was, as has been indicated, an event of supreme importance in American history. An American writer, Prof. Sloane, says: "Excluding the Floridas, which Spain would not concede as a part of it, and the Oregon country, the territory thus acquired was greater than that of Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy combined. Its agricultural and mineral resources were, humanly speaking, inexhaustible." Yet, fortunate as it proved to be, the Louisiana purchase can hardly be called a masterly stroke of policy on the part of America, since the idea of purchasing that vast territory had never been seriously entertained by the United States government, nor seriously thought of by its minister. It was, instead, merely the result of a curious combination of external circumstances, which at the critical moment caused N. to relinquish his hold of Louisiana. It enabled him to turn his attention to Europe and the East with hands unencumbered, to prevent the dreaded alliance of England and the United States against France, and indirectly to threaten British naval supremacy by strengthening the United States. Yet, whatever may have been the advantages accruing to N., the bartering of this valuable state for the paltry sum of 60,000,000 francs remains one of the enigmas of modern history.

**Love Affairs of Napoleon.—**

Although the sentiment of love had but a small part in N.'s life, and not the slightest influence upon his aims, he was the hero of several intrigues more or less well known. He has himself left us the fragmentary account of his chance meeting with a young demi-mondaine of the Palais Royal encountered in his early youth in Paris,

as also of his sentiments for Mlle. du Colombier. His amourettes of later life were for the most part carefully concealed, but this was not the case with his intrigue with Mme. Fourès, the milliner of Carcassonne, who, married to a young officer, had accompanied her husband in male disguise to Egypt. N. dispatched the husband to France, and lived openly with his mistress; she occupied a handsome house, and was frequently to be seen riding at his side in a general's uniform. The next mistress of any prominence was the cantatrice Grassini, who attracted N.'s notice at Milan and for whom a remunerative engagement was secured in Paris. This intimacy was at first well concealed, but later was discovered by the jealous Josephine. N.'s *liaison* with the actress Mme. Levert is questionable; that with Mlle. Georges certain. Other mistresses, their sway of varying but usually brief duration, were found among Josephine's ladies-in-waiting and *lectrices*, Mme. de Vaudey, Mlle. Lacoste, Carlotta Gazzani, Mlle. Guillebeau, and others. Of doubtful identity is the lady who bore N. a son in Aug. 1804 and was discovered in his company by Josephine. Another son, born in Dec. 1806, was the child of Eléonore Denuelle, a former schoolfellow of his sister Caroline. The boy was named Léon (*q.v.*), and N. seems at one time to have intended him as his successor on the throne of France. The youth turned out a wastrel, but he lived to see his father's ashes brought to France and to receive a pension from Napoleon III., dying at Pontoise in 1881. Finally the Polish patriot Mme. Walewska, most faithful of N.'s loves, bore him a son (who was a well-known and leading figure under the Second Empire), and paid her fallen lover a brief visit in his captivity at Elba.

**Lowe, Sir Hudson (1769-1844).—**

An Irishman by birth, being the son of a surgeon, John Lowe. He entered his father's regiment at Gibraltar in 1787, and experienced service in Corsica, Elba, and Portugal. He commanded a motley brigade of Corsican exiles at Minorca, who for want of

a better name were styled the "Corsican Rangers," and at the head of these he went through the Egyptian campaign of 1800-1. When war broke out with France in 1805 he once more recruited in Corsica, and with the brigade collected on that occasion assisted in the defence of Sicily. He helped to defend Capri against Murat, but with other commanders he had perforce to evacuate the island, a circumstance which seems to have rankled in a mind never possessed of much generous emotion to friend or enemy. Until his appointment as custodian of N. his progress does not call for any remark, consisting as it did of mere mechanical promotion. The regrettable act which placed such a person, unsuitable for the position by every circumstance of disposition and training; as a virtual jailer over a man of such exalted and sensitive character as the Emperor can only be accounted for as an ebullition of malice on the part of the British government scarcely conceivable as emanating from men of even ordinary magnanimity—an act which must be considered as among the most designedly unchivalrous in history. (See ST. HELENA.) After the death of N. in 1821 Lowe returned to England and received the "thanks" of George IV. He at first intended to prosecute O'Meara on the appearance of his book, but considered discretion the better part of valour. From 1825-30 he commanded the forces in Ceylon, and in 1842 returned to the 50th regiment as colonel. He died in 1844. He appears to have been an officer of merely average ability, a man of little chivalry or tact, and his claim to gentility and polish appears very doubtful even in days when military men were not overburdened with refinement.

**Löwenberg, Battle of.**—A battle of the Leipsic campaign, fought on 21 Aug. 1813. When the French Army in Silesia was everywhere falling back before Blücher, N. arrived in person at the head of his Guards and cavalry, and the retreat was immediately turned into an advance. Blücher was compelled to fall back with a loss of nearly 2,000, though the French Army had been considerably weakened during the previous days' fighting.

**Lozier, Athanase Hyacinthe Bouvet de (1769-1825).**—A general in the French Army; was born in Paris. At the Revolution he followed the Bourbons into exile and served in Condé's army. He participated in the plot of Georges Cadoudal, and was captured with the other conspirators. He was sentenced to death, but was pardoned at the intervention of Caroline Bonaparte, the wife of Murat. After four years' imprisonment he was transported. Under the Restoration he was created a marshal and governor of the Isle of Bourbon, but in 1818, for some reason or other, lost place and favour, though later was created a count. He met his death in a duel at Fontainebleau. The clergy refused to read the burial service over his body, and he was buried in the Jewish cemetery. In 1819 he had published a *Mémoire sur mon Administration de Bourbon*.

**Lunéville, Peace of.**—The Peace of Lunéville was signed by France and Austria on 9 Feb. 1801, marking the close of the Revolutionary Wars. The events which led to the conclusion of this treaty, so disastrous for Austria, so signal a triumph for Bonaparte, may be briefly enumerated thus: After her victory on the field of Marengo (14 June 1800) France was prepared to exact from Austria a treaty on Campo Formio lines, but Austria, desirous of peace though she was, was unable to meet the overtures of the conqueror, for she had already promised, in consideration of a subsidy from Britain, not to conclude a separate peace before 1 Feb. 1801. Temporizing, however, she sent two envoys to Paris, one of whom, Count St. Julien, rashly let himself be inveigled into signing a convention, the terms of which were practically those of the Treaty of Campo Formio. Austria, in disgust, broke off negotiations, but renewed them later. Joseph Bonaparte and Cobenzl, plenipotentiaries of France and Austria respectively, met to deliberate at Lunéville; but Bonaparte was the real dictator of terms, and finding that Austria still hoped for the inclusion of Britain in the peace he prepared for the renewal of hostilities.

At this juncture Cobenzl was instructed by his government to conclude a secret peace, not to be divulged till after 1 Feb. 1801, and also to stipulate the admission of a British representative to the deliberations, which were meanwhile to be continued. France was willing to be a party to the proposed secret treaty, but the admission of a British plenipotentiary she would not countenance. Negotiations were once more broken off and the countries plunged into war. The decisive victory of Hohenlinden followed (2 Dec. 1800), and Austria, crushed and crippled, and less than ever in a position to make her own terms, was obliged to sue for peace. On 25 Dec. Moreau granted the armistice of Steyer, on condition that Austria would treat without her British ally. Finally the treaty was signed at Lunéville on 9 Feb. 1801, Austria being now released from her obligations to Britain.

The terms of the treaty were most favourable to France. Its principal provisions were: (1) The frontier of the Cisalpine Republic was to extend to the Adige (in the preceding year Bonaparte had only pressed for the line of the Mincio); (2) France was to obtain all the German territories west of the Rhine, which thus became her boundary in all its length; (3) France was confirmed in her possession of Belgium and Luxemburg; (4) Tuscany was to be erected into a kingdom (the Kingdom of Etruria) under Louis, Duke of Parma; (5) Pius VII. was confirmed in his rule of the Papal States. It will be seen, then, that the position of France was greatly improved by the Peace of Lunéville. The extension of the frontier of the Cisalpine placed practically all the Italian lands west of the Adige in the hands of France, for though that country was required by the terms of the treaty to guarantee the independence of the Cisalpine and Ligurian as well as of the Swiss and Batavian Republics, such an obligation was a very elastic one in the hands of N. France's acquisition of German territory, again, crippled Austria in more ways than one, for in order to compensate the dispossessed princes it was necessary to secularize ecclesiastical lands on the right bank

of the Rhine, and Austria, thus deprived of the support of the spiritual princes, was overruled in the Diet by Prussia. Belgium became a part of France, sharing in her government and having the *Code Napoléon* imposed. The rulers of Etruria (Tuscany) and the Papal States were completely under the influence of N., and in the month following the signing of the Peace of Lunéville the King of Naples likewise surrendered to him by the Treaty of Florence (q.v.).

**Lützen, Battle of (Leipsic Campaign 2 May 1813).**—Owing, perhaps, to insufficient scouting, this battle came as something of a surprise. The Russians and Prussians, numbering 65,000, attacked N., with about 70,000 men, on the right flank at Lützen, near Leipsic. The French, however, immediately wheeled and endeavoured to turn the Allies' flank in their turn. After very severe fighting N. gained the victory, an empty one as it proved, for he was too weak in cavalry to follow up his advantage. Blücher and Wittgenstein, who commanded the Allied forces, ordered a retreat beyond the Elbe, where a strong position was taken up in the Neustadt, Dresden. The losses were heavy on both sides, and the French lost five guns.

**Lyons, Commission meets at (1802).**—This was a commission which met to discuss the details of the organization of the Cisalpine Republic. N., as president over 454 magistrates, was preparing to establish French rule in the north of Italy. This was his real aim, but he made it appear as though he were carrying out the wishes of the people, who had sent agents to N. desiring him to appoint various officials to carry out the interests of the country. The members were chosen by N. himself, and he took good care that they were influential men with leanings towards France. At the last sitting of the commission in 1802 Bonaparte proclaimed that the word "Italian" should be substituted for that of "Cisalpine," while Count Melzi, the most eminent man in Lombardy, was nominated vice-president and had full power in N.'s absence. These



announcements were well received, it pleasing the Lombards well to have a man of their own nationality as governor. In one of his official speeches N. led the Italian people to understand that this convention was only a step towards restoring the absolute freedom of the country. Three years later, however, when the Empire was established in France, the complete subjection of Italy was brought about, though the northern provinces had their own laws and maintained a certain independence and dignity throughout all the changes which followed.

## M

**Macdonald, Etienne Jacques Joseph Alexandre, Duke of Taranto (1765-1840).**—Marshal of France. One of the ablest of N.'s soldiers. Born at Sedan on 17 Nov. 1765, he was the son of Neil MacEachain, or Macdonald. His father at the time of the Jacobite rising in 1745 was a parish schoolmaster in South Uist, an island in the Outer Hebrides, and though he did not actually bear arms in Prince Charles Edward's army, he befriended the Prince during the latter's wanderings after Culloden. In consequence he had subsequently to leave Scotland and take refuge in France. He was a distant relation to Flora Macdonald, and addressed her in a Gaelic poem which is still extant.

Young Macdonald entered the French Army in 1784, and on the advent of the Revolution, though most of the other officers in his regiment were royalists, he espoused the cause of the revolutionists. He distinguished himself at Jemappes, and thereafter, on refusing to desert to the Austrians with Dumouriez, to whom he had previously been an aide-de-camp, he was rewarded by being appointed to command the leading brigade in Pichegru's (*q.v.*) invasion of Holland. In 1798 he was made governor of the Papal States, and after defeating the King of Naples at Otricoli he completed the subjugation of the Neapolitan kingdom. In 1799, marching to North Italy to check the

inroad of Suvorov, he sustained a severe reverse on the Trebbia, but a little later he achieved a great feat in leading his troops across the Splügen. In 1805, owing to his support of Moreau, he incurred the disfavour of N., but four years later, on the Emperor finding himself somewhat in need of competent officers, Macdonald was appointed to command the right wing of the army in Italy, then under Prince Eugène, and while acting in this capacity he crossed the Isonzo and compelled Laibach to capitulate.

In 1809 Macdonald distinguished himself at Wagram and was made Marshal of France and Duke of Taranto; the following year he fought in the Spanish campaign; in 1812 he commanded the left wing of the army for the invasion of Russia; and in 1813 he held an important command in the Leipsic campaign, greatly distinguishing himself at Lützen and Bautzen, but on 26 Aug. he was routed with great slaughter by Blücher at the Katzbach.

When N.'s fortunes began to wane, and many of his servants commenced to desert him, Macdonald remained loyal to his old master. Ultimately, however, perceiving that the Napoleonic cause was hopeless, he was among those who advised the Emperor to abdicate, while the latter on his part directed Macdonald to transfer his allegiance to the new régime. He acted accordingly, and after the Restoration he was made a peer of France, and also given the command of a military division. He took no part in the Hundred Days, and his later years were mainly occupied with political activities in the House of Peers, where he voted consistently as a moderate liberal. The Bourbons gave him many honours besides the above-mentioned, making him a knight of the Order of St. Louis, and afterwards Chancellor of the Legion of Honour and major-general of the Royal Bodyguard. He died on 25 Sept. 1840 at his country seat at Courcelles-le-Roi, and his death was widely mourned, for in an age when corruption was rife among officials of all grades he had shown himself throughout a man of singular in-

tegrity. (For particulars about Macdonald's father see *The Royal Stuarts in their Connection with the Arts*, by Blaikie Murdoch; for Macdonald himself consult *Événements Militaire*, by Mathias Dumas, *Lettre sur la Campagne du Macdonald*, by Ségur, and *Recollections of Marshal Macdonald*.)

**Maitland, Sir Frederick Lewis (1777-1839).**—Rear-Admiral; was born at Rankeilour, Fife, and entered the navy at an early age. In 1797 he served under Lord St. Vincent, a friend of his father, who was the means of promoting him first lieutenant of the *Kingfisher*, under Pierrepont. Maitland distinguished himself in an action with some French privateers and succeeded Pierrepont in command of the *Kingfisher*. Unfortunately the vessel grounded and was wrecked off Lisbon, for which its commander was court-martialled. Subsequently, on his acquittal, he became flag-lieutenant to his old commander until 1799, when he was appointed to a ship of his own. In 1800 he accompanied Abercromby to Egypt, where he took part in the battle of Alexandria. For his distinguished conduct he was appointed commander of the frigates *Dragon*, *Carrère* and *Loire* successively. In 1806, in command of the *Emerald*, he was sent to support Cochrane in the engagements in Aix Roads, and in 1813 he was stationed at Halifax, in 1814 at Portsmouth, and in 1815 at Cork. At the latter port he was transferred to the *Bellerophon*, which had seen service at Trafalgar, and to Maitland as commander of that ship N. surrendered on 15 July 1815. He died at sea in 1839.

**Malcolm, Sir Pulteney (1768-1838).**—British admiral; was born at Douglan, near Langholm, Dumfriesshire. He entered the navy at the age of ten, in the *Sybil*, under his maternal uncle, Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Pasley, served in the West Indies, and received his first command in 1794. In 1798 he became flag-captain under Rear-Admiral Ramier, first in the *Suffolk* and later in the *Victorious*. Returning to England in the latter ship in 1803, he was, owing to the worn-out state of the vessel, compelled to run her ashore

in the Tagus. He subsequently commanded the *Kent* in the Mediterranean, and in the *Donegal* joined in Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet to the West Indies. He was absent from the battle of Trafalgar, his ship being refitted at Gibraltar when he heard that the French and Spanish were leaving Cadiz; but he sailed on 20 Oct., with the foreyard towing alongside, joined the British fleet three days later, and rendered important services to damaged ships. In 1816-17 he was commander-in-chief of the squadron which guarded St. Helena, became vice-admiral in 1821, was twice commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and was made G.C.M.G. in 1829 and G.C.B. in 1833. He married a niece of Admiral Lord Keith. Sir Pulteney had numerous lengthy interviews with Napoleon at St. Helena, and these are vividly reported in Lady Malcolm's *Diary of St. Helena*, a volume of considerable value. Malcolm soon found cause of quarrel with Sir Hudson Lowe, and was *persona grata* with Napoleon, though the latter spoke of him on one occasion as a fool.

**Malet Conspiracy, The.**—Was a plot to overthrow the imperial dynasty by proclaiming the death of the Emperor during his absence from Paris. This daring scheme was first conceived in 1808, while N. was in Spain, and originated in the fertile brain of an obscure but exceedingly able man, named Malet, who had passed his early life in the army and had commanded a battalion at the commencement of the Revolution. In 1812, during the Emperor's absence in Russia, the idea again occurred to Malet, and he forthwith took measures to carry it out. Although he happened to be serving a term of imprisonment at the time, two accomplices were ready to hand—Rateau, one of the guards where he was detained, and the Abbé Lafou, a fellow-prisoner. Malet was well prepared. He had cleverly forged a decree of the senate which abolished the government and appointed himself governor of Paris, while he had also provided himself with forged orders on the treasury, besides various false nominations to appointments. On the night of 22 Oct., having escaped from

his prison with comparative ease, he donned the uniform of a general of brigade and presented himself at the house of Soulier, colonel of the 10th cohort, to whom he announced that N. had been killed before Moscow and that he himself was now governor of Paris. By the aid of his decree of the senate he speedily deceived Soulier, and ordered him to assemble the soldiers in the barracks under his command. Malet then placed himself at the head of these troops and marched to the prison of La Force, where he liberated Generals Lahorie and Guidal, who had been imprisoned by order of the Emperor. The troops were now divided into three columns, commanded respectively by Malet, Lahorie, and Guidal, who set out in different directions to seize the important posts in the city. Lahorie surprised Savary, the minister of police, in bed, and carried him off to the prison of La Force, while Guidal treated Pasquier, the prefect of police, in like manner. Meantime the Hôtel de Ville had been seized by Soulier, and Malet had not only occupied the Place Vendôme but had obtained the command of the chief military posts in the city, while the bank, the treasury and the principal public offices were also under his control. To take possession of the office of the *État-Major* of Paris, which was the headquarters of the military authority practically over the whole of France, still remained to be accomplished. But this comparatively simple task after what he had already achieved caused Malet's undoing; for when he arrived at the office it so happened that an important official under the minister of police was at the time making certain inquiries about one of his prisoners, and he immediately recognized Malet, who had only a few hours previously been under his charge. Malet was at once arrested and the whole conspiracy exposed. On the following day Malet, Guidal, Lahorie, and eleven others—who hardly deserved their cruel fate—were shot. The Emperor was informed of this conspiracy during the retreat from Moscow, and it was his main reason for hastening his return to Paris.

**Malo-Jaroslavitx (Moscow Campaign).**—After a five weeks' occupation of Moscow N. decided that, rather than remain in Moscow, he would winter farther south in Lithuania. Near Malo-Jaroslavitx, however, he found large forces of Russians, and Prince Eugène's corps became engaged in a sanguinary conflict (24 Oct. 1812) and suffered badly. The Russians won a strategical success and forced the French Army to abandon their southerly line of retreat. The losses in the conflict were fairly even.

**Mantua, Siege of.**—During N.'s Italian campaign this city, which was defended by the Austrians under General Canto d'Irles, was besieged by the French from 4 June to 31 July 1796. N. was on that date forced to abandon the siege owing to the approach of an Austrian Army under Würmser, which successfully took several of his positions. After a brief campaign, during which Würmser's troops were dispersed, the remainder of the Austrian Army with Würmser was shut up in the city, which was again invested from 18 Sept. until 2 Feb. of the following year. Würmser was obliged to surrender after a gallant defence, but was allowed to retire to Austria with all his staff and 500 men, the remainder of the garrison—including 18,000 sick men—surrendering their arms.

**Marboeuf, Charles Louis René, Comte de (1712-86).**—French general, born at Rennes; was sent to Corsica to support the Genoese in 1764. He fought against Paoli and was made military commander of the island, where his rule was not unpopular. Marboeuf greatly favoured the Bonaparte family, securing the education of Joseph, of N. at Brienne, and the admission of Eliza to St. Cyr. His family fortunes were ruined by the Revolution, and his widow and son received pensions from N. He died at Bastia.

**Marbot, Jean Baptiste Antoine Marcellin, Baron de (1782-1854).**—French general, born at La Rivière (Corrèze), his father, Jean Antoine de Marbot, also being a general in the French Army. Enlisting in the Republican Army, he soon obtained a

commission, and took part in the campaigns of Eylau and Friedland, while later he distinguished himself in the Peninsular War. He served under N. in the Russian campaign of 1812, and in the following year played a brilliant part in the War of Liberation, being severely wounded at Leipzig. He joined N. on his return from Elba, and was wounded at Waterloo. When the Bourbons were restored to power Marbot was exiled. On his return in 1819, however, he not only regained his military rank but was favoured with several lucrative appointments, and in 1845 he became a member of the Chamber of Peers. In 1848 he withdrew from public life, and died at Paris six years later. In the pages of his *Memoirs*, a précis of which is appended, we have the view of N. conceived by a professional soldier.

*Memoirs.*—This officer in his *Memoirs* had the opportunity of beholding the subject of his sketch in the heat of battle and at some of the most critical moments of his career. In many instances he was brought into close and intimate touch with N., and his anecdotes of the Emperor are perhaps the most racy of the many that exist. At the same time his picture is not sharply drawn, although on the other hand it is not a mere photograph. The haziness is due to lack of inspiration, and although Marbot was intimate with N. we do not seem to know the great leader any better after reading his book. Yet the work has attained an extraordinary popularity, and this may be accounted for by the circumstance that the portraits of many of N.'s marshals are drawn with lifelike effect. There is also a great deal of the picturesqueness and glamour of war running through the work. Like many successful books, too, it is highly egotistic. Indeed, Marbot is the real hero of his own book: whenever he is present himself at an engagement, or whenever he is the centre of an occasion, the reader obtains great insight, and vivid clarity of description is afforded him; but whenever Marbot is absent the mist gathers.

The author begins his experiences

with the Terror. The revolution at the college of Sorèze, the military school to which he was sent as a boy, merely took the form of ceasing to address the masters as "monsieur." There is indeed little interest in this part of the *Memoirs*, and we are not engrossed until we come to young Marbot's first sight of N. at Lyons. N. was supposed at that time to be in Egypt: as a matter of fact he was rushing to Paris in response to a summons from the Abbé Sieyès. People were dancing in the open spaces, and the place rang with cries of "Hurrah for Bonaparte! He will save the country." They had, indeed, given General Bonaparte the apartments, ordered a week before for Marbot's father, who had accompanied him to Lyons. General Marbot père received this news calmly enough, but his courier was not so minded, and raised what the author calls the "devil's own row" on learning that his master's apartments had been given to N. So great was the uproar, in fact, that N. himself ordered one of his officers to go down at once and offer General Marbot to share his lodging with him in soldier fashion, but by this time the general's carriage had left, so N. started at once on foot in order to go and express his regard in person. Father and son had entered upon the occupation of their new rooms when N. was announced. He embraced Marbot's father, who received him courteously but coldly, and took him into his bedroom, where they conferred together for more than an hour. On returning into the sitting-room they introduced to each other the members of their respective staffs. Among N.'s were Lannes, Murat, and Berthier. N. asked young Marbot for news of his mother, and complimented him in a kind manner in having taken up a military career so young. "Then," says the memoirist, "gently pinching my ear, the flattering caress which he always employed to persons with whom he was pleased, he said, addressing my father, 'He will be a second General Marbot some day.'" The Marbots desired to quit Lyons next day, but could not because all the post-horses in the town had

been engaged for N. "There is the beginning of omnipotence," prophetically announced the author's father.

N.'s military methods are often illuminated by passages of exceeding value; thus Marbot says that N., with all his power, never knew accurately the number of combatants which he had at his disposal on the day of battle. "Now it befell that, while we were staying at Brunn, the Emperor, on one of the rounds which he was incessantly making to visit the positions of the different divisions, noticed the mounted chasseurs of the guard marching to take up new lines. He was particularly fond of this regiment, the nucleus of which was formed by his Guides of Italy and Egypt. His trained eye could judge very correctly the strength of a column, and finding this one very short of its number he took a little notebook from his pocket and, after consulting it, sent for General Morland, colonel of the mounted chasseurs of the guard, and said to him in a severe tone: 'The strength of your regiment is entered on my notes at twelve hundred combatants, and although you have not yet been engaged with the enemy you have not more than eight hundred troopers there. What has become of the rest?' General Morland, at fighting an excellent and very brave officer, but not gifted with the faculty of ready reply, was taken aback, and answered, in his Alsatian French, that only a very small number of men were missing. The Emperor maintained that there were close upon four hundred short, and to clear the matter up he determined to have them counted on the spot; but knowing that Morland was much liked by his staff, and being afraid of what their good nature might do, he thought that it would be safer if he took an officer who belonged neither to his household nor to the guard, and, catching sight of me, he ordered me to count the chasseurs and to come and report their number to him in person. Having said this, he galloped off. I began my operation, which was all the more easy that the troopers were marching at a walk and in fours." Marbot counted the chasseurs and found them eighty short

—at least, he said so to save the face of General Morland, and for some days afterwards he was in great dread of N.'s wrath in case he should discover the falsehood he had told him. But if the Emperor could be deceived thus, he could also deceive, as may be seen in the following anecdote. The King of Prussia was wavering between peace and war, and had sent Haugwitz on a diplomatic mission to the French Army to see how things were going with it. It was just after the battle of Bregenz, in which the Army of Jellachich had been beaten and captured, and the Emperor desired that the King of Prussia should know of his decisive victory as soon as possible. Accordingly he employed the following strategy:

"Duroc, the marshal of the household, after giving us notice of what we were expected to do, had all the Austrian colours which Massy and I had brought from Bregenz replaced privately in the quarters which we were occupying. Some hours afterwards, when the Emperor was talking in his study with Count von Haugwitz, we repeated the ceremony of presentation in precisely the same manner as the first time. The Emperor, on hearing music in the court of his house, feigned astonishment, and went to the window, followed by the ambassador. Seeing the trophies borne by the sergeants, he called the aides-de-camp of Marshal Augereau, who were coming to bring the Emperor the colours of Jellachich's Austrian army which had been captured at Bregenz. We were ordered to enter, and there, without winking, and as if he had never seen us, Napoleon received the letter of Augereau, which had been sealed up, and read it, although he had known the contents for four days. Then he questioned us, making us enter into minutest details. Duroc had cautioned us to speak loud, because the Prussian ambassador was a little deaf. This was unlucky for my comrade and superior, Massy, since he had lost his voice and could hardly speak; so it was I who had to answer the Emperor, and seeing his plan, I depicted in the

most vivid colours the defeat of the Austrians, their dejection, and the enthusiasm of the French troops. Then, presenting the trophies one after another, I named all the regiments to which they had belonged, laying especial stress upon two, the capture of which was likely to produce the greatest effect upon the Prussian ambassador. 'Here,' said I, 'are the colours of the Emperor of Austria's own regiment of infantry; there is the standard of his brother, the Archduke Charles's Uhlans.' Napoleon's eyes sparkled, and seemed to say, 'Well done, young man.' Then he dismissed us, and as we went out we heard him say to the ambassador, 'You see, Count, my armies are winning at all points; the Austrian Army is annihilated, and very soon the Russian Army will be so.' Von Haugwitz appeared greatly upset, and as soon as we were out of the room Duroc said to me, 'This evening the diplomat will write to Berlin to inform his Government of the destruction of Jellachich's army. This will somewhat calm the minds of those who are keen for war with us, and will give the King of Prussia fresh reasons for temporizing, which is what the Emperor ardently desires.'

"The comedy having been played, the Emperor wished to get rid of an awkward witness who might report the positions of his army, and so hinted to the ambassador that to stay between two armies all ready for an engagement might be a little unsafe for him. He bade him go to Vienna to M. de Talleyrand, his Minister for Foreign Affairs—advice which Count von Haugwitz followed that same evening. The next day the Emperor said nothing to us about yesterday's performance, but wishing, no doubt, to evince his satisfaction at the way in which we had seized his idea, he asked tenderly after Major Massy's cold, and pinched my ear, which was with him a sort of caress."

The battle of Austerlitz is graphically described. The terrific ferocity shown on the French side especially is truthfully pictured. The guards charged into the Noble Guard of Russia, composed of the most brilliant

of the young Russian nobility, howling, "We will give the ladies of St. Petersburg something to cry for!" as they passed their sabres through the Russians' bodies; and Mustapha, a fierce Mameluke who had chased the Grand Duke Constantine, shouted in the hearing of the Emperor in his broken French: "Ah! if me catch Prince Constantine, me cut him head off and bring it to Emperor!" N., disgusted, replied: "Will you hold your tongue, you savage!" Many a stricken field, of which we have not sufficient space to speak, is limned in these Memoirs. A picture which stands out clearly, however, is a call made by the Emperor upon the Queen of Prussia. "Their interview," says Marbot, "showed no traces of their mutual hatred. Napoleon was respectful and attentive, the Queen gracious and disposed to captivate her former enemy. She had all need to do so, being well aware that the treaty of peace created, under the title of Kingdom of Westphalia, a new state whose territory was to be contributed by electoral Hesse and Prussia." The unfortunate Queen could not reconcile herself to the loss of Magdeburg, the retaining of which would be the Prussians' safeguard, but the Emperor desired to add that place to the new state of Westphalia, of which his brother Jerome was to be king. During dinner the Queen tried every possible method to inveigle the conqueror into giving up Magdeburg, and to change the subject N. praised a superb rose which she was wearing. "The story goes that she said: 'Will your Majesty have this rose in exchange for Magdeburg?' Perhaps it would be chivalrous to accept, but the Emperor was too practical a man to let himself be caught by a pretty offer, and it is averred that while praising the beauty of the rose and of the hand which offered it, he did not take the flower. The Queen's eyes filled with tears, but the victor affected not to perceive it."\*

An interesting incident is that which recounts how N. was wounded during the attack on Ratisbon. Lannes was chatting with the Emperor when a

\* For a slightly different version of this story see LOUISE, p. 281.

## MARBOT

bullet, probably fired from a Tyrolean rifle, struck N. on the right ankle. The pain was at first so sharp that the Emperor had to lean upon Lannes, but Dr. Larrey, who quickly arrived, declared that the wound was trifling. The report that the Emperor had been wounded spread through the army like wildfire, and in a moment he was surrounded by thousands of men in spite of the fire which the enemy's guns concentrated on the group. But to prove that he was not badly hurt, N. mounted his horse the instant his wound was dressed and rode down the front of the whole line amid loud cheering.

But it is not as a warrior alone that the Emperor is drawn on these pages. Accounts of how he mingled with the throng in masked balls are given. One incident at a fancy-dress ball is notable. The Emperor retired to a private apartment and begged Marbot to bring him a glass of cold water. Going to the nearest buffet, he filled a glass with iced water, and was about to carry it to the room where N. was when he was accosted by two tall men in Scotch costume, one of whom whispered in his ear: "Can Major Marbot answer for the harmlessness of that water?" These were probably some of the police agents who were distributed about the house in various disguises to look after the Emperor. On bringing the refreshment to the Emperor, to Marbot's surprise, he swallowed only a mouthful, and dipping handkerchiefs into the liquid pressed one on the nape of his neck and held the other to his face, repeating, "Ah! that's good, that's good!" N. went on to tell Marbot that he intended to give him a notable proof of his satisfaction at his behaviour at Ratisbon and the crossing of the Danube, when a partner whom Marbot had left abruptly entered the room shrilly complaining that he had deserted her. The lady, it appeared, desired to seek out the Emperor to request him to double her pension, and, without noticing who was in the room, she went on to say that various persons had attempted to blacken her reputation. But, continued she, what about N.'s sister? What about himself? They said her husband had stolen, but had not N. himself stolen in Italy,

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Egypt, everywhere? All this time the Emperor sat motionless. Poor Marbot says that he would willingly have changed his position for a cavalry charge or a storming party. The Emperor replaced his mask, and whispered to Marbot that he was certain that he—Marbot—had never met the lady before that day, at the same time telling him to send her off. He then took Duroc's arm and retired. The lady, thinking she recognized them, wanted to dart after them, and Marbot attempted to restrain her and seized her by the skirt, which tore at the waist with a loud crack. For this he was reproached bitterly, in answer to which he made a low bow and went off as quickly as he could, the lady calling after him as he retired to bring her some pins. A few hours afterwards she received orders to leave Paris.

There are vivid descriptions of operations of the Russian campaign, of the readiness of the people of France to place themselves at the mercy of their Emperor, of the defeat at Leipsic, and of the last days. Throughout the book there is no reprobation of N.'s methods or character. Marbot seems free from any sense of the horrors of war; himself the son of a soldier, he seems to have possessed a soldier's heart, and it was perhaps natural that he regarded the scenes he describes as incidental to his profession.

**Marchand, Louis (1792-1876).**—First valet to N. at Longwood and an executor under his will. He remained with the Emperor throughout his captivity, and returned for the exhumation in 1840. In 1823 he married the daughter of General Brayer, and in 1869 was created a count of the empire. His mother had been nurse to the King of Rome.

**Marengo.**—The crown of N.'s Italian campaign of 1800. Believing that the Austrians would offer no resistance, N. seriously depleted his army by providing divisions to impede their expected retreat, and he consequently found himself upon the field of Marengo at the head of only 30,000 men, facing a force of over 40,000 Austrians under Melas. Things went

badly for N., and practically the whole of the French Army was in retreat when the arrival of Desaix with his division shed a gleam of hope upon the vanquished. Desaix advised the use of artillery, which unsteadied the Austrian grenadiers, and while his men used their musketry with great effect Kellermann's heavy cavalry dashed on the enemy's flank. The Austrian column was cut in two, and a panic seized the erstwhile victors, whose retreat rapidly became a rout. The honours of this battle lie with Desaix and Kellermann, who undoubtedly saved the day, but the former paid dearly for his victory, having laid down his life upon the battlefield. See ITALIAN CAMPAIGNS.

**Maret, Hugues-Bernard, Duc de Bassano (1763-1839).**—French statesman; was born on 22 July 1763 at Dijon, the son of a well-known local physician. Circumstances led him to take up the study of law, and for some time he was under M. Bouchaut, the eminent professor of natural and national law. Following out his chosen profession, he became an advocate at the King's Council at Paris, but ere long, being greatly influenced by the ideas of the Revolution, his career was changed. He took down the debates of the national assembly, at first with no idea of publishing them, but as the speeches aroused much public interest he, with Méjean, printed them under the title of the *Bulletin de l'Assemblée*. This venture proved a very successful one; so much so that when Panckoucke, the publicist, conceived the idea of the *Moniteur* he persuaded Maret to join his staff and merge the *Bulletin* in this larger paper, which became well known for its unbiased and correct views.

In his political opinions Maret was a moderate at this time, and in 1792 he entered the office of the ministry of foreign affairs, where his influence was of a steadying character. Towards the end of that year he was sent to London on a diplomatic mission under Chauvelin, the object of which was a treaty with Britain. For some time he entertained hopes of success, but after the execution of Louis

XVI. and the embargo on British vessels the diplomats were requested to leave London. Maret was then made ambassador of the French Republic at Naples, but on his way thither with De Sémonville was taken prisoner by the Austrians. After some thirty months' confinement, and towards the end of 1795, he and De Sémonville were exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI., who had been a prisoner. Maret returned to Paris and devoted himself to journalism, and in 1797 he was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate a peace with Britain. He therefore went to Lille, where the representatives were to meet, but the victory of the Jacobins in Sept. 1797 destroyed all hopes of a peaceful issue. About this time, greatly owing to N.'s victories, he was the recipient of 150,000 francs—as indemnity for the years he had suffered imprisonment.

On N.'s return from Egypt in 1799 Maret threw in his lot with Bonaparte's party, and became one of the First Consul's secretaries and later secretary of state. Maret's history now became identified with that of N., to whom he proved a valuable servant. He was a good administrator, sensible, industrious, discreet and indefatigable, with a wide knowledge of men and business, and his devotion to his master ensured the favour of the Emperor. As Fouché said, he saw only with the eyes and heard only with the ears of his master, and he discharged all duties laid upon him, from the lowest to the highest, with the utmost readiness. The *Moniteur*, which was the official journal, was under his charge. He accompanied N. even on the battlefield, and it was a saying of the latter that not a shot was fired without Maret having something to do with it. He took part in the making of the new constitutions for the Batavian and Italian republics, and later that destined for Spain. In 1804 he was appointed minister, in 1807 he was made count, and in 1809 Duc de Bassano. The last-named honour was conferred upon him as N.'s recognition of his great labours, especially in connexion with the many



treaties of that time. Maret never swerved in his loyalty to his chief, and even attempted to defend the unworthy tactics with which N. made himself master of the destinies of Spain.

Maret was in favour of the Emperor's alliance with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria, which was effected in 1810. The following year he became Champagny's successor in the ministry of foreign affairs, and concluded the treaties with Austria and Prussia which preceded the Russian campaign in 1812. During both the 1812 and the 1813 campaigns he was with N., but at the end of the latter he was superseded in the foreign office by Caulaincourt (*q.v.*), who was thought to be more devoted to the cause of peace. Maret, however, continued to act as private secretary to N. during the campaigns of 1814 and 1815, and ministered to his wants up to the very moment of his departure for Elba. He was believed by some to have assisted N. in his escape from Elba, but N. stated at St. Helena that he knew nothing about it. During the Hundred Days Maret held the office of minister of the interior and secretary of state, and he was said to have expedited the release of the Duc d'Angoulême. Even this service to the Bourbons, however, did not save him from exile on the second Restoration, and he retired to Grätz, in Styria, where he gave up his time to literature and the education of his children. He was allowed to return to France in 1820, and in 1830 Louis Philippe made him a peer of France. He died in 1839 at Paris.

Maret was one of N.'s hardest workers and most faithful servants, but he carried his devotion too far, and in so doing, it was believed by some, exposed the real interests of France to danger. Baron Ernouf, in his book, *Maret, Duc de Bassano*, does not, however, agree with this view.

**Margadel, Chevalier Charles Nicolas Joubert de.**—Was shot by order of N. on 19 Nov. 1800, the charge of which he was accused being that of concealing arms and

of robbing a courier taking dispatches from Paris. It is thought that the promptitude with which he was executed was N.'s method of intimidating other Chouan conspirators in Paris.

**Marie Louise (1791-1847).**—Empress of the French, second wife of Napoleon I.; was the daughter of the Emperor Francis of Austria. She was born at Vienna and educated in the stately etiquette of the Austrian court. When the divorce from Josephine had been decided upon N. made overtures for her hand, and his marriage to her took place by proxy at Vienna on 12 March 1810. Caroline Murat was sent to escort the new Empress to France, and the meeting-place with N. was to be Compiègne; but the Emperor pushed on to Soissons, where he entered his bride's carriage with some precipitation, to be received with a flattering remark on the inadequacy of the picture of him which she had already seen. The religious ceremony took place at Paris in April, and the honeymoon was spent at Compiègne. The Duchess of Montebello, widow of the gallant Lannes, was appointed lady-in-waiting to the new Empress, the lady of the bedchamber being the Countess de Luçay. The bride was tall, fair, blue-eyed and finely formed. Her manners were amiable, but she lacked, and never acquired, the indefinable charm of the creole, Josephine; nor did she ever succeed in achieving the great popularity her predecessor had enjoyed. N. was, however, more than satisfied with his bride. As regards her feelings for him, they were a mixture of respect and fear, but it is doubtful if she ever had for him the slightest love. The birth of the much-longed-for son and heir, the King of Rome (*q.v.*), took place on 20 March 1811. The life of the Empress was for some time in serious danger, and N., advised of the situation by the accoucheur, Dubois, emphatically exhorted him to save the mother even if it should prove necessary to sacrifice to her the child. Marie Louise accompanied N. to Dresden in the following year and was a figure in the brilliant pageant there; but she took no part in politics, and lived in a complete detachment

from affairs of state. In 1813 she was appointed regent by N., and on the advance of the Allies towards Paris in 1814 retired with the King of Rome to Blois. Thence, under the escort of the Count de Neipperg, she made her way with her child to Vienna, and made no reply to the urgent and repeated demands of N. that she should join him in Elba. She remained at the court of her father during the Hundred Days, and in 1816, largely owing to the interest and support of the Tsar Alexander, was granted the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, which she ruled with some address. The Count de Neipperg was henceforth her constant companion, and about the time of N.'s death she bore him a natural son. Later she contracted with him a morganatic marriage, of which three more children were the issue. Marie Louise died at Vienna in 1847.

**Marmont, Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de, Duc de Ragusa (1774 - 1852).**—French marshal, son of an army officer with revolutionary sympathies; was born at Châtillon-sur-Seine on 20 July 1774. He was well educated with a view to his entering the military service, and while at Dijon met N. Later, at Toulon, this acquaintanceship became friendship, and as aide-de-camp he accompanied Bonaparte to Italy and Egypt. During the former campaign he so conducted himself that N. honoured him by sending him to Paris with the standards captured from the Austrians. After the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire Marmont was put in charge of the artillery being prepared for the second Italian expedition, and for his able command of this branch of the service at Marengo he was given the rank of general of division. He was made inspector-general of artillery in 1801, and appointed grand officer of the Legion of Honour in 1804. The following year he was ordered to Dalmatia, and occupied Ragusa, from which he afterwards took his title. For five years he held the post of governor there, which position he filled worthily, being still remembered for his public works. In 1809 he greatly distinguished himself at Wagram and

Znaim, winning on the latter field a marshal's baton. In the following year he superseded Masséna in Spain, and added to his fame by the able way in which he managed his troops. At Salamanca, however, he was defeated by Wellington, and a severe wound compelled him to return to France. At Lützen, Bautzen, and Dresden he commanded an army corps, with which he also took part in the 1814 campaign up to the last battle—that of Paris.

Now came the events which have caused Marmont's name to be execrated by all his honourable countrymen, and for which he has never been forgiven. At Essonne, with 20,000 men under him, he wrote to the Tsar: "I am ready to leave, with my troops, the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the following conditions, of which I demand from you a written guarantee. . . ." N., unknowing, still trusted his erstwhile friend and faithful servant, but Marmont, vain and false, and heeding not this confidence, betrayed his Emperor; and his men, not fully understanding what they did, walked into the Austrian lines and were taken prisoners, thus depriving N. of all chance of success. Of this act N. said sorrowfully: "Marmont me porte le dernier coup." By the Bourbons Marmont was loaded with honours, but he was always distrusted. At the revolution of 1830 he was the major-general in command of the guard on duty in July; he was ordered to put down any insurrections, but he was out-matched, and authorities differ as to whether he had not again acted the part of Judas. However that may be, he accompanied his king into exile, and never again returned to France. After some wandering he settled in Vienna, and for a time was tutor to N.'s son, the Duke of Reichstadt. He died in Venice on 2 March 1852. Of Marmont's military ability there is no doubt, but in his *Mémoires*, which provide a valuable history of his time, we see plainly the egoist who believed himself unappreciated and unrewarded, and it is possible that his treachery originated in this blind self-seeking.

## MARSHALS

**Marshals of France created by Napoleon.**—Augereau, Duc de Castiglione. Born 1757; died 1816.

Bernadotte, Prince de Ponte Corvo. Born 1764; died 1844.

Berthier, Prince de Neufchâtel, Prince de Wagram. Chief of the Staff. Born 1753; assassinated or committed suicide 1815.

Bessières, Duc d'Istria. Commander of the Old Guard. Born 1768; killed at Lützen 1813.

Brune. Born 1763; murdered at Avignon 1815.

Davout, Duc d'Auerstadt, Prince d'Eckmühl. Born 1770; died 1823.

Exelmans, Comte. Born 1775; died from accident 1852.

Grouchy, Marquis de. Born 1766; died 1847.

Jourdan, Comte. Born 1762; died 1833.

Kellermann, Duc de Valmy. Born 1735; died 1820.

Lannes, Duc de Montebello. Born 1769; killed at Aspern-Essling 1809.

Lefebvre, Duc de Danzig. Born 1755; died 1820.

Macdonald, Duc de Taranto. Born 1765; died 1840.

Marmont, Duc de Ragusa. Born 1774; died 1852.

Masséna, Duc de Rivoli, Prince d'Essling. Born 1758; died 1817.

Moncey, Duc de Conegliano. Born 1754; died 1842.

Mortier, Duc de Treviso. Born 1768; assassinated 1835.

Murat, Grand Duc de Berg, King of Naples. Born 1771; executed 1815.

Ney, Duc d'Elchingen, Prince de la Moskwa. Born 1769; executed 1815.

Oudinot, Duc de Reggio. Born 1767; died 1847.

Pérignon, Dominique Catherine, Marquis de. Born 1754; died 1818.

Poniatowski, Prince Josef Anton. Born 1763; drowned 1813.

Sérurier, Comte. Born 1742; died 1819.

Soult, Duc de Dalmatia. Born 1769; died 1851.

St. Cyr, Marquis de. Born 1764; died 1830.

Suchet, Duc d'Albufera. Born 1770; died 1826.

Victor, Duc de Belluno. Born 1764; died 1841.

## MASSÉNA

**Masséna, André, Duc de Rivoli, Prince d'Essling (1758-1817).**—One of the ablest of N.'s marshals; was born at Nice on 6 May 1758, and was the son of a wine-seller, probably of Jewish origin. He went to sea as a cabin-boy, but abandoned the life, and in 1775 enlisted in the Royal Italian regiment. He soon rose to non-commissioned rank, but his humble parentage prevented his obtaining a commission; so in 1789 he quitted the army, married and settled down in his native town. On the outbreak of war in 1791 he joined the volunteers of the Var, and speedily attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel through his knowledge of drill and the suffrages of his men. His familiarity with the Apennines country proved so useful that in 1793 he had attained the rank of general of division, and won the battle of Saorgio in Aug. 1794, capturing ninety guns. Success followed success, and his share in the victory of Loano over the Austrians and Sardinians on 23 Nov. 1795 was not the least of his victories. In N.'s Italian campaign (1796-97) Masséna was a general of division, every succeeding battle illustrating his tactical genius and his ability as a leader of men. From the crowning victory of Rivoli he afterwards took his title. In the year following the campaign he was placed in command of the Army of Rome—a post which he lost through the action of Berthier. He was then placed in charge of the army in Switzerland which served as a link between Moreau's forces in Germany and those in Italy under Joubert. In this command he displayed great powers of initiative in his struggles with the Archduke Charles and Suvarov. After holding his own against the Archduke he left Soult to face the Austrians and turned upon Korsakov at Zürich, where on 26 Sept. 1799 he defeated the Russian general, taking 5,000 prisoners and 200 guns. His reputation now equalled that of N., but he was a keen republican, and his ambitions were bounded by the desire for good living and the amassing of money. N. as First Consul dispatched him to Genoa to command the remnant of the Army of Italy, and he strenu-

ously defended that city to the last extremity, thus permitting N. the success at Marengo. Betaking himself to Paris, he became a member of the Corps Législatif in 1803, and in the following year was made one of the first marshals in France, being afterwards decorated with the grand eagle of the Legion of Honour. On N.'s deciding to advance through Germany with the *grande armée*, Masséna was sent to Italy to keep the Archduke Charles in check there. This he succeeded in doing until, learning of the surrender of Ulm, he gave him battle on 30 Oct. and signally defeated him at Caldiero. A little later he took part in placing Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Naples. N. sent for him to Poland, where in 1808 he was made Duke of Rivoli. In the same year he lost the sight of an eye during a shooting party through the inadvertence of his old enemy, Berthier. During the campaign of 1809 he rendered signal service at Landshut and Eckmühl, and undoubtedly saved the day at Aspern-Essling. He was created Prince of Essling. Later he directed the operations of the left wing at Wagram, although seriously indisposed. He then proceeded to Spain to confront the English, his comparative failure against whom will be found fully dealt with in the article PENINSULAR WAR. In this campaign he was unfortunate in his subordinates—Ney, Regnier, and Junot—whom he accused of frequent disobedience. His retreat was little short of a disaster, but by sheer force of discipline he kept the army together. When he returned to France his prestige had fled, and it is said that he made offers to Fouché and what was left of the republican party. He was appointed territorial commandant at Marseilles, a post in which he had practically no chance of action against the government. On the second Bourbon restoration he was summoned to sit on the court-martial which tried Ney, but refused to do so. For this he was attacked by the royalists, and the troubles he now found himself in soon ended his life. He died on 4 April 1817, and was interred at Père-la-Chaise.

Although destitute of the higher

imagination which makes a great soldier, although badly educated and lazy, Masséna was one of the greatest disciplinarians and strategic geniuses in the history of war. Once in the neighbourhood of the enemy his resource and energy were marvellous. His ability lay in gauging exactly the proper movements whilst in actual battle, but the greater art of planning an entire campaign was by no means his. Although intensely fond of pleasure, he was exceedingly rapacious, if not avaricious, and sour-tempered; but, on the whole, it must be said of him that he takes rank among the greatest soldiers of all times.

**Maximilian I. (Maximilian Joseph) (1756-1825).**—Became Elector of Bavaria on 16 Feb. 1799. He was extremely sympathetic towards French revolutionary ideas of the time; his reign was marked by many reforms, but he was not a supporter of German national unity, and his schemes had for their aim Bavaria's advancement. For some years he was a great admirer and supporter of N., this alliance being further strengthened by the marriage of his daughter to Eugène Beauharnais (q.v.) in 1813. The Treaty of Pressburg (Dec. 1805) granted certain territorial additions to his domains, and he assumed the title of "King." On the eve of Leipsic Maximilian joined the Allies, intending thus to ensure the integrity of his kingdom, but soon afterwards he was obliged to cede portions of it to Austria. He continued to oppose strenuously the union of the German states, but in 1818 granted a liberal constitution to his people. He died on 13 Oct. 1825.

**Maya, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—One of the battles of the Pyrenees (q.v.), which took place on 25 July 1813. General D'Erlon, with 18,000 French, advanced against a British division under General Stewart which occupied the Puerto de Maya, and the latter were obliged to give ground. The losses were about the same on both sides.

**Medellin, Battle of (Peninsular War 1809).**—The French under Victor were in pursuit of a Spanish Army under Cuesta, and the latter deter-

mined to make a stand on the plain which surrounds Medellin (28 May). The result was disastrous for the Spaniards, who were utterly routed and suffered enormous losses. The French losses were very small.

**Mediation, Act of.**—See SWITZERLAND.

**Medola, Battle of (Italian Campaign 1796).**—This battle was fought on the plain between Solferino and Medola on 5 Aug. 1796, between about 30,000 Austrians under Würmser and a somewhat smaller French Army under N. The Austrians were defeated and obliged to retreat over the Mincio. This action was always referred to by N. as the battle of Castiglione.

**Méhée de la Touche (1760-1826).**—An agent provocateur employed by Fouché. He was the son of a surgeon at Meaux and was educated in that profession. One account states that while still a youth he ran away to Paris, and there, falling in with some criminals, followed their practices and, consequently, was captured and imprisoned. Released on his father's petition, he again returned to his evil habits, and was again arrested and sent to Brest to serve with the fleet. He escaped, however, and was not heard of again till the Revolution gave him, with many others, promise of safety. In 1790, the record proceeds, the revolutionary government sent him as a spy to St. Petersburg, giving him a pass as the Chevalier de la Touche, while he was also the representative of a mercantile house of Marseilles. His actions, however, were suspicious and his revolutionary propaganda obnoxious, owing to which he was banished from the Russian dominions. In Poland he established the *Warsaw Gazette*, but the fact that he was a spy was again discovered and again he was requested to leave the country. On his return to Paris he was patronized by prominent men of the movement and frequented the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers. He was assistant secretary to the commune in various departments, and in that capacity was one of the most ferocious. Though he always denied it, there is little

doubt that he was one of the assassins in the Sept. massacres. His name, together with those of Tallien and Huguenin, was appended to the resolution of Aug. 30: "The council has decided that this night and morning the sections shall, on their responsibility, examine and judge the citizens that are in prison," and the same names appeared on the *bons* for the payment of the Sept. murderers. On the 17th of the same month, when the mode of government which the convention should be required to regulate was being deliberated upon, Méhée worded his vote as follows: "Citizens! If ever a king or anything like one should dare to present itself in France, and you need someone to stab it, have the goodness to inscribe me among the number of candidates.—Signed by me, Méhée." He became Tallien's secretary and was his collaborator, it is stated, in the writing of the pamphlet *The Apotheosis of the Septembrizers*, and with Réal was joint editor of *Les Patriotes de 1789*. In its pages he opposed the system of moderation which signalized the latter part of the reign of the Convention and brought on the crisis of Oct. 1795, at which period it was proposed to raise Méhée to the Directory. In Nov. he was nominated secretary for the war department, and later for foreign affairs, but again the accusation of having assisted in the Sept. massacres was renewed with such violence that all hope of holding the post was at an end, and he resigned in order, as he said, to have time to justify himself. He again became a spy for the Jacobins, and had much to do with Babeuf's conspiracy and its discovery; he worked against Bonaparte on 18 Brumaire, and published, as editor, *Le Journal des Hommes Libres*, in which he affected the language and policy of Marat, signing his articles "Fellhemesi," the anagram of "Méhée fils." Having made himself conspicuous as a dangerous element in Parisian life, he was included by Bonaparte among the Jacobins who were exiled after the affair of Nivôse. He escaped to England, but through his wife, who had remained in Paris, Fouché opened up negotiations with

him. The plan was that Méhée should now pretend to royalism and endeavour to gain the confidence and secrets of the *émigrés* in London, also acting as intermediary with the disaffected republicans in Paris. In Méhée's hands the counter-plot succeeded admirably. The royalist plot was hopelessly wrecked, Moreau was ruined, Pichegru committed suicide in prison, Georges Cadoudal, with others, was executed, and finally the Duc d'Anguien was arrested and shot. Not only that, but it was proved that the British ministry had also lent itself to the plot (see CADOU DAL, GEORGES). As *agent provocateur* Méhée de la Touche was a brilliant success, and may be looked upon as one of the most finished specimens. His knowledge of affairs was extensive, his linguistic attainments great, while his polished and insinuating manner contributed in no little degree to his success. Like his employer, Fouché, he made a considerable fortune, and lived in Paris in great style. He published many pamphlets, mostly justifications of his conduct at different periods and descriptions of his adventures, notably *Alliance des Jacobins de France avec le Ministère Anglais*.

**Méneval, Claude F. de.**—Secretary to N. and at one time attached to Marie Louise in the same capacity. He was a most staunch adherent to the Emperor, whom his *Memoirs* display in a very favourable light. He accompanied the Empress to Aix when she finally quitted France. Méneval, who was brought much into personal contact with N., seems to have been a simple-minded and unaffected soldier with a bias towards hero-worship. N.'s personal regard for him is shown by the fact that he bequeathed to him 100,000 francs.

*Memoirs.*—In his *Memoirs*, to serve for the history of Napoleon I. from 1802 to 1815, Méneval betrays all the bias of a worshipper, but if the chief characteristic of his portrait of the Emperor is the employment of unlimited eulogy it would still appear to have been the only point of view possible to the writer. Méneval is partial, uncritical, and not very luminous; but, like Constant, he is always

the faithful servant and can believe no wrong of his hero, who to him is invariably unselfish, moved by the highest ideals, and a martyr for France and its people.

In speaking of his introduction to the First Consul, as N. then was, he takes note of his kindness and consideration to inferiors. Méneval had been left with Mme. Bonaparte after dinner, and he thought that the First Consul had forgotten him, but shortly after he was called into N.'s writing-room, an apartment in which he was to spend much of his future time. It was, he tells us, furnished with a very luxurious roll-top writing-table loaded with gilt bronze ornaments and inlaid with mosaics representing various musical instruments—furniture which had belonged to Louis XVI. N. was sitting in a room adjacent to this, with a strong light thrown upon his writing-table, the rest of the apartment being in shade broken only by the light from the fire on the hearth. N. questioned Méneval as to his health and abilities; he replied that he was not very sure of himself but that he would do all in his power to justify N.'s confidence. The Consul pulled him by the ear and told him to come back the next morning at seven. Such was what the memoirist calls his "very simple investiture" of a responsible post which, he assures us, filled him with terror. A sleepless night followed for the young man, who was then only twenty-four years of age. Next morning he rose before daybreak and made his way to the Tuileries, where he arrived before the appointed hour. He had to wait almost a couple of hours for N.'s arrival, as the First Consul had been engaged with some of the ministers. N. took his presence quite naturally, and immediately commenced to dictate a note for the minister of finance with such volubility that Méneval could hardly understand or take down half of what he was dictating. N. then took the paper away from him without asking him whether he had heard him or had finished writing, would not let him read it over, and on Méneval remarking that it was an unintelligible scribble he said it was on a matter well known to the minister, who would

be easily able to make it out, and then retired. Méneval then gives us such an intimate and careful pen-picture of N. as can hardly be omitted. He says :

"Napoleon was at that time moderately stout. His stoutness was increased later on by the frequent use of baths, which he took to refresh himself after his fatigues. It may be mentioned that he had taken that habit of bathing himself every day at irregular hours, a practice which he considerably modified when it was pointed out by his doctor that the frequent use of hot baths, and the time he spent in them, were weakening and would predispose to obesity. Napoleon was of mediocre stature—about five feet two inches—and well built, though the bust was rather long. His head was big and the skull largely developed. His neck was short and his shoulders broad. The size of his chest bespoke a robust constitution, less robust, however, than his mind. His legs were well shaped, his foot was small and well formed. His hand, and he was rather proud of it, was delicate and plump, with tapering fingers. His forehead was high and broad, his eyes grey, penetrating and wonderfully alert. His nose was straight and well shaped. His teeth were fairly good, the mouth perfectly modelled, the upper lip slightly drawn down toward the corner of the mouth and the chin slightly prominent. His skin was smooth, and his complexion pale but of a pallor which denoted a good circulation of the blood. His very fine chestnut hair, which until the time of the expedition to Egypt he had worn long, cut square and covering his ears, was clipped short. The hair was thin on the upper part of the head and left bare his forehead, the seat of such lofty thoughts. The shape of his face and the *ensemble* of his features were remarkably regular. In one word, his head and his bust were in no way inferior in nobility and dignity to the most beautiful bust which antiquity has bequeathed to us. Of this portrait, which in its principal features underwent little alteration in the last years of his reign, I will add some particulars furnished by my long intimacy

with him. When excited by any violent passion his face assumed an even terrible expression. A sort of rotary movement very visibly produced itself on his forehead and between his eyebrows; his eyes flashed fire; his nostrils dilated, swollen with the inner storm. But these transient movements, whatever their cause may have been, in no way brought disorder to his mind. He seemed to be able to control at will these explosions, which, by the way, as time went on, became less and less frequent. His head remained cool. The blood never went to it, but flowed back to the heart. In ordinary life his expression was calm, meditative, and gently grave. When in a good humour, or anxious to please, his expression was sweet and caressing, and his face was lighted up by a most beautiful smile. Amongst familiars his laugh was loud and mocking."

The domestic habits of N. are treated by this memoirist at some length. He states that the First Consul usually dined with Mme. Bonaparte and some persons of his family, and on Wednesdays the other consuls and the ministers remained to dinner with him. He lunched alone on the most simple food and a little Chambertin diluted with water, ending the meal with a cup of coffee. Afterwards he received men of letters or artists, whose conversation he used to enjoy greatly. He had quite a contempt for conspiracy, and had no fear that unprincipled persons might attempt to reach his apartments. Indeed, he had a conviction of the impotence of conspirators, and listened with ill-concealed impatience to such reports as were brought him by the police. Regarding the First Consul's life at Malmaison, Méneval states that when not at work or occupied by sport he spent most of his time with Josephine. He dined with his family, and if work did not press would play chess in the drawing-room. He was fond of chatting and discussions; he did not impose his opinions upon anyone. When only ladies were present he had a habit of criticizing their dresses, and loved to excite their fears by telling them tragical or satirical stories, for the

most part tales of the supernatural. He used to say that he went to bed with pleasure and that statues ought to be erected to the men who invented beds and carriages. All the same, he would rise several times during the course of the night. Once he had lain down, his wife would begin reading aloud to him, and as she read very well he took great pleasure in listening to her. On Sundays little dances were given at which N. used to dance, and through the week the family amused themselves during the evenings with theatricals.

Méneval found N.'s habits extremely simple. He says that the First Consul was patient, indulgent, easy to please, merry with a merri-ness which was often noisy, and familiar in a manner which did not awake corresponding familiarity. N., he says, "played with men without mixing with them." His relations with his officers, the other consuls and ministers and his soldiers were ideal. The current of Méneval's work appears to have flowed with considerable ease; but as time went on and N. became involved in his great wars the demands upon his energies were greater, and Méneval's work grew correspondingly, for he says that N.'s activity "grew in proportion to the obstacles put in his way, and he sorely taxed my strength, which was by no means equal to my zeal." He would have his secretary awakened in the night for a hundred-and-one purposes, and when he was handed some document to sign in the evening he would say: "I will not sign it now. Be here to-night at one o'clock, or at four in the morning. We will work together." N. would then appear in a white dressing-gown with a Madras handkerchief round his head, or else he would be found walking up and down with his hands behind his back, or helping himself from his snuff-box, the contents of which, by the way, Méneval says, he never really inhaled but only smelled. "His ideas developed as he dictated with an abundance and clearness which showed that his attention was firmly riveted to the subject with which he was dealing." Sometimes in the middle of work, sometimes when

it was completed, he would send for sherbet and ices, used to ask Méneval which he preferred, and showed great solicitude for his health. He would then return to bed and could resume his sleep at once as though it had not been interrupted. One of the imperial cooks used to sleep near the larder to serve such refreshments as might be asked for during the night and which were prepared in advance. Often in the morning Méneval would find his table covered with reports and papers annotated in N.'s writing.

The blindness of Méneval's political partisanship for N. must be discounted when one recollects how greatly he admired his hero. It is on the personal side alone that his Memoirs are valuable. This sketch of N. in his study well instances the weight of his authority as an observer of the wonderful man he served:

"When some lengthy answer was rendered necessary by the reading of a report or dispatch, when some spontaneous idea was suggested to him by his observations or comparisons, or when this idea having sprung up in his mind, elaborated by his meditations, had reached its maturity and the moment to set it in motion had arrived, Napoleon could not keep still. He could not, like the pythoness, remain attached to his tripod. He collected his thoughts and concentrated his attention on the subject which was occupying him, taking a strong hold on his mind. He would rise slowly and begin to walk slowly up and down the whole length of the room in which he found himself. This walk lasted through the whole of his dictation. His tone of voice was grave and accentuated, but was not broken in upon by any time of rest. As he entered upon his subject the inspiration betrayed itself. It showed itself by a more animated tone of voice, and by a kind of nervous trick which he had of twisting his right arm and pulling at the trimmings of his sleeve with his hand. At such times he did not speak any faster than before, and his walk remained slow and measured."

He had, continues Méneval, no difficulty in finding words to express his thoughts, and he goes on to say that



if occasionally he made blunders his very errors added to the energy of his language and always wonderfully expressed what he wished to say. These were, however, infrequent. Through excessive nervous irritability he could scarcely ever be got to write anything with his own hand. Writing, indeed, tired him; his hand could not follow the rapidity of his plans. After writing some lines he used to stop and throw away his pen, and if he happened to be alone he would seize upon the first person within call and make them act as his amanuensis. His writing was a collection of letters unconnected with each other and unreadable. Half the letters of each word were wanting. He could not read his own writing again, nor would he take the trouble to do so. He had curious and unaccountable intellectual lapses. His spelling was poor, but through negligence rather than ignorance. He also made mistakes in figures; although he could have worked out the most complicated mathematical problems, he could rarely add up a sum correctly. But, we are told, sometimes these errors were intentional, as when he desired to exaggerate the strength of his armies.

Occasionally, according to Méneval, N. had lapses of complete idleness, or what seemed on the surface to be idleness, but which in reality concealed an increase of cerebral activity. At such moments he appeared embarrassed as to how to spend his time. He would visit the Empress for an hour, then he would return, sleep or appear to sleep for a few minutes, seat himself on the corner of Méneval's writing-table, on one of the arms of his chair, or sometimes even on his knees, putting his arm round his neck, pulling his ears or patting him on the shoulder or on the cheek. He would speak on all sorts of disconnected subjects, of himself, his ideas, his constitution, some plan that he had in his head. He was very fond of teasing, not vindictively but good-naturedly. He would then glance through the titles of his books, say a word of praise or blame on the authors. He would read tirades from the tragedies of Corneille and Voltaire, and then walk up and down reciting

verses from them. He would then begin to sing "in a strong but false voice," usually airs from old operas. Or when he was in a more serious frame of mind verses from revolutionary hymns and chants, such as the *Chant du Départ*, *Veillons au salut de l'Empire*. He was something of a fatalist, and retained from early days the habit of involuntarily signing himself with the cross on hearing of some great danger, but although a believer in his star he never trusted much to luck and was always prepared in advance for every reverse he might meet. "Before finally deciding upon his plans he subjected them to the minutest scrutiny. Every hazard, even the most improbable, being discussed and provided for. . . . If anything could have surprised him it would have been the failure of plans which he had prepared with so much skill and so much care."

His constitution, says Méneval, was robust, and his only indisposition seemed to be biliousness, but he was extremely sensitive as regards evil smells. He was easily upset by unpleasant sights.

Méneval provides pictures of N. in the field as well as in the cabinet. He tells of his justice and kindness to his soldiers, of how he attended to the administration of home affairs while upon a campaign, of his enormous capacity for work of every description. He would visit the bivouacs through the night to assure himself that all was well, and on the day of battle he would place himself at some central point whence he could see all that was going on. He had his aides-de-camp and orderly officers by him, and used to send them to carry his orders in every direction. There is another side to the picture—his dread of being taken prisoner by the Tsar during the retreat from Moscow and being paraded as part of his triumph, so he received from his medical officer, Dr. Yvan, a dose of poison which was contained in a sachet, which he could carry round his neck and "which was to spare him the humiliation of falling alive into the hands of the Cossacks." This was the sachet the contents of which he made use of when deposed in

1814. On the very day after consulting Yvan he took the poison from its case and was about to make use of it when the doctor, terrified by his action, seized part of its contents and threw it into the fire. But on the following day N. rose without summoning anybody, diluted the rest of the poison in a goblet and swallowed it. But it was insufficient to cause death.

Méneval was attached to the person of Marie Louise for some time after the abdication of the Emperor, and only returned to France when N. came back from Elba. Some part of his memoir therefore deals with the period during which he was with the Empress and her son. He draws a pathetic picture of his last interview with the King of Rome. The child had lost his cheerfulness and loquacity, and looked serious and even melancholy. He was asked if he had a message to take to his father, but, gazing at Méneval in a sad and significant way, he freed his hand from his grasp and withdrew silently into the embrasure of a window some distance off. He stood there pensively for some time, and as Méneval was about to leave he said, "M. Meva, you will tell him that I am still very fond of him."

Méneval soon discovered that the Emperor, after his return from Elba, had lost his nerve and foresaw his approaching doom. "All his words were stamped with a calm sadness and a resignation which produced a great impression upon me." The certainty of success and the belief in his star were gone. After Waterloo Méneval followed N. to Malmaison. The Emperor told him that he counted on his services, and he learned that his master's first intention had been to go to America, but as there were obstacles in the way he now desired to go and live in England, adding that he meant to insist on the rights which were enjoyed by every English citizen. Méneval had to go back to Paris that night, and when he returned to Malmaison N. had gone to Rochefort—the faithful secretary was not to see him again.

**Menou, Jacques François, Baron de (1750-1810).**—French general of noble descent, was deputy from the

nobility of Touraine to the States-General, but embracing the revolutionary cause joined the chamber of the Tiers-Etat. His political career was stormy. He was next employed as major-general at Paris, and on the 10 Aug. 1792 was second in command of the regular troops, but his conduct on that day was attacked as savouring of attachment to royalty and he was called upon to justify himself. His name was struck off the list of candidates for the office of Minister of War among whom he had been enrolled. In 1793 he served in the Vendée, but was defeated, the Vendéans taking the town of Saurun, and the royalist commander, young Laroche-Jacquetem, pursuing him for miles. His command was taken from him, and, returning to Paris, he was alternately accused and defended. For his participation in 13 Vendémiaire—the "whiff of grape-shot" incident—he was again brought to account. He was in command of the troops of the Convention on the evening before the 13th, and was accused of having betrayed his cause. He was brought before a military commission, and was in danger of his life when Bonaparte's intervention saved him. He accompanied N. to Egypt and there, falling in love with an Egyptian woman, abjured Christianity and became a Mohammedan in order to contract marriage with his *inamorata*. He took the name of Abdullah and adopted many of their customs. At Kléber's death he succeeded to the command of the army in Egypt, but was defeated by Abercromby at Canope in 1801 and capitulated to Hutchinson at Alexandria on 31 Aug. of the same year. He was afterwards appointed governor of Venice, and died there in 1810.

**Messkirch, Battle of.**—Two days after the Austrian defeat at Engen (*q.v.*) Kray again faced the French army at Messkirch (5 May 1800). Moreau again scored a victory, but St. Cyr once more failed to come up, and so prevented the success from becoming overwhelming.

**Metternich, Clemens Lothar Wenzel, Prince (1773-1859).**—For nearly forty years was the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs; was born

at Coblenz on 15 May 1773. His father was Austrian Ambassador to the courts of the three Rhenish electors, and the early part of the boy's life was spent at one or other of the German courts. In 1788 he went to the University of Strassbourg and read German constitutional law, but at the outbreak of the French Revolution he abandoned his collegiate course. He was chosen by the Westphalian nobles as their master of ceremonies at the coronation of Leopold II. at Frankfort, and again in 1792 at the coronation of Francis II. In 1794 he published a work in which he denounced the diplomacy of the older school and proposed a measure of general conscription for the purpose of combating the Revolution. He married Elenore von Kamitz, an alliance which not only brought him great estates but rendered him intimate with the most exclusive of the Austrian nobility. In Dec. 1797 he was elected by the Westphalian nobles as their representative at the Congress of Rastadt, where he remained till 1799. At Rastadt he encountered the somewhat unpolished diplomats of the Revolution. In Jan. 1801 he was appointed Austrian envoy to the elector of Saxony, and in Nov. 1803 ambassador at Berlin. After Austerlitz he became Austrian ambassador at Paris, and in 1807 concluded the treaty of Fontainebleau. He was appointed Austrian Foreign Minister in 1809, in which capacity he arranged the marriage between N. and Marie Louise. During the years 1812-13 his was a temporizing policy, but eventually he declared war. On the field of Leipsic he was made a Prince of the Empire. He presided at the Congress of Vienna, rearranging the German confederation (while not favouring German unity under Prussia) and securing Austria's interests in Italy. For thirty years no man wielded greater power on the continent, but on the revolution of 1848 which convulsed half of Europe, he was forced to fly to England; and on his return to Austria in 1851 he found his influence gone. He died at Vienna on 11 June 1859. Though a brilliant diplomatist, he was blind to the lessons of history. He regarded the people as unworthy of trust; he

crushed all popular and constitutional aspirations and maintained that nothing short of repressive measures could prevent social anarchy. He also believed that the welfare of Europe could only be ensured by the coalition of despots. Socially he was extremely attractive, being handsome, gallant, and the soul of courtesy; yet, despite his apparent kindness, he had no warm or real sympathies. His achievements in the worlds of art, science, and letters were of a high order.

**Michelberg, Battle of (Austerlitz Campaign).**—After the battle of Elchingen the Austrians under Mack had taken up a position on the heights of the Michelberg, from which they were ousted on 16 Oct. 1805 by a French corps under Ney; while Lannes with another division carried the Frauenberg. As the result of these actions the Austrians had to retreat into Ulm, in which town Mack and 30,000 men were forced to surrender on the 20th.

**Millesimo, Battle of (Italian Campaign 1796).**—On 13 April 1796 N. attacked an Austro-Sardinian Army at Millesimo and defeated them. The latter lost heavily (the retreat of about 1,200 men under Provera being cut off by Augereau's division) and fell back on the fortified village of Dego.

**Millington, Abraham.**—An armourer who soldered up N.'s coffin on the evening of 17 May 1821. He communicated an account of that proceeding to the *Military Gazette* in 1838.

**Miot, André Francois, Count de Melito (1762-1841).**—French diplomatist, was successively minister plenipotentiary in Tuscany, ambassador to Sardinia, and administrator of Corsica. He was with Joseph Bonaparte at Naples in 1806, and in 1809 was attached to him in Spain. He wrote *Mémoires sur le Consulat, l'Empire, et le roi Joseph* (publ. 1858), and is frequently mentioned as one having intimate knowledge of N.

**Missiessy, Edouard Thomas Burques, Comte (1756-1832).**—French admiral; was born at Quîès, entered the navy and became rear-admiral in 1793. In 1805 he was sent to the Antilles to await Villeneuve and co-operate with him. He took Dominica

## MOHILEV

and St. Christophe, but failed to join Villeneuve, and was disgraced on his return. Later reinstated, he was made vice-admiral in 1809 and maritime prefect at Toulon five years later. He wrote several works on naval tactics.

**Mohilev, Battle of (Russian Campaign).**—On 20 July 1812, during their advance into Russia, the French under Davout occupied Mohilev without much opposition, and there took up a position to bar the advance of the Russians. On the 23rd Bagration ordered Raievski to attack Davout, which he did, but unsuccessfully, and Bagration withdrew his army beyond the Dnieper.

**Mohrungen, Battle of (Friedland Campaign).**—Was fought on 25 Jan. 1807 between the advance-guard of the Russian army under Markoff and a smaller French body under Bernadotte, who was concentrating his troops at Mohrungen. Markoff attacked, and after hard fighting the Russians were forced to retire from the field. Prince Dolgorucki, however, who had been detached towards Mohrungen, heard the violent firing of the combatants and fell upon the rear of Bernadotte's corps. The French were driven from the town with the loss of several hundred prisoners, while Bernadotte lost all his private baggage.

**Molinos del Rey, Battle of.**—An action of the Peninsular War of 1808. After the defeat of the Spaniards by St. Cyr at Cardadeu the Spanish general, Reding, was left in command of the fugitives. In a few days he managed to rally sufficient troops to swell his army to 20,000 men, and with these he took up a position behind the Llobregat, at Molinos del Rey. At daybreak on 21 Dec. St. Cyr attacked them with such vigour that the Spaniards fled in every direction, the engagement lasting barely forty minutes.

**Monaco, Prince of, Grimaldi, Honoré Gabriel.**—Wounded at Hohenlinden in 1800, fought under Murat in Germany in 1806 and in Spain in 1808; equerry to Josephine, which position he continued to hold after the divorce, refusing a similar post under Marie Louise. Talleyrand saved his estates

## MONCEY

by a phrase in the Treaty of Paris of 1814. The English occupied Monaco during the Hundred Days.

**Moncey, Bon Adrien Jeannot de, Duc de Conegliano (1754-1842).**—Marshal of France; was born at Besançon on 31 July 1754, the son of a lawyer who gave him a good education. At an early age he enlisted in the Condi regiment of infantry, but at the end of six months his father procured his discharge. A little later he again enlisted, this time in the regiment of Champagne, and served as a grenadier till 1773, when he bought his discharge and returned to his native town to follow the same profession as his father. This not proving congenial to his temperament, he again joined the army, receiving a commission in 1778. In 1791, having obtained his captaincy, he threw in his lot with the Revolutionary party. During the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 he won great distinction and rose to be commander-in-chief of the army of the Western Pyrenees—his successful operations being largely instrumental in forcing Spain to make peace. In 1799 the government, suspecting him of Royalist sympathies, dismissed him; but in N.'s Italian campaign of 1800 we find him again leading a corps and successfully surmounting the difficulties of taking horses and guns over the formidable pass of St. Gothard. He was appointed inspector-general of Gendarmerie in 1801, and on the creation of the Empire he received a marshal's baton. In 1805 he became a member of the Legion of Honour, and in 1808 was created Duc de Conegliano.

Moncey took part in the invasion of Spain in that year, and marched victoriously on Valencia—his success being rendered ineffectual, however, by the disaster to Dupont at Baylen. He also took a leading part in the second siege of Saragossa in 1809. We do not find him in the campaign against Russia in 1812; but when France was invaded in 1814 Moncey again led a corps and fought in the battle for Paris. During the Hundred Days he took neither side, but his declining to participate in Ney's court-martial after Waterloo led to his im-

prisonment and cost him his marshalate. In 1816 his rank was restored, and in 1819 he re-entered the chamber of peers. During the short war with Spain in 1823 he commanded an army corps, and in 1833 was made governor of the Invalides. His death occurred in April 1842.

The following testimony to his moral worth was borne by the Junta of Oviedo: "We know that this illustrious general detests the conduct of his companions. We offer him the tribute of truth and honour, and we invite this generous soldier to aid us by the addition of his talents and bravery. If the respect which he pays to the mandates of nature do not permit him to take up arms against his unworthy companions, yet he shall be considered by us as a just and honourable man, and our love and our esteem shall follow him wherever, in the vicissitudes of life, his lot shall be cast." (*Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns*, vol. i., p. 150.)

**Montebello, Battle of (Italian Campaign).**—On 9 June 1800 Lannes, in command of 9,000 men who formed the advance-guard of N.'s army, suddenly found himself confronted by 15,000 Austrians under General Ott. He decided to attack, and was being driven back with great slaughter when Victor's corps came to his assistance, and a desperate hand-to-hand struggle took place. The arrival of N. himself on the scene with a fresh division at length decided the victory, and Ott was forced to retreat. The French took a large number of prisoners, but their losses in killed and wounded almost equalled those of the Austrians, which were very considerable.

**Monte Lezino, Battle of.**—See MILLESIMO, BATTLE OF.

**Montenotte, Battle of.**—During the French campaign in Italy of 1796 an Austrian detachment under Argenteau attacked the French near Montenotte on 11 April. They were at first successful, but were checked by the bravery of some French troops under Colonel Rampon. It is said that this valiant officer summoned his men to stand firm, with the words, "C'est ici, mes amis, qu'il faut vaincre ou mourir." On the following day N.

massed more troops, and Masséna succeeded in outflanking the Austrians, thus causing Argenteau heavy losses in men and guns.

**Montereau, Battle of.**—Was fought during the allied invasion of France in 1814. On 18 Feb. N. attacked the Crown Prince of Würtemberg, who held a bridge over the Seine near Montereau. The bridge was captured by the French, who thereby assured for themselves the free crossing of the river.

**Montholon, Charles Tristan, Comte de (1783 - 1853).**—French general; was born at Paris. As a child of ten, while resident in Corsica, he received mathematical lessons from N. and was at school with Lucien, Jérôme, and Eugène Beauharnais. Educated at Brienne, he entered the cavalry; was aide-de-camp in Italy to Macdonald and Berthier; distinguished himself in Prussia, Poland, and Spain; and received five wounds at Wagram. In 1811 he was made a general of brigade, and at the conclusion of peace count and chamberlain. In 1812 he was sent as minister plenipotentiary to Würzburg. He joined N. on the latter's escape from Elba, and was his aide-de-camp at Waterloo. Together with his wife he accompanied the Emperor to St. Helena, where he remained until N.'s death. It is doubtful whether his proposed duel with Gourgaud was the outcome of a genuine quarrel or a mere display arranged to suit N.'s wish to send Gourgaud back to France. Returning to Paris, Montholon was reinstated in the army, but in 1840 joined the future Napoleon III. in his attempt at Boulogne, and was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment at Ham. He was released in 1847, and in the same year published, in collaboration with Gourgaud, the *Mémoires de Napoléon à Ste. Hélène*, and also the *Récits de la Captivité de Napoléon à Ste. Hélène*. N. made him an executor of his will, with a legacy of 2,000,000 francs.

*Memoirs.*—The *Mémoires* of Montholon, written in collaboration with Gourgaud, as also his *Récits de la Captivité à Ste. Hélène*, are of considerable, though by no means supreme, importance among material

dealing with Napoleon's life. As to their reliability, it may be noticed that O'Meara condemns them; and though O'Meara is perhaps hardly an authority in whom great confidence can well be placed, some of Montholon's statements appear to carry falsity, or at least error, on their face. His assertion, for example, that the crown of Mexico was offered to N. while in exile at St. Helena is most unlikely to be true. Moreover, there are obvious *lacunæ* in his narrative, and other parts in which the details have been very palpably filled in at later dates. He has no word to say as to the violent quarrel—real or simulated—and the proposed duel with Gourgaud. Especially in the accounts of N.'s conversation is the editorial hand most clearly seen, and in this respect Montholon's work compares very unfavourably with the spontaneous and natural *Journal* of Gourgaud, in which the matter is set down red-hot. But Montholon may still be read with interest, if with care. His recorded views of Sir Hudson Lowe are not without value when compared with the common opinion as to the character and manners of N.'s gaoler. He speaks of him as being "a man of great ability. . . . An excellent man of business and of extreme probity; amiable when he is pleased, and knowing how to assume the most engaging form."

**Moreau, Jean Victor Marie (1763-1813).**—Was a Breton by birth, having been born at Morlaix on 14 Feb. 1763. His father was an advocate with a flourishing practice, and young Moreau, who was anxious to enter the army, was sent to the university of Rennes to study law. Here he displayed his military talents by banding the students into a kind of army which he commanded with the title of provost, and when the Revolution broke out he led his comrades in the riots which took place at Rennes. In 1791 he was elected lieutenant-colonel of the volunteers of Ille-et-Vilaine under Dumouriez. A strong republican, he quickly gained promotion as general of brigade, and in 1794 general of division. He was sent to command the right wing of

the army in Flanders, and won considerable fame at Tourcoing. Next year he took command of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle and advanced into Germany. At first successful, he was later beaten back by the Archduke Charles, but his retreat was a masterly one and greatly assisted his reputation as a general. Indeed, during it he took no less than 5,000 prisoners. In 1797 he once more crossed the Rhine, but peace preliminaries put an end to his campaign. He was instrumental in discovering the traitorous correspondence between Pichegru, his old leader, and the Prince de Condé. This he concealed and laid himself open to suspicions of complicity by so doing. Alarmed, he sent the correspondence to Paris and denounced Pichegru as a traitor. He was cashiered, and for two years was unemployed until at last he was sent to Italy to face Suvarov. He had little success in Italy, and was superseded by Joubert, with whom, however, he remained. Joubert was killed at the battle of Novi, and Moreau, once more taking over the command, retreated to Genoa, where he handed over the leadership to Championnet. On N.'s return from Egypt he found Moreau at Paris, chafing against the Directory both for military and personal reasons, and on N.'s suggestion he assisted him in the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire, for which piece of work he received the command of the Army of the Rhine. On this occasion he forced back the Austrians with considerable loss as far as the Isar. Returning to Paris, he married a creole lady, Mlle. Hullot, a friend of Josephine. He then went back to his command and won the notable victory of Hohenlinden (*q.v.*). But his wife was restless and ambitious, and on her suggestion he left the army. Soon all sorts of discontented people began to cluster around the Moreaus, and these were known as the "Moreau club," the chief policy of which was to torment N. with a series of pinpricks. In this it eminently succeeded, but when the Royalists attempted to annex it Moreau refused to act along with it. He was intensely jealous of N., who received very unfavourable accounts of

him—in short, the members of the “club Moreau” were seized. But he seems to have had the members of the court before whom he was brought on his side, as his condemnation was only procured by great pressure being brought to bear upon them by N. He was banished; and he settled in America, where he lived quietly in New Jersey on the proceeds of his estates, for which N. had secured a good price. On learning of the destruction of the Grande Armée in Russia, he commenced negotiations with Bernadotte, now Crown Prince of Sweden, who introduced him to the Tsar Alexander, to whom he gave advice regarding a campaign in France. But he did not survive to invade his native land, for while talking to the Tsar at the battle of Dresden he was mortally wounded, and died on 2 Sept. He was buried at St. Petersburg, and his memory was by no means regarded with great affection in France.

His forte was a cool decision on the field of battle and skill in elaborating strategic combinations. Greatly ambitious, his aspirations were yet on a lower plane than those of N., and had little of the spiritual in their composition.

**Morny, Charles Auguste Louis Joseph, Duc de (1811-65).**—Was born at Paris on 21 Oct. 1811. The child was registered as the son of Louise Auguste Coralie Fleury, wife of Auguste Jean Hyacinthe de Morny, but was the natural son of Queen Hortense (q.v.) and Charles de Flahault (q.v.), and was placed by the latter in the charge of his mother, Mme. de Souza (q.v.). The name of De Morny was lent, it is stated, by an old friend of Hortense, a Chevalier of St. Louis and a Prussian officer who died in 1814. The young “Comte” de Morny, as he was called, served in Algeria in 1834-5 as aide-de-camp to General Trezel, and saved his life under the walls of Constantine. In 1838 he returned to Paris and started a great beetroot-sugar industry at Clermont, in Auvergne, also publishing a pamphlet *Sur la question des sucres* (1838). In these enterprises he had the invaluable help of the handsome and wealthy wife of the Belgian

ambassador Charles Joseph, Comte Lehon. In all his speculations he was phenomenally successful, and soon he had an interest in all the great financial concerns of Paris. His political life began in 1842, when he sat as deputy for Clermont-Ferrand, but speaking chiefly on financial and industrial questions. From a business interest which a revolution would have ruined he upheld the government of Louis Philippe, and, swayed by the same motives, he thought at one time of subscribing to Legitimist principles and supporting the cause of the Comte de Chambord. He became an intimate friend of Louis Napoleon, his half-brother, and helped in the plans for the *coup d'état* of 2 Dec. 1851. He became minister of the interior, which portfolio, however, he only held for six months, giving as the reason of his resignation his objection to the confiscation of the Orleans properties, but in reality because of the friction between himself and Napoleon III., who resented Morny's pretensions to place and power and his desire to be recognized as a member of the Bonaparte family. “In 1856,” says Cassagnac in his *Recollections of the Second Empire*, “M. de Morny went to Russia to represent the French Emperor at the coronation of the Tsar. On this occasion he had a ‘violent fit of inveterate ambition,’ and took for *armes parlantes* an hortensia in flower. To render this heraldic language more clear he added as a device the words, *Tace, sed memento.*” In this connexion Morny is reported to have said, “*Je nomme mon père Comte; j'appelle ma fille Princesse; je dis à mon frère Sire; j'ai le titre de Duc et tout cela naturel.*” While on the Russian mission, which he carried out with prodigal splendour, he married the Princess Sophie Trobetskoï, a connexion which strengthened his social position. It is said that Morny aspired to the throne of Mexico, an ambition which Napoleon III. circumvented.

In 1854 he had become President of the Corps Législatif, a position in which he displayed dignity and tact, but, it must be admitted, he used it to further his financial schemes. Despite the friction between himself and

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the Emperor, his influence remained paramount and was of liberal tendencies, and to his wonderful address even his opponents yielded. In his later years his health gave way under the continued activities he pursued, also aided by dissipation and quack medicines. The Comte de Flahault and Napoleon III. were both beside him at the last. He died on 10 March 1865. He had collected many valuable pictures which were sold after his death, whilst his ambition to gain recognition as a dramatist was disappointed despite his brilliant wit. His pseudonym was M. de St. Remy, and his best-known plays were *Sur la grande route*; *Monsieur Choufleury restera chez lui* and *Finesses du Mari*. Alphonse Daudet, who at one time was Morny's secretary, took him as the original of the Duc de Mora in his *Le Nabab*.

**Mortefontaine.**—The château and estate of Joseph Bonaparte which gave its name to the treaty which he negotiated with the United States and where he entertained in lavish fashion. It was purchased by him for 258,000 francs from the heirs of the banker Durey, who had been guillotined in May 1793 for his dealings with the *émigrés*. Joseph Bonaparte spent an almost equal sum on the restoration of the château and improvement of the property.

**Mortier, Edouard Adolphe Casimir Joseph, Duc de Treviso (1768-1835).**—Marshal of France; was born at Cateau Cambresis on 13 Feb. 1768. He obtained a commission in 1791 as a sub-lieutenant and saw the Dutch and Rhineland campaigns of 1792 and 1793. When war was declared against the Second Coalition in 1799 he was promoted to the command of a brigade and became general of division. His reduction of Hanover was of such a masterly character that N. included him in the first list of marshals created in 1804. Throughout the Ulm campaign he was in command of a corps of the *grande armée* and distinguished himself at Dürrenstein. The year 1806 saw him once more in Hanover, and in 1807 he served with the *grande armée* in the campaign of Friedland. In the following year he was created Duke of Treviso, and shortly

## MOUNT

afterwards commanded an army corps in Spain, where he remained for two campaigns and proved victorious in the battle of Ocana in Nov. 1809. The command of the Young Guard was entrusted to him in 1812, and he took a full share in the campaign of 1814. In 1815 he rejoined N. and was entrusted with an important command, but his health broke down at the beginning of the Waterloo campaign. At the second Restoration he was regarded as a marked man, but in 1819 he was permitted to re-enter the chamber of peers, and in 1830 was appointed ambassador of France at St. Petersburg. In 1834 he became Minister of War and president of the council of ministers. He was killed by a bomb intended for Louis Philippe at a review on 28 July 1835.

**Mortmant, Battle of.**—Was fought on 17 Feb. 1814 during the allied invasion of France, between the French under N. and the Allies under Wittgenstein. N. succeeded in driving his enemy back and inflicting considerable loss on the Allies.

**"Mort Civile."**—Was a judicial statement attached to certain classes of criminals, condemning them to a life-long exile. They were considered as dead, not being allowed to inherit any property, and their wives and children became, in fiction, widows and orphans. The Penal Code of 1810 extended the punishment to those condemned to the galleys or transportation for life. Persons who tried to elude the law or who escaped before their sentence was carried out were included in this class of criminal under the Civil Code. The whole system of "Civil Death" was entirely abolished in 1854.

**Moskva, Battle of.**—See BORODINO, BATTLE OF.

**Mount Tabor, Battle of.**—During the siege of Acre on 15 April 1799 Kléber, with a small division of infantry detached from the besieging army, was sent out to intercept a considerable force of Turks who were advancing to the relief of the town. The armies met at the foot of Mount Tabor. Kléber, who had only 3,000 men, was soon surrounded by the Turks, who numbered 15,000 foot and 12,000



## MOUTON

cavalry, and had it not been for the timely arrival of N., who had heard of Kléber's perilous situation, the little force would no doubt have been cut to pieces. As it happened, however, N. cleverly enveloped the enemy and inflicted upon him so decisive a defeat that this army, which was the only organized Turkish force in the field, was utterly dispersed.

**Mouton, Georges, Comte de Lobau (1770 - 1838).**—French general; entered the revolutionary service and fought in several campaigns. He commanded the infantry regiment at Montpellier, was aide-de-camp to Joubert at Novi, and took part in the Italian expedition. N. appointed him general of brigade and imperial aide-de-camp. He was wounded at Friedland, and in 1807 was made general of division. He conducted the grand review witnessed by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia during the fêtes held to celebrate the peace of Tilsit. He distinguished himself in the Spanish campaign in 1809 and subsequently in the war with Austria, after which he was created Comte de Lobau (1812). Fighting in Saxony with Marshal St. Cyr, he was taken prisoner and conducted to Hungary, and was not released till after the abdication. He was created a *Pasca*, and, not being employed by the Bourbons, was placed in command of the first military division. At Waterloo he commanded the VI. Corps Valiant. Later he was wounded and taken prisoner. In 1818 he returned to France after a period of exile; and in 1828 was elected to the chamber of deputies and nominated commandant of the National Guard of Paris by Louis Philippe.

**Murat, Joachim (1767 - 1815).**—

King of Naples; younger son of an innkeeper, was born on 25 March 1767 at La Bastide-Fortunière, then in the province of Périgord, later in the department of Lot. His father, once a steward in the service of the Talleyrands, enjoyed the protection of that family, and by their influence Joachim, destined for the priesthood, was awarded a bursary at the college of Cahors. He afterwards proceeded to the university of Toulouse, where he

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studied canon law. His character and volatile disposition rendered him totally unfit for the sacerdotal profession, and after a last flagrant breach of discipline he enlisted in a regiment of chasseurs then passing through Toulouse. In 1789 he had attained the rank of *maréchal des logis*, but in 1790 was dismissed from the regiment for insubordination. He returned to his native village, taking charge of his father's stables, but in 1791, through the influence of Cavaignac, was enrolled in the new Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI. In Paris his handsome face and swaggering air made him a popular favourite, whilst in politics he became one of the most violent enthusiasts of republicanism. The Guard was disbanded, but in 1792 he became sub-lieutenant in the 21st Chasseurs, serving with that regiment in the Argonne and the Pyrenees, in the latter campaign being appointed to the command of a squadron. Having, while in Paris, identified himself with the Jacobins, suspicion naturally fell upon him after their proscription, and he was recalled from the front.

In 1795 he returned to Paris, and there met another young officer out of employment. This was Napoleon Bonaparte, and the two men, so unlike save in ambition and courage, became friends, though then, as afterwards, the vain, unstable nature of Joachim Murat was dominated by the stronger will of the Corsican. On the 13 Vendémiaire (Sept. 1795), in the affair of the sections, when, with "the whiff of grape-shot," Bonaparte routed the armed insurrection in the streets of Paris, Murat was his most active and daring lieutenant. It was Murat who, already known as a dashing cavalry officer, had galloped through the night with 300 horse to Les Sablons, and there seized the guns, arriving with them at the Tuileries by six in the morning. For this service he was given the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 21st Chasseurs, and when Bonaparte was appointed to the command of the army in Italy Murat became his first aide-de-camp. In the first engagements he was conspicuous by reason of his daring and intrepidity, and hence was chosen as the one to carry to the

Directory the captured flags of the enemy. Promoted to the rank of general of brigade, he returned to Italy and there participated in the engagements of Bassano, Coirona, and Fort St. Giorgio, rendering signal service to Bonaparte. At the last-named place he was wounded. A diplomatic mission to Genoa was next entrusted to him, but he returned in time for Rivoli. In the summer of 1797 the advance into the Tyrol began, and the vanguard was under the command of Murat; by his passage of the Tagliamento he hastened the preliminaries of Leoben. For a short period he was commandant at Rome (1798), and was next chosen by Bonaparte to accompany him to Egypt. At the battle of the Pyramids Murat led one of his famous cavalry charges, and at Aboukir he contributed materially to success. In Syria also he distinguished himself and was made general of division (Oct. 1799). He was now a greater favourite than ever with Bonaparte, and was one of the officers selected to return with him to France, where he again proved his value in the incidents of Brumaire (9 Nov. 1799), for it was Murat who led the sixty grenadiers into the orangery of St. Cloud and so broke up the Council of the Five Hundred. After the success of the *coup d'état* he was made commandant of the Consular Guard, and on 20 Jan. 1800 he married Caroline (q.v.), the youngest and most ambitious of Bonaparte's sisters. In a short while he was again in the field, and commanded the cavalry at Marengo, and was afterwards made governor of the Cisalpine Republic. The army of observation in Tuscany was placed under Murat, and he forced the Neapolitans to evacuate the Papal States and also to accept the Treaty of Florence (March 1801). The First Consul next honoured him by appointing him governor of Paris, and as such it was Murat who had the ordering of the military commission by which the Duc d'Enghien was tried and shot (March 20 1804). Against this duty imposed upon him it is said Murat rebelled in indignation, and only by repeated commands did he obey. In May he became a marshal of the

Empire; in the following year he was made grand admiral with the title of prince and invested with the grand eagle of the Legion of Honour. In the German campaign of 1805 Murat again commanded the cavalry, and by his reckless valour and splendid success surpassed himself, especially at Austerlitz. His reward was the grand duchy of Berg and Cleves (March 15 1806). At Jena, Eylau, and Friedland again the cavalry was under his leadership, while 1808 saw him made general-in-chief of the French Army in Spain, destined for the overthrow of the Spanish Bourbons. Madrid was entered 25 March, and in May he quelled an insurrection there. In accordance with his instructions he began a series of diplomatic prevarications, which ended in the abdication of Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. at Bayonne. His zeal was doubtless quickened by the hope that the crown of Spain would be his. And that very zeal, outrunning his discretion, was his undoing, for it precipitated some of the plans of N., who was naturally displeased and regarded the hot-headed Murat as the least suitable person to rule the Spaniards. On 1 Aug. he was appointed to the throne of Naples, vacated by Joseph, who was destined for the Spanish throne.

In Sept. 1808 King Joachim-Napoleon, as he was now styled, entered Naples and was greeted with that extravagance characteristic of a fickle and change-loving people. A not inconsiderable factor in his popularity was his handsome presence and open manner, whilst the rather theatrical splendour of his costumes appealed greatly to the *lazzaroni*. His court was showy; a new nobility was duly created to match the new king, and marshals were nominated. In all he showed that idea of kingship which gradually led him to play false with him who had crowned him; that made him the cat's-paw of Austria and Great Britain; that finally and surely brought about his downfall, his tragic fate. In the administration of his kingdom he was sincerely desirous for the good of his people; he introduced many improvements; feudalism was swept away; public instruction encouraged together

with the arts and industries; but brigandage, a "native institution," was put down with an iron hand, a proceeding that finally undermined his popularity and gained him much ill-will.

One of his first acts as king added much to his prestige with the people, and that was the taking of Capri, "Little Gibraltar," thought until then to be impregnable, from the British commanded by Sir Hudson Lowe (*q.v.*). He had also organized a large army, inaugurating even a fleet, with the end in view of ousting his legitimate rival in Sicily, but an attempt which he made on that country in 1810 proved a failure. In his chagrin he now ascribed the defeat to the ill-will of the French generals who served with him, even to N. himself, and the relations between the two, strained from the first, were now at breaking-point. In pursuance of his ambitions Murat in 1811 demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Naples and the naturalization as Neapolitans of all Frenchmen in the service of the state. Needless to say, N. replied with a curt refusal. This infuriated the vain and fiery Joachim, and in this condition, when ready to declare war against France, he was only restrained therefrom by the wiser counsels of his queen. Finding he could not prevail against the Emperor he withdrew to Capo di Monte, and the reins of government slackened. In this emergency Queen Caroline displayed great resource and a power of organization not unworthy of her famous brother. The campaign of 1812 did much to avert an open quarrel. N., desiring the services of one whom he had designated the "finest cavalry officer in the world," now invited Joachim to take command of the cavalry of the *grande armée*, and by this appeal to his military instincts the sulking king was awakened from his lethargy. He obeyed the call. The campaign proved that the old prowess was undiminished, and in that colossal disaster, the retreat, his courage was equal to all demands. But since he had again come into personal contact with N. his suspicions were strengthened that the fate of Louis (*q.v.*) was destined for himself; while

another suspicion had birth—that his wife Caroline was plotting with her brother for his dethronement in order to become ruler and queen in her own right. Beset by these fears, he threw up his command in December and returned to Naples. His enthusiastic reception (4 Feb. 1812) did much to revive his hopes; he saw himself king of a united Italy, beloved and applauded by a devoted people. But Murat had no gift of insight; he could not pierce the designs of men, much less if they were diplomats and politicians, whilst he accepted flattery at its face value.

Impelled thereto by ambition and fear, Joachim now entered upon a course which made him of such importance during the next few years of European history, when he became the plaything tossed about by the crafty minds representing the Allied Powers. The soldier was helpless before the diplomats; dashing bravery is of no value in the affair of intrigue. Immediately on his return and without consultation with his minister of foreign affairs the King dispatched Prince Cariati on a confidential mission to Vienna, "announcing his intention of combining his future political proceedings with those of the Austrian cabinet" and promising to place his army at their disposal and the relinquishment of his claims to Sicily if Austria would secure the renunciation of rights by the former King Ferdinand and undertake to guarantee the possession of the kingdom of Naples to himself. But the time was not yet ripe for this. Austria had not yet broken with N., and incidents occurred which led the King of Naples to change his mind, decidedly so as to terms. Also a certain loyalty, persistent trait of the soldier yet remembering his old leader, revived within him and he began to hope for much from the German campaign—that surely the Emperor, in return for his help in securing victory, would maintain him on his throne. Again "le beau sabreur" served with N. with all his old valour and dash. Yet he was again in touch with Metternich (*q.v.*), who had opened secret negotiations. The promises contained therein now

seemed to Murat the only means by which he might secure his kingdom. At Erfurt, therefore, after the terrible issue of the battle of Leipsic, he asked and obtained the Emperor's leave to return to Naples, where he immediately renewed the negotiations respecting his accession to the European alliance, and proceeded to augment his army, giving no indication of his ulterior objects. He informed the Russian envoy of his wish to join the Allies, throwing out the suggestion that his price should be the Papal States, with the exception of Rome, however, and the surrounding districts. In December the Austrian messenger arrived with powers to treat. This was Count Neipperg, afterwards the lover of the Empress Marie Louise. The promises made by Metternich on the eve of the battle of Leipsic had been contingent on the withdrawal of Murat from N.'s army and his refusal to send reinforcements to the Viceroy of Italy, Eugène (*q.v.*). This had been done by the King. On 11 Jan. 1814 a treaty was signed by which Austria recognized and guaranteed the rights of Murat to Naples and agreed to secure the assent of the other Allies thereto. Further promises were also made; Austria would use her influence in securing the renunciation by Ferdinand of his rights to the throne of Naples; she would hasten the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and Naples in consideration of an indemnity; and again would add to the Neapolitan kingdom by lands belonging to the states of the Church with a population of 400,000. On the 16th of the month the French envoy left Naples. Relations with N. were thus formally broken.

The treaty signed, but without waiting for the final ratification from Vienna, Murat at once assumed the offensive against the Viceroy of Italy; marched northward and seized Ancona and Bologna. Yet his actions halted as did his judgments. He did not press home his advantage over Eugène, which would have been of considerable value to the plans of the Allies, but was content with half-measures. This the Allies did not fail to remember.

And now began the plot with the King of Naples as its tool, for so the Allied Powers regarded him; one who, when done with, could be trusted to work out his own destruction, and by his folly render the keeping of their fair promises an unnecessary proceeding. They looked upon him with tacit suspicion and despised him as an upstart. Metternich with cynical contempt called him a "true son of the Revolution," whose ambitions were ludicrous, whose manner was suspicious. Great Britain again never recognized the "new" king even while entering into an armistice with "the person exercising the government of Naples," who for a time would be of value in certain plans. These negotiations she entered upon largely to humour Austria, who, as was well known, was only playing with Murat with certain objects in view. Though Joachim had thus entered into treaties with the Allies, material proofs which fell into their hands left no shadow of doubt that there were still secret connexions with France, and among them were two letters to him from N., in which the Emperor reminds Murat of the loyalty due to him for having raised him to his present position.

In less than a month after the second letter (dated 5 March 1814) was written N. had abdicated. Murat now looked forward to full recognition by the Congress of Vienna (20 Sept. 1814—19 June 1815), but he was regarded with little favour by that body. Any measure of recognition was powerfully opposed by Talleyrand (*q.v.*), who represented Louis XVIII., and as such was bent upon the restoration of the Bourbon king to the throne of Naples. From the outset Talleyrand treated Murat with amazing effrontery, even "affecting not to know 'the man' who had been casually referred to as the 'King of Naples.'" He also contended that to have a creature of the ex-Emperor on a throne so important as that of Naples must be injurious to the security of the neighbouring states and might endanger the public tranquillity. In this Talleyrand showed his power of using the fears of the Powers for his own advantage, and again their legitimist sympathies were wholly with

him, Austria admitting privately that she shared England's views as to the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. But this was in secret conclave, for as yet Austria's treaty obligations still existed. The difficulty was how to obtain the desired result.

As regarded the method Talleyrand and Metternich held differing views, for here was revived the ancient Habsburg-Bourbon competition for dominion in Italy. Besides, the French minister suspected Metternich of still being in touch with Caroline Murat, and therefore wished to come off conqueror in the game of wits. Knowing well that Austria had no intention of standing by Murat and would prefer a Bourbon in Naples, he proposed that, as Austria was still bound by her treaty, France, with her restored Bourbon king, should help restore the Bourbon king to Naples. But Metternich was equal to the occasion. He checkmated France by secretly assuring Louis XVIII. that Austria favoured the Bourbon restoration in Naples, whilst he formally intimated to Talleyrand that a French invasion of Italy would mean war with Austria. Also Murat's appeal for a passage northward for his troops, marching against those of Louis XVIII., furnished him with the means of abandoning Austria's treaty with Naples. To Murat he replied that Austria had done all that was necessary by her ultimatum to France, that the Neapolitan troops must not move outside Naples or such movement would be considered a breach of the peace of Italy, an attack on Austria, and a rupture of the alliance. The dupe was by now awake to his danger. He saw that all the promises of Austria meant less than nothing and their plans for Italy would hold no place for him. As he had left N. led by his fears, so now he left Austria. The old ideas reasserted themselves and he once more dreamed of championing the cause of a united Italy with himself as king.

According to contemporary evidence, there was good reason for the Allies to fear his success, for many circumstances were at hand to render this possible, such as the reactionary policy of the restored sovereigns, the dis-

affection caused by the occupation of certain states by Austrian troops and the great number of unemployed officers and men in the provinces who would rally to Murat's standard; also as the Allies well knew Naples was by now in communication with Elba and the situation was dangerous for their plans. Although, with the return from Elba they had entered into concert for his removal, they promised him a pension and due consideration if he would resign without resistance. But Murat had his own plans now.

On hearing of N.'s landing, King Joachim secretly dispatched an emissary to congratulate him and announce that with a view to seconding his operations he was about to attack the Austrians. In answer the returned Emperor enjoined him to wait for his giving him the signal before he commenced hostilities. After N.'s success the Powers again showed a desire to conciliate Murat, for Great Britain now intimated that she would treat with him if he would give guarantees by certain arrangements of the forces under his command, amongst other things, such as remaining "true to Europe" in spite of the success of "General Bonaparte," also suggesting that he should send an auxiliary force to France, where "his personal presence would be unseemly." In this state of affairs a man more astute and capable would have worked the discomfiture of his enemies while wrestling therefrom success for himself. But under the domination of the old ambition he waited neither to parley with the Allies nor on N.'s signal. He put into the field an army of 50,000 men and advanced on Tuscany. In his proclamation (March 1815) he exhorted all Italians to arm for the independence of their country and the destruction of all foreign influence. The idea of rescuing the entire soil of Italy from external domination and of uniting all the states into one powerful kingdom was magnificent: such an attempt would have been worthy the genius and powers of a Napoleon; but Joachim was never meant for things of this magnitude. Also his popularity was by now diminished.

Rome and Bologna had been occu-

pied by the King without serious opposition, but in April he received a check at Ferrara. The old King Ferdinand had said of the Neapolitan soldiery, "You may dress them in blue, in green, or red; but in any colour they will always run." This fact King Joachim was now to learn. Some of his army deserted, and in May at Tolentino he was completely routed. The Austrians advanced on Naples and Ferdinand IV. regained his throne. Caroline and her children were sent to Trieste while Murat escaped to France. He landed at Cannes on 25 May and dispatched a courier to Fouché requesting him to acquaint N. with his arrival and offering his services. All the answer he received was a recommendation "to remain where he was until the Emperor's pleasure with regard to him should be known." This refusal of Murat's services N. afterwards regretted, saying that Murat at Waterloo would have given more concentrated power to the cavalry and so might have turned defeat into victory.

After the second abdication his situation became more critical still. Once in Paris the Allies would treat with him, but meanwhile many would not scruple to earn the money set upon his head—48,000 francs being the value of Murat according to the Bourbon government. The days spent in hiding near Toulon were increasingly dangerous. He thought of escaping to England, but though Lord Exmouth would have willingly received him on board, that admiral would not answer for the measures which the Powers might adopt respecting him. He next applied for permission to settle in Austria, and this was granted, where at Trieste he might join his wife and children with a pension and every consideration as to position. But this he now refused. A mad scheme of regaining his kingdom had taken possession of him. He set out for Corsica and was there joined by a few spirits as rash as himself. In September he set sail for Calabria with the pitiful following of six vessels and 250 armed men. A storm scattered four of the ships and one of the remaining ones deserted at the last moment. He landed at Pizzo with

thirty companions, and instead of the numbers whom he thought would rally to his cause only a few peasants and sailors followed him; the soldiers, though recognizing him, showing no sign of joining his standard. After a short and miserable contest he was taken prisoner by Captain Trenta-Capella, whose brother had been shot by one of Murat's officers, General Manhés, who had been entrusted with the suppression of brigandage. Here at Pizzo the ex-king was imprisoned in one of the forts. On 13 Oct. 1815 a military commission of eight officers, seven of whom owed their commissions to Murat, tried him by court-martial under a law of his own for disturbing the public peace. In half an hour he was shot, meeting death unflinchingly.

He protested but little on hearing the sentence, merely saying that if his and Ferdinand's situations had been reversed he, Murat, would have acted very differently. He spoke also of his long military life, of his services to Naples: her army, her navy, and her trade, which he had created; that under him her public revenues had been used solely for public purposes, not for his own aggrandisement. This was true, for he had been sincerely anxious for the welfare of his country. As a king he was liberal, even indulgent, and though fond of show also considered the interests of his people. He was the creature of impulse and feeling, not of reason and judgment. Mental discipline might have concentrated his powers, but the romantic appeal of his character would have been lost, that appeal to which his troopers answered unfalteringly, for as a soldier he had never a superior. As a man he was generous and open-hearted; as a politician wavering, ill-advised and weak. Here lay the cause of his failure.

By his wife Caroline Bonaparte he had two sons: Napoleon Achille Charles Murat (1801-47) and Napoleon Lucien Charles Murat (1803-78) (*q.v.*).

**Murat, Napoleon Achille Charles (1801-47).**—The eldest son of Joachim Murat, King of Naples, and during his father's reign Prince Royal of the Two Sicilies. In or about 1821 he emigrated to America and

settled at Tallahassee, Florida, where he was postmaster in 1826-38. He married a great-niece of Washington in 1826 and died in Florida on 15 April 1847. He published *Lettres d'un citoyen des États-Unis à un de ses amis d'Europe* (Paris, 1830); *Esquisse morale et politique des États-Unis* (Paris, 1832); and *Exposition des principes du gouvernement républicain tel qu'il a été perfectionné en Amérique* (Paris, 1833).

**Murat, Napoleon Lucien Charles (1803-78).**—The second son of Joachim Murat, King of Naples; was created Prince of Ponte Corvo in 1813. After his father's downfall he lived with his mother in Austria. In 1824 he started for America to join his brother there, but being shipwrecked on the coast of Spain was held prisoner for some little while. In 1825 he reached America and in Baltimore married in 1827 a wealthy American, Georgina Frazer (d. 1879). She, however, lost her fortune, and for some years supported herself and husband by keeping a school for girls. Murat had made several unsuccessful attempts to return to France, but the revolution of 1848 at last opened the way. On his return he was elected a member of the constituent assembly and of the legislative assembly (1849), and was minister plenipotentiary at Turin 1849-50. After the *coup d'état* of Dec. 1851 he became a member of the consultative commission. Under the Empire he was recognized by Napoleon III. as a prince of the blood royal and given the title of Prince Murat. His debts were paid and an income of 150,000 francs granted to him. As a member of the senate he was not conspicuous save that in 1861 he supported the temporal power of the Pope. He retired into private life on the fall of the Empire in 1870 and died on 10 April 1878. His family consisted of three sons and two daughters: (1) Joachim, Prince Murat (1834-1901), married in 1854 Maley Berthier, a daughter of the Prince of Wagram, by whom he had a son, Joachim, born 1856, who succeeded as head of the family, and two daughters, the younger of whom, Anna, born in 1863, became the wife of Count Goluch-

owski, the Austrian minister; (2) Achille, a brilliant but rather wild youth who was in the cavalry and married Princess Dadiani of Mingrelia; (3) Louis (b. 1851), married the widowed Princess Eudoxia Orbeliani (née Sornov) in 1873 and was for a while in the service of Charles XV. of Sweden; (4) Caroline (b. 1832), married to Baron Charles de Chassiron in 1850 and to Mr. John Gordon in 1872; (5) Anna (b. 1841), married to Antoine de Noailles, Duc de Mouchy, in 1865.

**Music, Napoleon's Interest in.**—

The Emperor may not have been so keenly interested in music as he was in literature, the drama, and the graphic arts; yet he undoubtedly held strong personal opinions on musical matters while he made considerable efforts to further operatic and ecclesiastical music in Paris and elsewhere, and was accordingly brought into contact with several notable composers of his time.

A special favourite of his was Jean François Lesueur. In 1804 he appointed him his "maître de chapelle," and the acquisition of this post was literally the turning-point in the composer's life, and heralded his success. For Lesueur had long wanted to get a hearing for his opera *Ossian* or *The Bards*, and now at last his new position made this a possibility. The piece was duly played; it proved a complete triumph, and N., who was particularly interested in Celtic things, made the writer a member of the Legion of Honour. At the same time he presented him with a gold snuffbox bearing the inscription: "L'Empereur des Français à l'Auteur des Bardes," this gift being intended to form also an acknowledgment of a Te Deum and a mass by Lesueur, which had been sung at Notre Dame on the occasion of N.'s coronation; while again in 1809, on the completion of the composer's next opera, *Fernand Cortes*, the Emperor manifested his friendliness by coming to the theatre on the night when the piece was first played.

N. quarrelled repeatedly with Cherubini, and is reported to have disliked him, yet this feeling cannot have been very strong inasmuch as the composer

was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honour during the Hundred Days.

Reverting to an earlier stage in the Emperor's career, during his first Italian campaign he conceived an ardent admiration for the Neapolitan composer Giovanni Paisiello; on the death of General Hoche he commissioned him to write a funeral march, while in 1801 he summoned Paisiello to come and organize and direct the music of his chapel at Paris. The composer gladly accepted the position, but eventually, having incurred the jealousy of numerous contemporary French composers and having been signally unsuccessful with an opera called *Proserpine* which he staged in 1803, he went back to Italy. His connexion with the Napoleonic house was not ended withal, for he was subsequently patronized by Joseph Bonaparte and by Joachim Murat.

That prolific composer of light operas, Etienne Henri Mehul, wrote a *chant lyrique* to be sung at the unveiling of the statue erected in honour of N. by the Institute. He is not recorded, however, to have been personally acquainted with the Emperor nor to have elicited his applause, but the latter was certainly gained by Charles Simon Catel, a composer whose book on music enjoyed a wide popularity for some time after its publication, superseding the work of Rameau which had hitherto been the standard musical treatise in France. It was not this volume, nevertheless, but his opera of *Les Bayadères* which won Catel imperial favour; and indeed N. evinced the keenest interest in the piece and on one occasion made the strange request that it should be played with all the instruments muted and with every mark of expression suppressed.

Yet another composer much favoured by the Emperor was Spontini, and the relations between the two are interesting and pertinent. Spontini came from his native Italy to Paris in 1803, and in 1804 a cantata of his *L'Eccelsa Eara* made his reputation a *fait accompli* in the French capital. Consequently in 1807 he gained the notice of the Empress Josephine and was allowed to dedicate to her his opera of *Milton*, and was appointed her "compositeur

particulier," while later on, when his next opera of *La Vestale* was produced, he again received permission to inscribe his work to the Empress. Nor did the favours he received end here, for N. had lately founded a prize to be given every ten years to the writer of the new opera which had proved the greatest success during that period, and this laurel was bestowed on Spontini shortly after the production of *La Vestale*.

## N

**Naples.**—The kingdom of Naples, on the Italian mainland opposite Sicily, has throughout the greater part of its history been associated politically with that island, the united kingdom passing under the name of the Two Sicilies. During the Napoleonic era, however, Naples was for a time a separate kingdom, governed successively by Joseph Bonaparte, brother to N., and Joachim Murat, his brother-in-law.

During the great French Revolution the throne of the Two Sicilies was occupied by Ferdinand IV. of Naples and III. of Sicily and his consort Maria Carolina. They were not opposed to the revolutionaries at the outset, but eventually Ferdinand went to war with France after having entered into alliance with Great Britain and Austria. Republican sentiments were held by many prominent Neapolitans and Sicilians, but the *lazzaroni*, or poorest class, staunchly supported the monarchy. That the king was unworthy of such support soon became apparent; early in 1799 a French force marched on his capital under Championnet, and the craven king fled forthwith to Palermo, leaving the *lazzaroni* to make desperate resistance, which, however, availed them nothing, for on 20 Jan. the French occupied Naples. Three days later the Parthenopæan Republic was established. The new form of government might—and indeed should—have proved successful, for it had at its head some of the ablest men in the country. But Championnet's constant requisitions strained the financial situation somewhat, and matters were further complicated by a



counter-rebellion raised in Calabria by Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo at the instance of Ferdinand. Ruffo succeeded in mustering a band of peasants, convicts, brigands, and *lassaroni*, with which he terrorized the whole country. Marching on Naples, he inflicted heavy defeat on the republicans at Ponte della Maddalena, and proceeded to occupy the capital, from which the bulk of the French force had withdrawn, though a few forts still held out for France. Ruffo, fearing the possible arrival of the Franco-Spanish fleet, granted an armistice to the foe, and later a capitulation was signed. On 24 June came Nelson, who refused to recognize the capitulation in so far as it affected the royalists. The commander of the republican fleet was court-martialled and hanged at the yardarm of the admiral's flagship, while other notable republicans were arrested.

Ferdinand, returning to Naples on 8 July, executed a drastic vengeance on the revolutionaries, many of whom were executed and many more flung into vile dungeons. War lasted until 1801, when Murat fought his way into Naples and forced the King to sign a convention, which was replaced in March by a formal peace—the Treaty of Florence. By the terms of this treaty Ferdinand agreed to close his ports to Britain and to maintain a French garrison of 15,000 men in Taranto until a general peace should be arranged. In 1802 the peace of Amiens was concluded, when the Bourbon court returned once more to Naples. Ferdinand and his queen were well received by the Neapolitans, but in truth their rule in the years that followed was nothing short of a scandal. The taxes were inordinately heavy; a feudal system of a peculiarly oppressive nature obtained; the law, too, was in a curious tangle and so frequently overruled by royal prerogative that it was practically a dead-letter; while the courts of justice were corrupt in the extreme. In such an atmosphere trade languished, and by reason of the feudal dues and the privileges of the aristocratic class agriculture was no longer pursued. Brigandage, however, flourished in a

congenial soil, and in the towns the *lazzaroni* formed a serious menace to life and property. Another class which benefited at the expense of the helpless poor was the clergy, who formed a large proportion of the populace.

Meanwhile the diplomatic relations of Naples with foreign powers were no better conducted, for Ferdinand, while openly offering allegiance to France, was treating secretly with England. This, with his mismanagement of the kingdom, ultimately roused the wrath of N., who in 1805 sent his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, with a French force under Masséna to occupy Naples. Ferdinand and Maria Carolina fled to Palermo. In Feb. 1806 Joseph entered the capital and was proclaimed king. A sensible and painstaking ruler, if not endowed with any outstanding talent, Joseph placed many reforms and works of public utility to his credit during the two years in which he reigned. Himself an Italian, speaking the native language and aided by a native administration, his rule was undoubtedly more acceptable than that of the Bourbons; yet he had many difficulties to contend with; the kingdom was never entirely subdued, for the Calabrian royalists kept up an incessant guerilla warfare, and a British force under Sir John Stuart inflicted defeat on the French at Maida on 6 July 1806. He was, moreover, completely dominated by N., whose demands were by no means small. He was required to maintain out of the Neapolitan revenues a French army of occupation to crush out the Calabrian revolt and to conquer and annex Sicily. This latter, however, he did not accomplish.

In 1808 N. gave the crown of Spain to Joseph, and Prince Joachim Murat, husband of Caroline Bonaparte, was made King of Naples. He was at once received into the good graces of the Neapolitans, who loved him for his military skill and his engaging manners as much as for his successful administration. He strengthened the army greatly and expelled the Corsican and Maltese garrison from Capri, though an attempted invasion of Sicily in 1809 met with no success. Mean-

while reforms were carried out in many different directions—in education, in finance, in agricultural and industrial support—but here, as elsewhere, the iron policy of the Emperor counteracted the effects of careful administration. N. required Murat not only to maintain a French army in Naples but also to provide for the upkeep of a Neapolitan army serving in Spain. Besides this and other heavy strains on the national exchequer, the continental blockade seriously affected Neapolitan commerce. King Joachim, perceiving that his duty to the Emperor and to his people lay in very different directions, finally aspired to throw off the yoke of France.

While N. and Joseph were trying to subdue Sicily Ferdinand and Maria Carolina were doing their utmost to recover the mainland. On 30 March 1808 Sicily had entered into an alliance with Great Britain whereby each country was to give the other all possible support against the French. The British were to maintain a force of 10,000 men in Sicily to facilitate operations against the common enemy on the mainland, while Ferdinand received a yearly sum of £300,000 from the British Government. Notwithstanding this treaty, intrigues were carried on between Sicily and the French agents. The prime mover in these was the Queen, a woman of unbridled passions and notorious character, whose intellect was dulled by the use of opium. N. referred to her as "that criminal woman who has so shamelessly violated everything that is sacred among men," and "a woman who is crime personified"; and probably his estimate of her character was not far wrong. Not only was she enraged against the French because of their occupation of Naples, but she also cherished a secret hatred towards the British, whom caution forbade to throw themselves into her puerile schemes for invasion. She is known to have made plans for the assassination of the Emperor and for the organization of rebellions on the mainland, and to have treated with the agents of Murat for the cession of Naples to Ferdinand. At length the rottenness of the Sicilian court

led to a struggle with the parliament, during which the British minister, Lord William Bentinck, forced Ferdinand to abdicate and appoint his son to the regency. In 1812 a constitution on British lines was introduced, which was long and gratefully remembered by the islanders. In 1814 Bentinck left Sicily, no longer of strategic value to Britain, and Ferdinand once more resumed sway.

Meanwhile Murat had grown more and more bitter against the tyranny of the Emperor. He made overtures to Great Britain and Austria, and in 1814, after the fall of N., he had come round completely to the side of the Allies. On 11 Jan. he concluded a treaty of alliance with Austria whereby Naples was guaranteed to Murat on condition that Ferdinand was to be left in possession of Sicily. This treaty was recognized by Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia. Though Maria Carolina, exiled in 1813, had died, Ferdinand's agents were still making strenuous endeavours to recover the kingdom of Naples, and were supported by France and Spain. Talleyrand, representative of France, gained the Tsar to the Bourbon side, and Metternich and Castlereagh, representing Austria and Great Britain respectively, were finally induced to defer consideration of Neapolitan matters until the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna.

Murat was in despair over his kingdom, fearing he could not retain it until the end of the congress. On the escape of N. from Elba, therefore, he decided to return to his old allegiance, and marched into northern Italy with 35,000 men, intending to gather round him the supporters of the imperial régime. Before the Austrians had gathered sufficient men to drive him back he had occupied Rome, Florence, and Bologna, and had pushed on as far as the Po. In April the Austrian Army met him, defeated him again and again, and forced him to retreat to Tolentino, where a decisive battle was fought. Murat's army was scattered and he himself forced to flee to Toulon. N. was too enraged at his action to have anything more to do with him, believing that

had Murat not precipitated hostilities with Austria he might yet have won that country to his side. Thereafter he blamed his brother-in-law largely for his ruin.

In May 1815, after concluding with Austria a treaty whereby he hoped to recover Naples, Ferdinand dissolved his Sicilian parliament. On the 23rd the Austrians entered Naples to restore Ferdinand to the throne. At the Congress of Vienna Naples and Sicily were united in one kingdom and Ferdinand proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. Subsequently Murat made an effort to regain his lost kingdom, but on landing on the shores of Calabria he was captured, court-martialled and shot.

**Narbonne - Lara, Louis Marie Jacques Amalric, Comte de (1755-1813).**—General and diplomatist; was born at Colono, in the duchy of Parma, on 24 Aug. 1755, his mother being a lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth, Duchess of Parma, his father a Spanish noble, or, as some asserted, Louis XV. He was certainly brought up at Versailles with the princesses of France, and entering the army was made a colonel at the age of twenty-five. In 1791 he became *maréchal-de-camp*, and was soon afterwards appointed minister of war through the influence of Mme. de Staël (*q.v.*), but his conduct of affairs was marked by incapacity, and at last he was forced to resign. After this he rejoined the army, but he was again attacked for his policy and for his lavish expenditure of state funds when minister of war. He left France after 10 Aug. 1792, visiting England, Switzerland, and Germany. When in England he resided near Mme. de Staël at Mickleham (Surrey), where their relations gave rise to much scandal. In 1801 he returned to France and re-entered the army as general of division. By Josephine's influence he was made aide-de-camp to N. and minister plenipotentiary at Munich. He was next French ambassador at Vienna, and was engaged in the difficult diplomatic duel with Metternich (*q.v.*) when Austria deserted France for the Allies. Narbonne died at Torgau, in Saxony, on 17 Nov. 1813.

#### Naval Affairs Under Napoleon.—

The influence of N. over the French Navy may be said to have commenced during the period of his command in Egypt. During his course of training at a military college N. was reported upon as possessing those qualities which go towards the making of a good naval officer, but it cannot be said that he displayed any marked ability in his general naval policy or in his treatment of the personnel of the French fleet. Recognizing the overwhelming superiority of Britain, he was credited with a desire to equal or surpass her in sea-power. But at times he appears to have wavered in this policy and to have substituted for it one of commercial boycott against Great Britain, which he seems to have regarded as a surer weapon with which to combat his most powerful foe. He found the French Navy in a deplorable condition. Its senior officers were in many cases too old for their duties, and younger men preferred to enter the army, where it was notorious there was greater hope of advancement and better general provision. The naval service was, indeed, regarded as somewhat inglorious and as having failed to contribute any laurels to the national prestige. N. did little to lessen the attitude of the people to the sea service and appears to have slighted the navy and naval officers on many occasions. The ships were, though perhaps better built than the British vessels, maintained in but poor repair and badly found and equipped. Naval stores and armaments were wretchedly organized, and the naval commissariat was the happy hunting-ground of jobbery and financial sharp practice. Discipline was almost entirely absent, and naval tactics were at a dreadfully low ebb owing to the circumstance that the majority of French vessels were blockaded in port by the powerful and energetic British fleet and had no chance to practise those evolutions essential to the successful handling of vessels in a naval engagement of the period. To form line was the only evolution known or possible to French admirals of the time. The officers of the fleet were

attired, at N.'s express command, in a travesty of a French dragoon uniform, of a cut which by no means assisted their general movements, and they were further encumbered by long cavalry boots. Notwithstanding these galling restrictions the personnel of the French Navy conducted itself in the many harassing situations in which it found itself during the conflict with Britain in a manner which can reflect nothing but credit upon a body of men whose gallantry was unquestioned and whose misfortunes must excite the compassion of every chivalrous spirit. British naval officers of experience were of the opinion that, given the necessary chance of perfecting their technical training by a course of blue-water tactics, and treated in the same liberal spirit as characterized the conduct of the British service, the French naval officers would have proved equal to the British, and that it would have been a feather in the cap of the British officer who was fortunate enough to capture a French vessel which was commanded by such men. Indeed, in these rare instances where British ships encountered French war-vessels which had been on an extended cruise the result was such as to justify such a belief, a capture only being effected, as a rule, after a resistance almost as disastrous to the victor as to the vanquished. But an almost superstitious dread of their British opponents weighed heavily upon French sailors, and they realized all too well that a contest with them, versed as they were in naval tactics and inured to a rigorous discipline, was almost certain to end in hopeless defeat. The central idea of N.'s naval policy was undoubtedly the formation of a naval alliance of international war-marine which would present an overwhelming front towards the British Navy. To this end from time to time he either forced or cajoled the weaker European powers to add their naval strength to that of France, and in this manner he embraced in the scope of his naval activities the fleets of Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Genoa. At the outbreak of war with Britain in 1803 the French Navy consisted of twenty-three ships-of-the-line ready for service or

in commission, twenty-five frigates and 107 corvettes or smaller vessels, with 167 small craft, while forty-five sail-of-the-line were under construction in French ports. It was understood that N. aimed at gradually building up a French Navy of 130 sail-of-the-line, with a reserve of sixty Spanish, twenty Dutch, and fifteen Genoese vessels. But ten years at least were required to accomplish this, and ultimately N. was glad to accept an annual subsidy of over two and a quarter million pounds from Spain in lieu of her naval contingent. There is no doubt that N. placed upon the shoulders of his naval officers strategical and other undertakings which they were unfitted, for a multitude of reasons, to carry out; and we can only believe that he was either grossly misinformed regarding the capabilities and strength of his navy, or that he callously disregarded the unequal nature of the contest to which he devoted them. Doubtless the real truth concerning his attitude will be found in the admission that he was both misinformed and a little careless concerning the fate of an arm which he at times seemed to consider only fitted to divert for a season the attention of his enemies whilst he scored elsewhere. The admirals and senior officers of the French Navy lived in dread of his displeasure, and his strategical advice and curt commands appear to have so paralysed them as to render them incapable of effective action. Had he paid but a tithe of the attention he lavished upon the army to the real problems of the navy the history of the naval conflict with Britain might have been very different. But he found a fleet disorganized and ineffective, and in his strenuous pursuit of military affairs appears to have found no opportunity to reorganize an arm which during his régime received one shattering blow after another and the destruction of which finally contributed to his downfall. See NAVAL OPERATIONS, VILLARET, VILLENEUVE, etc.

Comparing the French and English Navies, N., when discussing the subject at St. Helena, said: "The French fleet is required to acquire a superiority over the English fleet. The French

have a better idea of construction, and the French vessels of the same class as the English are better than theirs. The pieces [of artillery] are superior in calibre by one-fourth to the English pieces, which gives a great advantage. The English have more discipline. The squadrons of Toulon and the Scheldt have adopted the same practice and usage as the English, and have perfected a discipline equally as rigorous with due respect to the difference which characterizes the two nations. The English discipline is a discipline of slavery; it is that of the chief over the serf—that of France a paternal discipline founded on honour and sentiments. For the most part the battles we have lost against the English were not only lost by reason of our inferiority but because of our naval alliance with Spanish vessels which were badly organized, and in these latter degenerate times enfeebled our line instead of reinforcing it."

#### *Why the French were Defeated at Sea*

Writing upon the reasons for the defeat of the French fleets in naval engagements, N. said: "I attribute to three causes the loss of our naval battles: (1) to the irresolution of the commanders-in-chief; (2) to the weakness of their tactics; (3) the ignorance of captains of vessels in naval matters and their lack of attention to signals. The fights of Ushant, those during the Revolution and in the Mediterranean, were all lost because of these different reasons. Admiral Villaret, personally brave, was without character, and had not much attachment to the cause for which he fought. Martin was a good sailor, but was lacking in resolution. The principle which states that the admiral is still the leader after a definite signal has been given is an erroneous one, and is employed to justify themselves by those captains of vessels who have wrongly executed the signals which they have received. In all the necessary operations theory is useful for giving the general idea, for forming the spirit of things. But their strict execution is always dangerous. . . . The first law of sea-tactics seems to be that after the admiral has given

the signal to attack each captain has to execute the necessary movements for attacking an enemy's vessel, to take part in the combat, and to assist his neighbours."

#### *N.'s Choice of Admirals*

Regarding the choice of admirals, N. wrote on 14 June 1805: "I will not attempt to deny that I intend to choose my admirals from among the young officers of about thirty-two years of age. I have enough captains of frigates with ten years of sea service to warrant my choosing from them six capable of high command. Let me have a lot of six young sea officers commanding vessels or frigates of less than thirty-five years of age."

**Naval Operations.**—N.'s control of the French Navy may be said to have commenced at the date of the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire. The first naval problems which came to his hand were the reinforcing of the army he had left in Egypt, the relief of the beleaguered French garrison in Malta, and he also cherished the project of threatening, if not of invading, the shores of England or Ireland. In the article on NAVAL AFFAIRS the deficiencies of his resources have been specifically alluded to, but there is no doubt that these have been overrated by many writers. From an early period the northern coast of France had been the home of a hardy race of sailors who had brought the building of ships and boats to greater perfection than had any other maritime people in Europe. Indeed, so early as the period of the invasion of Gaul by Caesar they are alluded to by that commander as being more advanced in this respect than the Romans themselves. They also had apparently a larger nautical vocabulary, and possessed spars and ropes and methods of navigation which were totally new to the Romans. From that time onwards, and especially in Brittany, the seamen of the north of France had a European reputation. During the wars of Louis XIV. again and again had they proved themselves the equals, and occasionally the superiors, of the British sailor, but the military prestige

of France had attracted so many bold officers into the service of the army that the navy had fallen for a variety of reasons into some disrepute. The vessels of which it was composed were skilfully made and much better constructed than those of Great Britain, but they were ill-found with supplies and stores and very inefficiently officered. Still, when a French brig managed to evade the cordon of British vessels which nearly always surrounded the entrances of the chief northern ports of France and succeeded in keeping blue water for some months and thus gaining practice in naval efficiency, it was usually found that a British vessel of equal calibre had difficulty in taking her back as a prize.

At the commencement of his naval régime N. had to assist him what remained of the navies of Holland and Spain, but even with those auxiliaries he found himself outnumbered at every point. Relief could only be brought to Malta and Egypt by single vessels which had succeeded in running the blockade of the British fleet. Malta eventually surrendered on 5 Sept. 1800, and the British squadrons either stopped the relieving forces sent to Egypt or destroyed them. Admiral Ganteaume succeeded in quitting Brest during a gale which had driven the British blockading forces out to sea. He captured individual British men-of-war, but he failed to assist the Egyptian army effectually. He reached the coast of Egypt with only four ships out of the seven he had started with, but on sighting his destination he encountered a powerful British force which compelled him to retreat, so that he made for Toulon, which he reached on 22 July, some six weeks after he had left Egypt. But another effort to assist the Egyptian army was made from Toulon. On 30 June 1801 Rear-Admiral Linois left that port with three sail-of-the-line to join a Spanish squadron at Cadiz which was to accompany him to Egypt, but he was sighted by a British fleet under Saumarez and was forced under the Spanish batteries of Algeciras. On 6 July, however, he beat off a British attack and captured

a "74," the *Hannibal*. During the night of the 12th Saumarez attacked the French and Spanish squadron once more, blew up two Spanish vessels and took a "74." He then proceeded to blockade the remaining ships in Cadiz harbour. In 1801 the battle of Copenhagen was fought, and as it can scarcely be termed a French naval battle it is dealt with in a separate article.

From May 1803 to Aug. 1805 N. was occupied with a scheme to invade Great Britain by a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats. The objective was the coast between Dover and Hastings, and preparations were made on a gigantic scale. He equipped over 2,000 vessels: ship-rigged boats called *prames*, carrying twelve guns; *bateaux canoniers*, carrying two guns; and larger vessels of twenty-four metres in length, brig-rigged and carrying five guns. All these were built for rowing, were flat-bottomed and so shallow in draught that they could be navigated close in shore. They could not be attacked in harbour because of the shallow water on the French coast, which made it impossible for the British men-of-war to approach them. On these an army of 130,000 men was to be thrown, which was constantly engaged in embarking and disembarking, so that when the psychological moment arrived they would be able to seize the opportunity it offered. But it took a long time to get them out of harbour, and although contemporary French opinion leaned to the theory that they could cross the Channel during a calm, it was afterwards admitted that this could not be relied upon. N. therefore saw that he must attempt to concentrate his sea-going fleet in the Channel if he desired to gain the temporary command there. Most of his vessels-of-the-line were scattered among ports in the north of France and on the Spanish coast, and all of them were watched by British squadrons. N. was confronted with the task of bringing them together before the British fleet could be concentrated to meet them. In July 1804 he commanded Latouche Tréville, the admiral commanding at Toulon, to slip out

when Nelson and his squadron had been driven out to sea by a gale. He had ten sail-of-the-line at his disposal, and with these he was ordered to join Villeneuve, who was in the Aix Roads, when both would effect a junction with Ganteaume and twenty-one sail-of-the-line at Brest. But Latouche Tréville died on 20 Aug., and a delay was thus occasioned. N. then introduced a plan into his naval policy by which French vessels were to sail to distant seas, thus drawing the English squadrons of observation after them, and return to concentrate in the Channel. Great Britain, scenting a breach of neutrality in the monthly subvention which the Spanish Government paid to N., seized certain Spanish treasure-ships on their way from America. Resenting this, Spain declared war on 12 Dec., so that the Spanish fleet could now openly co-operate with the French. But N.'s policy was to harass the British Government by doubts and fears of invasion both at home and of its colonies. To this effect Mississipy left Rochefort with five sail-of-the-line and slipped past the British forces on the coast. He succeeded in destroying many merchantmen, and returned safely after a five-months' cruise in the West Indies to the port from which he had set out. But he had not drawn any important British ships after him as had been intended. Ganteaume, on his part, had no opportunity to get to sea, and though Villeneuve left Toulon when Nelson was absent he suffered such loss in a gale that he was forced to make Toulon on the 21st. Once more he managed to evade Nelson, and reaching Cadiz was joined by one French and six Spanish vessels under Admiral Gravina, which with the eleven ships he had with him gave him a force of eighteen sail. Leaving Cadiz on 9 April, he reached Fort de France, in Martinique, about the middle of May. At this port he had been ordered to remain until joined by Ganteaume. At the beginning of June he was joined by two line-of-battle ships and a frigate, which bore him a message that he was to remain in the West Indies till 5 July, and if by that time he had not been joined by Ganteaume that he must steer for

Ferrol, pick up all the ships he could find there and go on to the Channel. Learning that Nelson had reached Barbadoes in pursuit of him, Villeneuve decided to return to Ferrol, and Nelson, whose information was faulty, scoured the West Indian seas in search of him. Then, learning the truth, he sailed for Gibraltar, as he thought that Villeneuve would naturally return to Toulon. He sent a brig home with dispatches, and this vessel sighted the French making for the Bay of Biscay on 19 June. Its captain made England a few days afterwards, and his information was acted on by the Admiralty, which stationed a force to intercept Villeneuve outside Ferrol, where he was met by Sir Robert Calder. An action was fought in a fog and ended in the capture of two Spanish line-of-battle ships; but Calder acted without energy and retreated on the blockading fleet off Brest, so that Villeneuve was able to join the vessels at Ferrol. Villeneuve, however, was nervous about the ability of the Spaniards to co-operate with him successfully, and sailed for Cadiz, thus absolutely ruining N.'s elaborate naval scheme. On hearing of this movement the Emperor at once broke up the camp at Roulogne and marched to Germany. *See* TRAFALGAR, BATTLE OF.

French naval activity from 1805-14 may be said to have consisted mainly in the protection of commerce and convoy and of obscure expeditions to French colonies. Line-of-battle ships were still built in all the French dominions merely for the purpose of forcing the British Government to maintain expensive blockades, but never were these vessels permitted to go to sea or to meet the British Navy in a pitched battle. By degrees France and Holland, her ally, lost their possessions, and such ports as harboured privateers were greatly reduced, but not till great damage had been accomplished by these freebooters, who checked considerably British mercantile activity at sea.

**Neipperg, Adam Adalbert, Comte de (1775-1829).**—Was born at Salzburg, entered the Austrian Army, fought with distinction at Jemappes

and Neerwinden, and in 1794 was taken prisoner at Doelen and lost an eye. He served under the Archduke Ferdinand in 1805, and again four years later; was sent as ambassador to Sweden and secured the adherence of Bernadotte to the coalition; and induced Murat to sign a secret league against N. in 1813. In the following year he was attached by the Emperor Francis to Marie Louise, travelled with her in an equivocal capacity to Aix and Switzerland, and on N.'s return from Elba published her declaration that she knew nothing of the intention to escape. Neipperg became grand master of her court, and ultimately contracted with her a morganatic marriage, of which three children were born.

**Ney, Michel, Duc d'Elchingen, Prince de la Moskwa (1769-1815).**— Marshal; was born at Saarlouis on 10 Jan. 1769, the son of a cooper. His education was rudimentary. In 1788 he went to Metz, and there enlisted in a regiment of hussars and was soon known for his activity and daring. In 1792 he became a lieutenant, the following year a captain, and having attracted the notice of Kléber was placed by him at the head of a special corps of light troops whose work it was to traverse the enemy's line, to reconnoitre and intercept convoys. In this service Ney won his name of the "Indefatigable." He was soon appointed *chef de brigade*, and in 1796, after many proofs of valour and resource, was promoted general of brigade. In these actions he had taken many *émigrés* prisoners, but always eluded the orders for shooting them, a fact which the Directory or its agent noted at the time. Ney was now in command of the right wing of General Hoche's army, and again distinguished himself in action. On the renewal of hostilities (after the peace of Campo Formio) in 1799, Ney again took the field, commanding the cavalry at Thur. He then conceived the idea of taking Mannheim, a well-defended town, by surprise, and after having reconnoitred the enemy's position dressed as a Prussian peasant, he took the place with a small but chosen body

of men. This achievement put the seal on his fame, and he was made general of division. In the Swiss campaigns, under Masséna, he distinguished himself, receiving three wounds. When the Russian forces approached from Italy, Masséna turned, leaving Ney in charge of the troops who confronted the Austrians. In this position, and pitted against the famous Archduke Charles, his vigour and genius were displayed to the full and were successful. He served at Hohenlinden in 1800, sharing in the glories of the day. In July 1802 Ney was married to Mlle. Aglaé Louise Auguié, who had been chosen for his wife by Josephine at N.'s request. She was the intimate friend and school-fellow of Hortense and daughter of a former *receveur-général des finances*. To the first-born of the marriage, Napoleon Joseph (8 May 1803), N. and Hortense stood sponsors. On the occasion of the marriage N. had presented Ney with an Egyptian sabre of exquisite workmanship, a gift which was to play a fateful part in the recipient's life.

From this time Ney, who had been an uncompromising adherent to revolutionary principles, fell completely beneath the Napoleonic sway, and was among the very few officers of the Army of the Rhine who were trusted by N. In 1803 the First Consul sent him on a diplomatic mission to Switzerland, which he carried out successfully, and on his return he was put in command of the camp of Montreuil, where, in the name of the army, he called upon N. to declare himself Emperor. In 1804, the day after N. became Emperor, he conferred on Ney the dignity of marshal and grand eagle of the Legion of Honour. On the renewal of war with Germany, Ney, in command of the VI. corps of the *grande armée*, traversed France with phenomenal rapidity, and fought the well-contested battle of Elchingen (in memory of which he was afterwards created Duc d'Elchingen in 1808), a victory which went far to secure the surrender of Ulm. He entered Carinthia, remaining there till the peace of Pressburg, thus missing Austerlitz. The campaigns of 1806-7 were, however, to bring still greater fame to



Marshal Ney. Again in command of the VI. corps, he took a vital part in the defeat of the Prussians at Jena and Auerstadt. It was to him that Magdeburg surrendered with 20,000 men, nearly 800 cannon and immense stores; he occupied Thorn after the passage of the Vistula, and fought the sanguinary battle of Soldau, defeating Lestocq; at Deppen totally destroyed a Prussian corps; was at Eylau, and finally led, with magnificent courage, the decisive attack at Friedland, where he drove into the Alle the left wing of the enemy and decided the victory. It was after this that N. bestowed upon him his famous title, "the bravest of the brave."

In 1808 he accompanied N. to Spain still in command of the VI. corps, and was there from 1808 to 1811, first in the Emperor's own operations of 1808-9, next overrunning Galicia and the Asturias, destroying many of the guerrillas and cutting off the convoys to the Allies. He joined Masséna in the Portuguese campaign, and was in command of the rear-guard during the retreat from Torres Vedras. In his brilliant conduct of this difficult operation, though incessantly harassed by the assaults of Wellington's overwhelming forces, he still further distinguished himself, but an unfortunate quarrel arose between him and Masséna, who, it is said, reproached Ney for the slowness of his column, which the latter attributed to the number of carts and animals laden with plunder, over which Masséna gloated. Stung by these reproaches, Ney ordered the plunder to be burned, beginning on Masséna's own share. Ney was divested of his command, recalled, and severely censured by N., but was soon re-employed with the *grande armée* under N. himself in the Russian campaign (1812). At Borodino (La Moskwa), Ney commanded the centre, surpassing even his own brilliant deeds, and on the evening of the victory was created Prince of the Moskwa. But in the dreadful retreat from Moscow Ney, commanding the rear-guard, was to rise to greater heights still, by reason not only of his own sublime courage and genius but by simple manhood and kindness. He

was a veritable tower of strength, keeping his harassed and starving soldiers together though continually attacked by the well-provided enemy; standing himself in the ranks with musket and bayonet; leading them through the night across ice and snow to circumvent the pursuers, and being finally the last to recross the frontier, throwing the muskets that remained into the Niemen. It is one of the most magnificent instances of personal devotion and courage in circumstances of unexampled disaster that the world has known.

In the campaign of 1813 he commanded a corps, and was present at Lützen, Bautzen, Dennewitz, and Leipsic. Undismayed by defeat, he fought on with undiminished zeal in 1814, and at the fall of the Empire acted together with Macdonald and Caulaincourt in the negotiations with the Allies on behalf of N.; and it is evident that he disliked and vigorously objected to the terms of abdication to which N. had finally to submit. The abdication was beyond Ney's power to avert, but his behaviour at the Restoration, his noisy support of the Bourbons, is unintelligible. The whirl of events unbalanced his character. But the new régime was not for him—the swarm of returning aristocrats had no place for "the bravest of the brave," and only furnished the ludicrous spectacle of pretentiousness patronizing genius. Ney was mortified, and retired to his country seat. Later a command at Besançon was offered him, and on his way there he heard of N.'s return. Ney hurried to Paris, renewed his vows of loyalty to Louis XVIII., and accepted the commission to repel the invader with the famous but unfortunate remark that he would return with the usurper in an iron cage. At Lons-le-Saulnier his new-sprung loyalty was put to the test, and was swept away before the personality of N. Ney and his troops went to swell the Emperor's triumphant progress. Yet in his blundering way he tried to make some constitutional guarantees the price of his return to his old chief; but though Ney was not a political adept, this fact shows that his so-called treason to the Bour-

bons was not calculated and cold-blooded as his enemies asserted. Received by the Emperor with great kindness, yet he at first received no command, but was summoned by N. to the army on the northern frontier, where on 13 June he took command of the left wing, the next day moving into Belgium. His behaviour at certain junctures of the Waterloo campaign has been the cause of much controversy. As strategist he was perforce subordinated to N., and as a soldier his courage was unquestioned. When the struggle was over a deadly apathy fell upon him, and further action on his part seemed an impossibility. He acquiesced in the restoration of the Bourbons, to whom he renewed his fealty only to be ignored by them. At first he thought of leaving France, but, apathetic in this as in all else, he relinquished the idea, believing himself protected by the terms of the convention (3 June), but an order was issued in which he was denounced by name. Again he made some attempt at escape, but with a strange indifference. Suchet, it is said, offered him money and passports, which were declined, and the marshal proceeded to Aurillac where some relative of his resided. There he was taken, discovered, it is stated, by the Egyptian sabre, N.'s wedding gift. Beyond doubt Louis and his ministers would have preferred Ney's escape to his arrest. In the face of his remarkable fame and popularity, this could not but be a disaster to their prestige, for his doom was certain, driven as they were by the extremists of their own party. At Paris he was brought before a court-martial composed mainly of his old companions-in-arms: these earned only infamy in the judgment of their countrymen, whilst others, who had indignantly refused to serve in such a capacity, after being disgraced for this by the Bourbons, were reinstated by the sheer force of public opinion. Any delay of Ney's trial tried the patience of the Royalists, who were resolved on his death; and one of the most unlovely episodes in history is the vindictive share played in this tragedy by the Duchesse d'Angoulême, who, realizing afterwards what

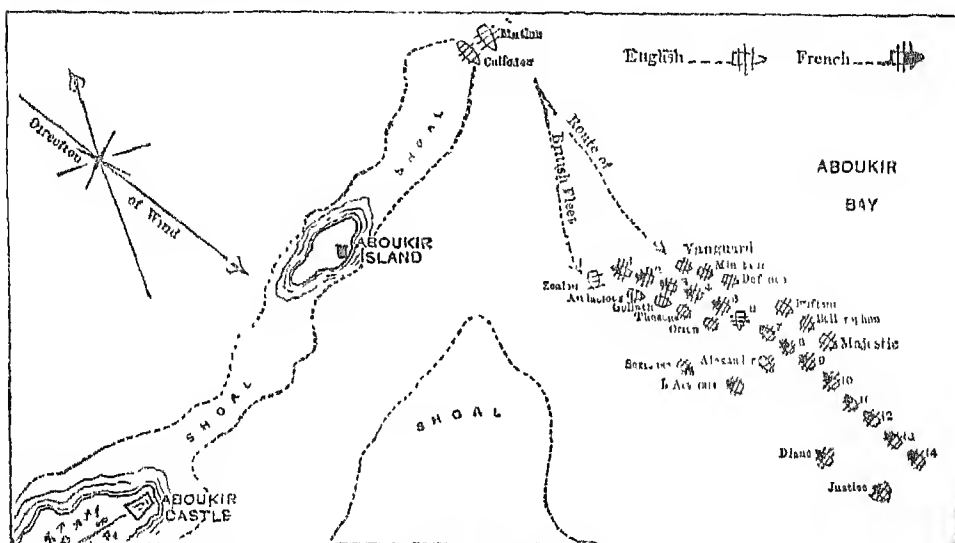
she had done, made the weak and somewhat doubtful defence that she had not known of the marshal's services to France. Ney's counsel, Berryer and Dupin, pleaded his right to be tried by his equals in the chamber of peers, and to this the court gladly assented. The defence was based on the article of the convention which included soldiers in the capitulation, but this was over-ruled, one of the grounds for so doing being that his birthplace, Saarlouis, had been recently dis-severed from France, therefore Ney was not amenable to French laws. The trial was a hollow sham, and is only redeemed from utter infamy by the generous appeal of the young Duc de Broglie, who was the only one who voted for the marshal's acquittal. The sentence of death was conveyed to the doomed man, whose calm was only ruffled by the adieux to wife and children. In the early morning of 7 Dec. 1815 Marshal Ney was shot in the Luxembourg Gardens near to the observatory. He met his death with such courage as he had displayed on the field of battle, refusing to have his eyes bandaged and himself giving the word to fire. His death enshrined him for ever in the hearts of the French and left an indelible stain on the Bourbon name. Wellington, too, must be held responsible in so far as he stood aside when he might have saved a fellow-soldier by insisting on the just interpretation of the military capitulation to the Allies, which included soldiers.

**Nile, Battle of the.**—This important naval action, which is also known as the Battle of Aboukir, took place during the night of 1 Aug. 1798 between the British fleet under Nelson and a French fleet led by Admiral Brueys, which was anchored in Aboukir Bay. The rival forces boasted an equal number of ships-of-the-line, but Nelson's disposition of his squadrons was greatly more skilful. He succeeded by a manœuvre, which combined daring and address, in placing half his ships between the line of the French fleet and the shore, while the remaining half anchored on the seaward side of the enemy. Brueys, thus placed between two fires, fought

a losing battle almost from the first with distinguished gallantry. Concentrating his attack upon that portion of the French fleet which was exposed to a high wind, Nelson thus made it impossible for the leeward vessels to render any assistance, and, taking the French ships in detail, destroyed all but two vessels-of-the-line and two frigates. The French flagship *Orient* was blown up, the event being rendered memorable by the bravery of the young son of her commander, who had been ordered by his father not to quit his post, and who perished rather than disobey the paternal injunction. The

French (79,000) had been engaged in cutting out a strong position for themselves to the south of the Nivelle. On 10 Nov. 1813 the British under Wellington attacked their lines, cut Soult's army in two, thus forcing him to fall back across the river, down both sides of which the British then camped. The French losses were about 4,000 men and twenty-one guns, while the British lost 2,700.

**Norway.**—During the period of N.'s régime the kingdom of Norway was joined to that of Denmark. In 1800 the Danish Government committed itself to the Second Armed



The Battle of the Nile

incident is immortalized in the well-known poem, "Casabianca."

**Nive, Battles of the (Peninsular War 1813).**—After several lesser engagements on previous days, 14,000 British and Portuguese troops under Hill were attacked on 13 Dec. 1813 near the River Nive by 35,000 French under Soult. The former held a good position, which with varying success they maintained for some hours until Wellington arrived to their aid, when they succeeded in driving back the French to their original position. In the four days' fighting the Allies lost about 5,000 killed and wounded and the French 7,000.

**Nivelle, Battle of the (Peninsular War 1813).**—For three months the

Neutrality, and therefore Norway was technically on the side of N. and at war with Great Britain. It was not until 1807, however, that she was fully involved in the Napoleonic wars. After the bombardment of Copenhagen Danish policy compelled her to embrace the Napoleonic cause against both England and Sweden. Her commerce was in a deplorable condition, and her food supply failed. So great was the national distress that popular leaders arose, perhaps the most conspicuous being Count Hermann Jasper von Wedel-Jarlsberg. The patriotic party demanded an administration distinct from that of Denmark, and this was ceded in 1807. In 1814 Frederick VI. of Denmark was compelled to cede

Norway to Sweden, of which country Bernadotte (*q.v.*) had become crown prince. Frederick absolved the Norwegians from their oath of allegiance, and they were called upon to become loyal subjects of the Swedish king; but they had not been consulted in the matter and refused to acknowledge the treaty. A meeting of delegates was convened at Eidsvold, where on 17 May 1814 a new constitution was adopted, which embraced the creation of the Storting or national assembly. The Danish governor of Norway, Prince Christian Frederick, was unanimously elected king. Sweden under Bernadotte invaded Norway, and the consequent hostilities lasted only a fortnight, when negotiations were opened. A convention was held at Moss, where it was proposed that Norwegians should accept the Swedish king as their sovereign on condition that the constitution which they had framed should remain intact with the exception of a few minor alterations. On 4 Nov. 1814, a month after the Prince had fled, Norway was declared to be a free, independent and indivisible kingdom, united with Sweden under one king.

## O

**Ocana, Battle of (Peninsular War).**

—On 18 Nov. 1809, on the plain of Ocana, near Aranjuez, a Spanish army of 50,000 men, under Areizaga, met about 30,000 French, nominally under King Joseph Bonaparte but commanded by Soult. After a preliminary cavalry encounter, in which the French dragoons under Milhaud routed the Spanish horse with severe loss, the French commenced the attack. The Spaniards at first stood firm, while their guns kept up such a destructive cannonade that the leading ranks of the advancing French column wavered and then fell back. Soult then hastened up fresh troops, which restored the battle and ultimately gave the French a magnificent victory. The loss to the Spaniards was 5,000 killed and wounded, 20,000 prisoners, forty-five guns, and the whole of their ammunition and baggage, while the French losses were comparatively insignificant.

**O'Meara, Barry Edward (1786-1836).**—For a time personal doctor to N. at St. Helena; was a native of Ireland and born in 1786. As a surgeon he entered first the service of the army, but was forced to leave it in 1808 owing to his participation in a duel. Soon after he obtained a post in the navy, and as ship's surgeon was on board the *Bellerophon* when N. surrendered to Admiral Maitland in July 1815. He was favourably noticed by the Emperor, and received an invitation to act as N.'s medical attendant, which he accepted, sailing to St. Helena with Bonaparte, on the *Northumberland*, and filling the position of his private doctor until his removal about the middle of 1818. O'Meara soon fell under the sway of N.'s great personal attraction, and became *l'homme de l'Empereur*, as the phrase goes, whether entirely disinterested or not. He was removed from his post in 1818 for reasons which will be mentioned later. On his leaving, N. thanked him for his care of him, gave him various messages to his family, and bade him "quit the abode of darkness and crime." In Oct. of the same year O'Meara wrote a letter to the Admiralty in which he insinuated that Sir Hudson Lowe had sounded him on his willingness to hasten N.'s death artificially. To this the Admiralty replied: "Either the charge is in the last degree false and calumnious or you can have no possible excuse for having hitherto suppressed it," at the same time dismissing him from the navy.

Around the statements contained in O'Meara's book, *A Voice from St. Helena, or Napoleon in Exile* (published in 1822), much controversy has raged. The sympathy of the British nation with the fallen Emperor had already been aroused, and the work ran through five editions in a few months. By his friends the author is held up as a much-maligned hero—a martyr—true to his belief that it was his duty to expose the treatment which N. received from his captors, although knowing well that such exposure would spell ruin to himself; while his enemies denounce him as dishonourable, a paid *homme de l'Empereur* and a liar. In support of the former we

have the evidence of the contemporary Las Cases, Montholon, Marchand, and Antonmarchi, and against them that of Sir Hudson Lowe, Mr. Henry (assist.-surgeon), Jackson (lieut.), and others. From beginning to end the *Voice* is an indictment of Sir Hudson Lowe (the governor of St. Helena), either from personal motives or from an honest wish to expose what O'Meara considered his scandalous treatment of a great man, and from this latter standpoint the doctor viewed the daily happenings and events on the island.

The most serious accusation made is probably that the British Government were endeavouring, with the aid of their governor and the climate of St. Helena, to hasten N.'s end, and that the disease from which N. suffered was being greatly accelerated by the climate and the restrictions placed upon him. The question of the real cause of N.'s death is dealt with elsewhere (*see* AUTOPSY), but it was O'Meara's stated opinion that continued residence on St. Helena would endanger N.'s life.

Next we have the statement that Lowe wished O'Meara to act as a spy on N. At first the doctor seems to have been on quite good terms with the governor and to have voluntarily given him information about affairs at Longwood. Meantime Lowe discovered that O'Meara was sending much fuller information in private letters to a friend in the Admiralty (Mr. Finlaison), and not unnaturally considered that he (Lowe) should also be informed of these particulars. This appears to be the grain of truth which made the accusation so dangerous and difficult of explanation. O'Meara's righteous indignation at this attempted bribery loses, however, its poignancy when we find that he himself was under a promise to N. "not to reveal the conversations that passed between them unless they related to his escape"; and, according to Mr. Henry in his *Events of a Military Life*, the doctor made an attempt to bribe Henry and others on the island to join the Bonapartist intrigues. O'Meara has also been accused of repeating conversations heard at mess

to N., and Mme. Bertrand acknowledged after the Emperor's death that this charge was true. For this dishonourable conduct O'Meara was asked to cease from attending mess by the commanding officer of the regiment stationed at St. Helena (the 66th); but we must not overlook the fact that the officers of the mess certified as to his good conduct while mixing with them, and great prominence is given to this certificate in the *Voice*.

It is said that these intrigues on the part of O'Meara and the French were but the details of a deliberately thought-out plan to rouse sympathy with N. and if possible secure his recall from St. Helena, and some such aim was afterwards acknowledged by the ex-Emperor's suite.

As regards O'Meara's dismissal, he himself states that it was brought about by Sir Hudson Lowe because of his (O'Meara's) refusal to act as spy; but Mr. Henry says in his narrative that O'Meara resigned his post because his intrigues were discovered, that his application was sent home, and soon after Lowe received orders from the British Government to dismiss O'Meara because of information which they had received from another source. This source was no other than General Gourgaud, who was in England, and referred to "clandestine correspondence." In Gourgaud's *Journal* we also read that O'Meara had been in receipt of money from N.

The question of the inaccuracy of the statements which appear in the *Voice* has been very thoroughly gone into by Mr. William Forsyth, Q.C., in his *History of the Captivity of Napoleon on St. Helena*. In 1888 the *Voice* was republished and renamed *Napoleon at St. Helena*, and from this edition some of O'Meara's misstatements have been omitted; yet additions which are made to the book are scarcely more accurate. It is only fair to add, however, that O'Meara's book, if read with caution, may be found both interesting and useful.

After O'Meara's dismissal from the navy little was heard of him, but he latterly became an adherent of Daniel O'Connell. He died in 1836.

**Opera.**—It was when on his way to the opera one evening in Paris that an attempt was made to assassinate N.; and it is recorded that, far from betraying signs of perturbation, he took virtually no notice of the affair, simply telling his coachman to drive forward to the theatre at the accustomed pace. Now this incident, illustrating so happily the Emperor's native courage, together with his wonderful command over his emotions, serves equally well to show how enthusiastic an opera-goer he was; and turning to his *Correspondence*, that great dictionary of ideas and opinions, we see quite a number of things which further demonstrate the imperial predilection in this respect. In 1797, for example, Bonaparte declares that, "of all the fine arts, music is the one that has most influence on the feelings, the one that a legislator should most encourage"; while in the summer of 1805 he writes speculating as to what manner of piece Mozart's *Don Giovanni* is, and a little later, having duly heard that opera, he justly expresses keen admiration for its beauty. In 1806, again, he tells of the pleasure he has lately experienced in making the acquaintance of Paër, an Italian operatic composer, famous at that time although little remembered nowadays; while we learn that on the Emperor hearing *Romeo and Juliet* at Vienna, and being particularly delighted with the part played therein by Crescentini, he straightway offered him handsome remuneration would he leave Austria and come to France, this offer being gladly accepted by the then renowned singer. After acquiring the French throne N. did not by any means forget the precept he had formerly enunciated concerning a legislator's duties towards music. "If things do not go better at the opera," we find him writing in 1807, "I will put a good soldier to manage them, who will wake them up"; and all the lively interest manifested thus by the Emperor makes us the more eager, naturally, to know what sort of operas chiefly held sway in the France of his era.

Several new theatres came into being during the Consulate and the

Empire, while, even apart from these, the number existing in Paris in those days was very considerable; and of such places, the two which constituted the principal rallying-ground for operas were the Favart and the Feydan. The former had been known in earlier times as the Comédie Italienne, the latter as the Théâtre de Monsieur; but on the eve of N.'s coronation the parties conducting these two theatres were induced to join hands, so to speak, the united theatre being thenceforth known as the Opéra Comique, while a little later the company chiefly playing there received the title of "Comédiens ordinaires de l'Empereur." And this change of names and the like, while seeming at first sight a slight matter, possesses in reality a certain significance, for the whole art of opera likewise underwent something of a metamorphosis during Napoleonic times.

During the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. opera was a very popular form of entertainment throughout France, the majority of pieces written, nevertheless, being by Italians and not by native composers. These Italians, in general, sought no coherency between the scenes enacted and the music played along with them, while most of them composed in a rather ornate and frothy manner. On the eve of the Revolution, however, Gluck's lovely *Iphigénie en Aulis* was performed for the first time in Paris, when it created a tremendous stir, and the result was the wide expression of discontent with the prevailing standards of taste in opera. For Gluck, besides composing in an eminently simple if not even austere manner—alike as regards his instrumentation and the contour of his airs—tried to make his music a reflection, as it were, of the drama it accompanied, and now the feeling arose among many people that this, and this only, was true operatic art. Still, the old ornate school were not inclined to retire immediately before those standing out for simplicity, and a fierce combat ensued, the one band calling themselves Gluckists, the other being known as Piccinists, after Piccini,

the Italian composer, whom they regarded as their exemplar. The latter school gradually wavered, and their ranks were thinned by onslaughts; so here, about the time of the inauguration of the Consulate, was a rare opportunity for young and individual composers. Many came forward and stepped into the breach, among them a few Italians, but the greater number of French birth; and N. himself from the first showed marked favour for the new school, whose dedication of form and desire for simplicity perforce appealed to his strenuous temperament.

One of the most important of the Italian composers representing the novel attitude towards operatic music was Gaspard Luigi Pacifico Spontini (1779-1851). Coming to Paris in 1803, he succeeded after much difficulty in having his opera of *Milton* staged there in the following year; and, this piece arousing much admiration, Spontini had the good fortune to win the friendship and patronage of the Empress Josephine, who made him "directeur de sa musique particulière." Whereas hitherto Spontini had had to gain a livelihood by the drudgery of giving singing lessons, he was now able to devote himself almost exclusively to composing; and when his next opera, *La Vestale*, was duly completed it was largely through N.'s own influence that it found its way on to the boards. The Emperor also befriended Giovanni Paisiello (1741-1816), whose opera of *Proserpine* was keenly welcomed at Paris in 1803; but the ablest of all these trans-Alpine composers who came to the France of Bonaparte was Maria Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842). He won his first real success on the Parisian operatic stage in 1799, that year witnessing the production of his two pieces, *La Puntion* and *La Prisonnière*, while in 1800 the French capital was delighted by his *Deux Journées*, in the following year by his *Anacréon*, and in 1804 by his *Achille à Scyros*. He is hailed to this day by many musicians as one of the supreme masters of counterpoint; and his finest work was the best immediate

result, perhaps, of that stand for greater simplicity of form spoken of above.

Turning to the French operatic composers of the time, we may well refer first to Etienne Henri Méhul (1763-1817). Previous to the Consulate he had set to music a tragedy by Marie Joseph Chénier, *Timoléon*, and this he followed soon afterwards with various pieces, notably *Ariodant*, *Bion*, and *Joseph*, these being succeeded later on by *Persée et Andromède*. The last-named, however, is less an opera than an operetta, or ballet; and to this category belongs also *Le Retour d'Ulysse*, the work of Louis Loiseau de Persuis (1769-1819). He, nevertheless, composed a large quota of actual operas—for instance, *Léonidas* and *Jérusalem Délivrée*; while he collaborated repeatedly with Jean François Lesueur (1760-1837)—for example, in *Le Triomphe de Trajan*. Lesueur himself was one of the most prolific and widely admired French composers of his day, making his name so early as 1793, with *Paul et Virginie*, a dramatized version of the familiar story of the same name; but his greatest triumph was won when in 1804 his opera of *Les Bardes* was staged at the Académie, known from that date onwards as the Académie Impériale. For this opera is based on the legendary poems of Ossian, and N. being, as is well known, an enthusiastic devotee of these poems, he saw fit to reward Lesueur handsomely, this favour naturally serving to make the composer still more famous than he had been before.

But although this Ossianic music-drama elicited such loud applause, not only from Bonaparte but from many eminent contemporaneous men of letters, it was really "the glory that was Greece" and "the grandeur that was Rome" that the Parisians of Napoleonic times chiefly loved to see represented on the operatic stage. The most casual reader of the last two paragraphs must have observed that, of the different pieces cited there, the great majority are concerned with famous classical stories, while endless, indeed, were the further operas of this particular kind which

were welcomed during the Consulate and the Empire. The year 1801 saw the triumphant staging of *Flaminius à Corinthe*, the joint work of Nicolo Isonard and Rudolphe Kreutzer, while the latter composer in the same year brought out *Astyanax* and in 1808 *Aristippe*; nor should we fail to note that six years prior to this a distinct success had been scored by the *Sémiramis* of Charles Simon Catel. The list might be prolonged almost indefinitely, but lack of space prohibits this, and we must pause instead to note that a peculiar interest attaches to the taste manifested thus, alike by composers and the public who supported and acclaimed them. As already pointed out, the characteristic musicians of Napoleonic France made a stand on behalf of simplicity; they demonstrated, as a French historian of the operatic art expresses it, "une aversion profonde pour ces airs de bravoure, et pour ces floritures, dont les opéras italiens étaient pleins. . . ." And it was inevitable that men, preoccupied in this way, should find their subject matter chiefly in the great stories about the heroes of the antique world, these stories perforce lending themselves well to an austere type of music. For, as we have shown already, the Empire musicians were mostly eager to weld together the music played and the drama enacted, making each a reflection of its fellow, and so they must be hailed as among the direct ancestors of the greatest of all modern composers, Wagner, whose ruling ambition was nothing less than this same welding together of the story and the accompanying airs. It is this, then—their prefiguring of a sublime master—which principally gives the "Gluckists" and their immediate successors in France their singular significance for the present-day student of music; while, furthermore, were not these men the first who constituted anything which may reasonably be called a national school of French musicians?

**Oporto, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—On 29 March 1809, which happened to be Good Friday, a French Army under Soult defeated the Portuguese outside Oporto and forced their

way into the city. A horrible slaughter of the inhabitants followed, hundreds of whom were driven into the river and drowned. The Portuguese dead numbered several thousands, while the French only lost about 500.

**Orthes, Battle of (Peninsular War 1814).**—The French Army, under Soult, occupied a strong position, with its left resting on the heights above Orthes. At daybreak on 27 Feb. 1814 Wellington with an Allied force commenced the action by turning Soult's extreme right; he then attacked his centre and left wing, bearing down the enemy's opposition until the whole French Army was thrown into confusion and forced to fall back, losing about 4,000 men, six guns, and a large quantity of baggage. The Allies' losses numbered over 2,000. Both sides engaged about 37,000 troops, the French having forty guns and the Allies forty-eight.

**Ossian, N.'s Interest in.**—Many of N.'s intimate friends have left some written record of his literary tastes, and nearly all of them speak of his devotion to Ossian, whom he regarded, they say, as a far greater poet than Homer himself. Scarcely were the works of his translator, Macpherson, known in France ere they began to awaken wide interest and even enthusiasm there, especially among the poets themselves. One of the first of these to manifest such interest was Antoine Vincent Arnault (1766-1834), who wrote a tragedy based on the Ossianic stories; and no doubt it was this which chiefly won him the marked favour of N., who made him Secrétaire Général de l'Université, and conferred on him several other state appointments. Bonaparte also showed friendship towards another Ossianic enthusiast, the poet Pierre Marie Baour-Lormian (1770-1854), who issued in 1801 what his biographer styles an "imitation brillante des légendes calédoniennes écrite dans le goût un peu nuageux de l'époque"; and when Jean François Lésueur (1760-1837) produced in 1804 his opera, *Les Bardes*, derived from Ossian, he received from the state treasury a gift of 6,000 francs, and



was likewise presented with a valuable goblet, bearing the inscription: "To the composer of *Les Barbes* from the Emperor Napoleon."

The Emperor did not signify his enthusiasm only in these ways, for he liked to have about him pictures representing scenes from the poems. Soon after his first taking up his abode at the château of Malmaison, bought by Josephine during her husband's absence in Italy, he charged the artist Girodet-Trioson (1767-1824) to paint him a canvas entitled *Fingal au milieu de ses descendants*; while later in his career N. gave an analogous commission to a far greater master, Dominique Ingres.

**Ostrovno, Battle of (Russian Campaign).**—On 25 July 1812, during N.'s advance into Russia, a sharp engagement took place at Ostrovno between a Russian corps under Ostermann and the French advance-guard under Murat. The latter were victorious, and drove the Russians back.

**Oudinot, Charles Nicolas, Duc de Reggio (1767-1847).**—Marshal; was born at Bar-le-due of bourgeois parents, and served as a private in the regiment of Médoc for three years. In 1787 he retired with the rank of sergeant, as owing to his humble birth further promotion seemed impossible. After the Revolution in 1792, however, he entered the volunteers of the Meuse as lieutenant-colonel. Notice was drawn to his military qualities by his brave defence of Bitsch, in the Vosges, and he received a commission in the regular army in 1793. In 1794 he was raised to the rank of general of brigade for gallantry at the battle of Kaiserslautern. He upheld his reputation during the Swiss campaign of 1799, and became Masséna's chief of staff. He took part in the defence of Genoa, and N. presented him with a sword of honour in recognition of his services in the battle of Monzambano. He later received the position of inspector-general of infantry, and was given the grand cross of the Légion of Honour.

In the war of 1805 Oudinot distinguished himself as commander of the famous division of the "grenadiers

Oudinot," composed of troops picked and trained by himself. With them he won the Vienna bridges, was present at Hollabrunn, and decisively altered the tide of battle at Austerlitz. He was appointed to the governorship of Erfurt in 1808, and, after taking part in many engagements, for his conduct at Wagram he was promoted to the rank of marshal and made Duke of Reggio. From 1810 to 1812 Oudinot was governor of Holland, and commanded the II. corps in the Russian expedition. He fought gallantly at Bautzen, but his want of success in the action at Gross Beeren displeased the Emperor and he was superseded by Ney.

In 1814, on the abdication of N., Oudinot went over to the Royalists, was made a peer by Louis XVIII. and entrusted with the important military government of Metz. On the return from Elba he remained faithful to the royal cause, and during the Hundred Days resisted all N.'s overtures. On the second Restoration he was appointed to the chief command of the Parisian national guard and was made minister of state. His last military service to France was during the invasion of Spain in 1823, and he was for a time governor of Madrid. He died on 13 Sept. 1847.

N. seems to have considered Oudinot's talents to be mediocre, and, indeed, he made no pretensions to being a great commander, yet there is no doubt that as an infantry general he was ideal. He possessed energy, resolution, skill, a thorough knowledge of detail, and was brave to the last degree.

**Ouvrard, Gabriel Julien (1770-1846).**—Banker and financier. Possessed of an ingratiating manner, Ouvrard never failed to find ready tools for his ceaseless scheming. N., however, from the first distrusted him, and warned Barbé-Marbois, minister of the treasury, against too ready an acquiescence in his propositions. In conjunction with the banker Vanlerberghe, Desprez, and other speculators and purveyors, Ouvrard floated the "Company of United Merchants," which engaged in certain speculations with Spain and her colonies, a business

heavily handicapped by the vigilance of British cruisers. Both in Spain and France the scheme was well received. The company also engaged to make advances to the French treasury and to provision the army, but the government delayed payment owing to the lack of ready money. In this risky position Ouvrard appealed to the Bank of France, and an agreement was made to make advances to them by an issue of bank-notes, which, however, decreased in value by more than 10 per cent. Matters were now serious, for commercial bill-discounting was paralysed, trade was of necessity affected, and several startling failures followed. Thus through this company the treasury and bank were vitally affected. The bank was affected to the extent of four millions sterling, a circumstance which compelled N. to make a premature peace after Austerlitz. The victory had a steadying effect at this crisis, but N. was enraged, and he wished he could build a gallows for Ouvrard high enough to be seen by all France. He compelled the company to hand over all it possessed, Ouvrard's calm and engaging manner availing him nothing, while Barbé-Marbois was dismissed and Mollien appointed in his place. Ouvrard, moreover, was employed by Fouché in those astonishing negotiations for peace with England entered into on his own initiative, a proceeding which made N. furious and brought Fouché nearer to destruction than he had been even during the Revolution. As it was he was disgraced, and Ouvrard again fell under the Emperor's wrath. Mme. Tallien (*q.v.*) was at one time Ouvrard's mistress, and doubtless many of his financial schemes were worked in connexion with that lady's father, Cabarrus, the Spanish banker.

P

**Painting Under Napoleon.**—

France is essentially the country of artistic movements or revolutions. In other lands the arts have undergone changes from time to time, but no-

where have these changes been so marked as in France, nowhere else have groups of artists banded themselves together with so much enthusiasm, striving to subvert the existing régime and to create a new tradition in æsthetics. The sixteenth century witnessed a distinct revolt in French poetry, Ronsard being the leader on this occasion; while Victor Hugo and that *école romantique* who rallied round him created a very turmoil in Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since then French literature has been stirred by the symbolist movement, while painting has been convulsed, first by the impressionists under Monet, Renoir, and Degas, then by the post-impressionists under Cézanne, Gauguin, and van Gogh; but none of these little revolutions stands out quite so clearly as the movement made in the graphic arts in the France of N.'s day, no former upheaval was quite so definite in its aims as this one.

For almost all the representative painters of N.'s time, stigmatizing the graceful manner of Boucher and his *confrères* as utterly trivial, sought to sweep it away in favour of a hard, precise and austere style; and to illustrate this we may note that Mme. Vigée le Brun, at the start of her career, painted in a fashion approximating that of the Boucher school, but ere she had been at work for long she was swept into the new current and began to paint in the characteristic Empire style. Who, then, induced this chief luminary of women painters to take this step? And who created the ideals of the Napoleonic artists in general? These are questions which inhibit a sweeping answer; yet the name of Louis David (1748-1825) may be cited in this relation, for David was certainly regarded as leader by the other moving spirits. His portraits in the Louvre of Sériziat and Mme. Récamier are very symbols of the style of painting beloved during the Empire, while if we waive certain things by Prud'hon (1758-1823), notably his two studies of *Psyche* and his lovely drawing of *Andromache* embracing *Astyanax*, these works by David may be hailed as

the crown of their period's artistic output.

It can hardly be questioned that N. himself admired the new tendencies manifested in art during his time. A genuine lover of painting, among his first acts after conquering Italy was to seize upon a fine collection of old pictures there, yet along with this devotion to bygone masters he showed a real interest in the artists of his own time. In fact, there is scarcely a notable man among these whose name is not in some way associated with the Emperor's, while he strove to help them by suggesting the inception of a periodical dealing exclusively with æsthetics, his idea being that this would give contemporary art a justice it does not usually receive from the critics of the ordinary press. This was a shrewd contention, and a fine taste was shown by the imperial connoisseur when early in his life he charged Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) to paint his portrait, while it should be noted that the giving of this commission reflects the greater credit on Bonaparte in that at this time the artist was still a young man, known only to a few people. Nor did the Emperor's wise patronage of Ingres end here, for he also called on him to paint a picture illustrating scenes from the Ossianic poems, this work on completion being placed in N.'s own bedroom at the palace of Montebello. Yet Bonaparte's prime favourite among the painters of his day was assuredly David, and he in his turn appears to have idolized his imperial patron. Having painted several portraits of N., notably one showing the hero leading his troops across the Alps, David was created painter in ordinary to the Emperor, and in this capacity he painted many huge *genre* pieces, in particular *The Coronation of Napoleon* and *The Distribution of the Eagles*. Another artist whom N. favoured was Gérard (1770-1837), whose portraits include one of Marie Letitia Buonaparte, the Emperor's mother; while yet another *protégé* was Gros (1771-1835), who, made a baron and given many further honours, depicted the martial successes of the time in picture after picture. His ablest work, perhaps, is

his *Napoleon at Arcote*, yet it was with his *Plague-stricken at Jaffa* that he won his greatest triumph, for this work, when originally exhibited at the Salon in 1804, was hung round with laurel and palm, and was purchased by the state for 16,000 francs, in those days considered a huge price. According to some writers, Gros owed much of his success and fame to Josephine, who, early recognizing the artist's talent, spoke of the matter to her husband; and be that as it may, the Empress had as sound taste as the Emperor. Showing a keen interest in Isabey (1767-1859), that rare expert in miniature painting whose array of Napoleonic celebrities is among the chief treasures of the Wallace Collection, Josephine also had the wisdom to realize the genius of Prud'hon, one of whose finest works is a full-length likeness of his patroness.

The topic of N.'s portraiture having been treated in a separate article, it is not necessary to say more here about the various portrait painters whom the Emperor favoured; but it may be interesting to inquire whether, apart from this and apart from his commissioning battle pictures and the like, Bonaparte really influenced the art of his day, and after pondering for a while on this question we are constrained to answer with an emphatic affirmative. For N.'s military ardour, together with the general style of his rule, tended to foster a certain spirit of strenuousness in French thought which, comparatively absent in the days of Louis, began to show itself shortly before the Revolution, ultimately proving instrumental in begetting that event; and this new aspirational spirit was largely responsible, no doubt, for the endeavour to subvert the pleasing Boucher style in favour of an austere one. The tradition created by David soon withered. This artist's school, becoming ideologist, commenced declaring that beauty consists in nothing more or less than flawless eurythmy, a quality which they went so far as to maintain can be achieved by deliberate calculation, along with a sound knowledge of the antique; and, on a new generation of artists coming into being—the *école*

*romantique*—these contended loudly that art was being degraded into a science, while concomitantly they deified the naive expression of individuality at all costs. For a while the fight between the different parties waged fiercely, but, David having to flee from Paris on the restoration of the Bourbons, the Empire school found themselves without a leader, their defence beginning to waver accordingly; and once, in 1824, Gros exclaimed to Gérard pathetically that now nothing could withstand the oncoming tides of romanticism. Nine years later Gros himself made a gallant stand, exhibiting at the Salon a picture characteristic of Empire art; and, so keenly was this work hooted by the new school that the veteran artist sought surcease by drowning himself in the Seine. Thus dramatically ended the Napoleonic group of painters, men who had often gone to extremes in devotion to their central aim, but who had attained a deal of lofty work. And, granting that the immortal Ingres belongs rather to the *école romantique* than to the Empire coterie, the names of David and Isabey, Gros, Vigée le Brun and Gérard are not likely to be forgotten for many a long day; while in truth there are signs at the present moment that, at no very distant date, a manner approximating that of these artists is likely to dominate French painting for a while.

**Pajol, Claude Pierre, Comte (1772-1844).**—A famous leader of cavalry; was born at Besançon in 1772, the son of an advocate. He also was intended for the legal profession, but the outbreak of the Revolution turned his ambitions in another direction, and he joined the battalion at Besançon, taking an active part in the political developments of 1789. In 1791 he went with a volunteer battalion to join the army of the upper Rhine, and in 1792 saw active service in the campaign of that year, while in 1793 he was one of the besieging force at Hochheim. He now left Custine's staff for that of Kléber, under whom he served in the campaigns of 1794-6. During the years 1797 and 1799 he was with Hoche and Masséna in Germany and Switzerland, and after this

he held a cavalry command under Moreau in the campaign of the upper Rhine, becoming a colonel soon afterwards. He was next more peacefully employed as envoy to the Batavian republic and delegate at N.'s coronation, but in 1805 he was again in the field under the Emperor in command of light cavalry, and distinguished himself at Austerlitz. After this he served for a short time in Italy, but just before the Friedland campaign he rejoined N.'s army as general of brigade. In 1808 Pajol was created a baron of the empire; in 1809 he served in the Danube operations; and in 1812 was in command of a division and later a corps in the Russian campaign. During the retreat he played a notable part, but his health suffered from the exertions and exposure of that disastrous expedition. He was present at Dresden, however, taking a conspicuous part in that battle, while in 1814 he was put in command of a corps composed of infantry as well as cavalry in the Seine valley. After N.'s first abdication Pajol took the oath of allegiance to the Bourbon monarch, but on N.'s return from Elba he immediately joined his old master. In 1815, at Ligny and in the advance on Wavre under Grouchy, Pajol's corps of cavalry played a prominent part, and on the news of the defeat at Waterloo he showed great skill in his retreat to Paris, bringing his corps safely and unbeaten to the capital, where they took an active part in the closing events of the war. Pajol was simply dismissed by the Bourbons, being fortunate in escaping the fate of Ney and Labédoyère. In 1830 his part was not small in the overthrow of Charles X., and from 1831-2, also in 1834 and 1839, he rigorously repressed the insurrections in Paris. He was created a peer of France and retired in 1842, his death taking place in 1844.

**Palm.**—A bookseller of Nuremberg, who was arrested by French officers for selling an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Germany in her deep Humiliation," and after a summary trial by martial law at Braunau was shot by order of N. on 25 Aug. 1806. This outrage excited the most profound indignation in Germany, and has

been regarded as the Emperor's greatest political blunder.

**Paoli, Pasquale (1725-1807).**—Corsican patriot and general; was born at Stretta, in the parish of Rostino, Corsica, the son of Giacinto Paoli and younger brother of Clemente. His father, originally a physician, had distinguished himself in the War of Independence, and the name Paoli had become enshrined in the hearts of the fierce Corsicans as a symbol of patriotism and valour. Pasquale Paoli was destined to make the name world-famous as a patriot of the highest type and also "as one of the greatest practical humanists of the eighteenth century, who sought to realize their principles as legislators and regulators of the body politic." It was Paoli who was the ardently worshipped hero of N.'s youth; Paoli, the deliverer of his beloved Corsica, the friend of his father. So great was this hero-worship that for long the boy could scarce forgive his father for not having followed Paoli into exile, for having taken the oath of allegiance as a French subject. Later N. himself was to follow much the same course.

When Pasquale was about fourteen years of age he proceeded to Naples, following his father into exile. There he was carefully educated under the foremost professors of the city, notably Genovesi, from whom Paoli imbibed many of those enlightened principles which in after years he sought so strenuously to realize. He also entered the Neapolitan service, serving with distinction. On the assassination of Gaffori, the Corsicans, torn by ambitions and rivalries, found it impossible to elect a leader. Among the council was Clemente Paoli, who, seeking some way out of the *impasse*, suggested that their choice should fall upon his young brother Pasquale, since being personally unknown in the island he had neither enemies nor partisans, yet bearing a name that was a guarantee of good faith and patriotism. In 1755, therefore, Paoli was invited to a conference, and true to family tradition gladly answered the call, though in so doing he relinquished a career full of promise. Elected as commander-in-chief and invested with

the powers of a dictator, Paoli was faced with a colossal task, for Corsica was torn by anarchy and almost submerged beneath the burden of misery. But like all great men, the seemingly impossible was simply his opportunity. As general he drove the Genoese from the island, with the exception of a few coast towns, by a series of successful actions; as legislator he reorganized the government, fallen into a chaotic condition, instituted numerous reforms, introduced educational systems and founded a university at Corte, among the students being Carlo Buonaparte (*q.v.*), the father of N. He made the laws feared and even curbed that terrible institution the *vendetta*, meting out the death penalty in several cases, once even to a relative of his own. The changes he effected in a comparatively short space of time were phenomenal, and under his rule Corsica knew a confidence, a peace and sense of national unity which before had been foreign to her.

In 1767 Paoli seized the island of Capraia from the Genoese, who, now despairing of ever again subjugating Corsica, sold their rights over it to France. After varying dispositions and delays the treaty was signed at Versailles (15 May 1768), by which France agreed to pay Genoa the sum of £80,000 as the price of the island. Menaced by this danger, Paoli made appeal to the sovereigns of Europe, who, sympathetic as they professed to be with the struggle for independence, yet rendered no help. Supported by his people, Paoli now entered on a desperate resistance against this new invader, who, after several defeats, sought by bribes to encompass the death of the Corsican leader. For two years the conflict raged, and though the Corsicans might be, as indeed they were, the bravest of the brave, yet many saw that the French conquest was inevitable. The war proving costly, France determined to end it as quickly as possible. On 8 May 1769 the decisive battle of Ponte Nuovo was fought. Paoli escaped, however, with three hundred and fifty Corsicans, and took refuge in Leghorn. Subsequently he journeyed to London, where he was to live in exile for twenty years.

## PAOLI

Thus Paoli and Corsica became the centre of world-wide interest, and these struggles for freedom were sung by poets and praised by thinkers.

In 1790, when the French Revolution broke out, the Corsicans sent a deputation to Paoli asking him to return, and the French National Assembly, hailing him as the hero and martyr of liberty, invited him to visit Paris. On 8 April he was received at court by the King and Queen and princes; he appeared, together with the Corsican delegates sent to meet him, before the National Assembly, being greeted by acclamations; he was beside Lafayette as the hero of the day at a great review in the Champ de Mars, and finally attended a reception organized in his honour by the *Société des Amis de la Constitution*, presided over by Robespierre. He now proceeded to Corsica, where a troublous and harassing time awaited him. Two factions existed in the island—the patriots and those who supported French rule and ideas. It was at this time that Paoli met N., son of his one-time secretary and follower. At first N. was a burning patriot, but under the stress of ambition he joined the French party. With his brothers Joseph (*q.v.*) and Lucien (*q.v.*) N. took part in the national movements and councils, but by their methods and intrigues they became suspect. Paoli grew cold toward the brothers, refusing to employ Lucien as secretary, a refusal which was repaid by such active animosity that finally Paoli was accused of treason and summoned before the Convention. Even so Paoli was then, as always, an admirer of N., and said to the young man, "You are on the ancient model. You are one of Plutarch's men."

Revolted by the excesses of the Revolutionary government, faced also by the ominous summons of the Convention, Paoli summoned an assembly at Corte (1793), with himself as president and formally seceded from France, offering the suzerainty of the island to the British Government. Admiral Hood, in command of the English fleet, sailed to his help, and after some sharp encounters Corsica was left in the hands of Paoli and the English. These

## PARAVICINI

new allies, however, were not content with the mere right of protection, but laid claim to the sovereignty of Corsica. The Corsicans declared their willingness to this procedure, but stipulated that their country must retain its independent existence and be governed by a viceroy according to its own constitution. These negotiations caused a breach between Paoli and Pozzo di Borgo (*q.v.*), the latter having been won over by the English representative, Sir Gilbert Elliot, who was appointed viceroy despite Paoli's undoubted right to this position and his greater capacity for governing a people he so thoroughly understood, whereas Elliot, a foreigner, made many and irremediable errors. Paoli retired into private life, and the viceroy, to prevent factions, procured his removal from Corsica. Paoli was invited to London, to pass the remainder of his days in honour at court, a polite and euphemistic order of exile. He retired to London in 1796, and was there granted a pension, Corsica meanwhile revolting under the perverse and ignorant rule of Elliot, and, after the expedition sent there in 1796 by N., returning to the suzerainty of France. Paoli, who dwelt twelve years longer in exile, lived to see the empire of N., and rejoiced at the fame of his countryman. In a letter he said, "Napoleon has accomplished our vendetta on all those who have been the cause of our fall." At the age of eighty-two Paoli died in London on 5 Feb. 1807, and was buried with great honour at St. Pancras.

**Paravicini, Geltruda or Gertruda, née Buonaparte (1741-88).**—The sister of Carlo Buonaparte; was born at Ajaccio in 1741, and baptized on 25 Nov. of that year. She married Nicolo Paravicini, her first cousin, on 25 June 1763. She was one of N.'s godparents together with Lorenzo Giubega. This aunt, the "Zia Gertrude" of N.'s youthful letters, was a second mother to the children of her brother, and her strong and spirited personality made a great impression upon them. Joseph mentions her with much feeling in his memoirs and Lucien also records the high opinion, expressed in laudatory terms,

his mother Letizia held of her sister-in-law. She died in 1788, leaving no issue.

**Paris, Battle of.**—Towards the end of March 1814 the Allies determined to march on Paris, and on the 30th of the month commenced an assault. Marmont and Mortier on the Montmartre heights fought bravely for several hours, but seeing further defence would be useless and only expose the city to a risk of pillage, Marmont withdrew, and on the 31st the Allies entered Paris in triumph.

**Paris N.'s Embellishment of.**—Early in the Consulate N. conceived the idea of making Paris the most beautiful and populous city in the world, and throughout his reign, in the midst of the huge demand upon his time and interests, he kept this project and its gradual working out always in view. Whatever were his political motives, which critics always hasten to represent as Machiavellian, a love of art and beauty was ever present to N., as his history shows beyond a doubt. Paris therefore owes much to the great Emperor. First of all, with his grip of the practical, he saw to the providing of food by the building of great storehouses, and to the water supply by the bringing of water from the river Ourcq to Paris. The following conversation of N. with Chaptal is of interest. He said: "I intend to make Paris the most beautiful capital in the world. I wish that in ten years it should number three millions of inhabitants. "But," replied his minister of the interior, "one cannot improvise population"; and he then instanced the want of good drinking water. "Well, what are your plans for supplying Paris with water?" Chaptal gave two alternatives—artesian wells or the bringing of water from the river Ourcq. "I adopt the latter plan: go home and order 500 men to set to work to-morrow at La Villette to dig the canal." This was done, and the work cost half a million sterling.

Paris owes her proud position as mistress of the world's culture largely to her possession of the Louvre, and this in its turn owes nearly all to N. and his idea of gathering the national

treasures in a central and worthy building. In the first year of his reign the Emperor ordered the building of the galleries to connect the Tuileries with the Louvre, making the magnificent façade to the Rue de Rivoli. The expense was immense, but, careful in all expenditure, he spared nothing in the sums spent on public works, so long as his project was carried out and the workmen of the city employed. The Louvre was unfinished in 1814, but Napoleon III. completed it. Splendid thoroughfares were laid down; the bridges of Austerlitz, of Jena, and the Arts were built; the quays of the Seine greatly extended. In the centre of the Place Vendôme N. raised the Vendôme Column (*q.v.*) in honour of his army, and for the same object the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile (*q.v.*) spanning the Champs Elysées. The restoration of the cathedral of St. Denis, the Temple of Victory (architect Pierre Vignon), now the church of the Madeleine, the pediment of the Panthéon, the work of David of Angers, all belong to N.'s reign. The Jardin des Plantes was also improved and other parks and open spaces given to the city. Educational establishments were inaugurated, buildings provided for them, and the Conservatoire of Arts and Trades was completed. These are the outstanding items of Paris' debt to the Emperor.

**Parsdorf, Convention of (15 July 1800).**—This convention was concluded between France and Austria. The conditions were (1) hostilities in Germany to be indefinitely suspended; (2) the French to occupy Bavaria west of the Isar as far as Ratisbon in one direction and Munich in the other.

**Patterson, Elizabeth (1785-1879).**—Daughter of William Patterson, a Baltimore merchant, and the first wife of Jerome Bonaparte, the youngest brother of N. The family is thought to have descended from the Robert Paterson, who was the original of Sir Walter Scott's "Old Mortality." When Jerome, after being blockaded by the British in the West Indies, left his ship and travelled through the United States, he stayed for a while at Baltimore, and there met Miss

Patterson, with whom he fell violently in love and married on 24 Dec. 1803 though still a minor. In the marriage settlements may be seen that William Patterson quite understood the possibility of difficulties being placed in the way of his daughter. The marriage incensed N., and when Jerome and his wife returned to France in 1805 she was excluded by his command, the Emperor refusing to recognize the legality of the union, though it was valid according to American law. Pope Pius VII. refused to declare it void, but N. annulled it by an imperial decree in 1807. At first Jerome had rebelled and refused to renounce his wife, but at last gave way before his brother's dominating will. On being excluded from France, Mme. Jerome Bonaparte landed in England and resided for a while at Camberwell, where she gave birth to a son, Jerome Napoleon (*q.v.*) in 1805. She returned to Baltimore, where in her ninety-fifth year she died in 1879.

**Paul I. (1754-1801).**—Tsar of Russia—the second son of Peter III. and Catherine II.; his childhood was shadowed by the tragic death of his father. He was put under the care of a governor and competent tutors, but the court of Russia at that time must have been a bad environment for the lad, whose nature, though affectionate and in a way generous, was exceedingly prone to passion, erratic, and sometimes even cruel. In 1773 he was married to Wilhelmina of Darmstadt, and Catherine permitted his attendance at the council in order that he might become familiar with its work. About this time Paul became obsessed with the idea that his mother desired his death, and indeed Catherine, towards the close of her life, seeing that Paul's mind was in danger of giving way, seriously considered his removal from the succession. In 1775, his first wife having died, a marriage was arranged between him and Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg (Maria Feodorovna), but his character was gradually deteriorating and his wife's life became a misery to her. On the death of his mother, Paul duly ascended the throne in 1796. Two years later the Tsar's efforts brought about the Second

Coalition against France, and he sent an army of 56,000 men into Italy under Suvarov. Annoyed by certain actions of Britain and Austria, Paul withdrew from the Coalition in the following year, and became until his death a great admirer and adherent of N. The latter, fully aware of the advantages of such an alliance, did everything in his power to cement the friendship. In 1800 the Tsar entered the Second Armed Neutrality against the British dominion of the seas, and threw himself enthusiastically into the plans for a Franco-Russian invasion of Egypt. Much discontent meanwhile prevailed amongst his subjects, whom he irritated by vexatious regulations and governed in a most despotic fashion. Authorities differ as to the sanity or otherwise of Paul during his reign, but his actions seem to point to an unbalanced mind. A conspiracy was set on foot to compass his death, or at least his abdication, and in March 1801 this came to a head. After supping and while still under the influence of drink, a band of officers, led by Bennigsen, broke into the Tsar's bedroom, and, dragging him to a table, endeavoured to force him to sign an abdication; and on his expostulating he was struck by a sword and afterwards strangled. Las Cases in his memoirs tells how N., when talking of the passions which overcame Paul on certain occasions when England's perfidy to him was disclosed, said: "If it be a folly, it must be allowed that it is the folly of a noble soul; it is the indignation of virtue which was incapable until then of suspecting such baseness. I had," continued the Emperor, "hit upon the bent of Paul's character. . . . From that instant his generous heart was altogether devoted to me; and as I had no interest in opposition to Russia, and should never have spoken or acted but with justice, there was no doubt that I should be able for the future to have had the cabinet of St. Petersburg at my disposal. Our enemies were sensible of the danger, and it has been thought that this goodwill of Paul proved fatal to him."

**Peninsular War (1808-14).**—Towards the end of 1807 N. negotiated



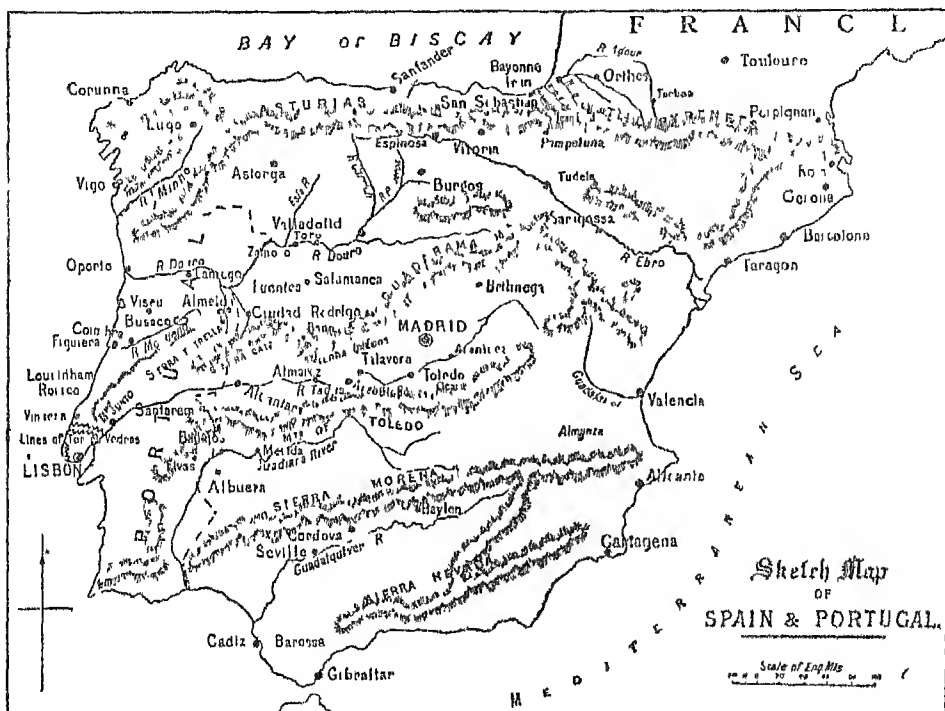
a secret treaty with Spain, by which Charles IV., the monarch of that country, agreed to permit the passage of the French Army towards Portugal, the seaports of which he desired to close to British trade. A further condition of the treaty was that Portugal was to be divided between France and Spain, and that Algarve was to be formed as a principality for Godoy, the Spanish minister. As Portugal had announced her intention of refusing to comply with the French demands, Junot was at once dispatched to Lisbon with 30,000 men, who speedily occupied the country. At that time the bulk of the Portuguese forces were scattered throughout the colonies, so that little defence could be made. In a short time there were 100,000 French soldiers in Spain, and Mnat entering Madrid took up his headquarters there. The frontier fortresses were seized, and practically the whole peninsula lay at the mercy of the Emperor. The people of Spain, scenting treachery on the part of their king and Godoy, forced Charles to abdicate in favour of his son Ferdinand, whom N. refused to recognize. A council of regency was commissioned, which in all probability was heavily bribed. It "desired" N. to create his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, and to this request he acceded. But the eyes of the Spanish and Portuguese were now wholly opened, and as one man they rose against the French. Appeals for assistance were made to Britain by the various Juntas; Canning readily agreed, and the dispatch of a British force to Spain was resolved upon. By this time the French had occupied the country in force. Bessières, Dupont, and Moncey were in occupation of Navarre, Castile, Biscay, and Aragon, and Dupont had marched from Madrid for the purpose of reducing Cadiz and Seville. The Spaniards could muster nearly 100,000 regulars and militia, but these were without organization or leaders. Dupont, marching upon Cadiz in June of 1808, had sacked Cordova and was moving off with the loot he had collected from the city, when Castaños with 30,000 men, reinforced by numbers of peasants, surrounded him

at Baylen, and he was forced to capitulate with over 20,000 men. This check, as well as the wonderful defence of Saragossa by Palafox, served to diminish the glory of the French arms and greatly assisted the Spanish morale. Duhesme also found himself shut up in Barcelona, Joseph had fled from Madrid, and the French had considerable difficulty in maintaining their communications. The British troops were posted in the direction of Lisbon and Cadiz for the purpose of securing these ports, the object being to follow the course of the principal rivers into the centre of the country. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was the first in chief command, brought 9,000 men, 5,000 had been sent from Gibraltar under Spencer, and 10,000 under Sir John Moore arrived from Sweden. Wellesley and Moore operated in Portugal and Spencer near Cadiz; but the latter soon joined Wellesley, enabled to do so by the check at Baylen. The combined forces first attacked Delaborde at Rolica on 17 Aug. 1808, driving him from his positions with the loss of a few guns. Occupying the heights of Vimiera, Wellesley found his hand held by instructions to wait for the approach of Sir John Moore; but on the 21st he was attacked by Junot. He had now nearly 18,000 men under his command, the French numbering about 14,000. The Allies, by well directed volleys and spirited bayonet charges, drove Junot off the Lisbon road, losing about 1,800 men to the French 2,000 and 13 guns. Once more Wellesley desired to advance with the object of seizing Torres Vedras, but by this time Sir Hew Dalrymple had assumed command, and he disagreed with the proposal. Junot, foreseeing a popular revolt in Lisbon and well knowing that Moore with a considerable force was close at hand, made representations to the Allies, with the result that the Convention of Cintra (which, however, was signed at Lisbon) was agreed to on 30 Aug., under the provisions of which the French evacuated Portugal on the condition that they were allowed to return to France. There was dissatisfaction regarding the provisions of the convention in London, and Wellesley,

Dalrymple and Baird were arraigned before a court of inquiry there, which, however, entirely acquitted them. On their departure from the peninsula Moore had assumed entire command of over 30,000 men.

Moore was now instructed that 10,000 men were being sent to reinforce him under Sir David Baird, whom he was to join for the purpose of acting along with the Spanish forces. At this time (Oct.), as Moore left Lisbon to carry out his orders,

sea, and, understanding that his march northwards would be masked by the Spanish armies, he conducted his advance by land. He dispatched Sir John Hope with the cavalry, artillery, and reserve ammunition south of the Tagus, ordering him to make a wide detour by way of Madrid and the Escorial Pass, while he himself pushed on in the direction of Salamanca. Baird was to march southwards through Galicia to effect a junction with him, and the whole army was



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the French were entrenched behind the river Ebro; Ney was at Logroño, Moncey near Pampeluna, and Bessières near Vittoria, the entire French force in Spain, including the men in the garrisons, being about 75,000 men. As regards the Spanish disposition, Palafox with 20,000 was in the vicinity of Saragossa, Castaños with 34,000 men was opposing Ney, Blake with 32,000 was near Reynosa, while reserves were assembled at Talavera and Cordova. Madrid was also in Spanish hands. Moore saw the hopelessness of attempting to join Baird by

to concentrate at some point in the vicinity of Valladolid, but the great increase of the French forces, which now numbered nearly 200,000 men, entirely altered the situation. Everywhere the Spaniards fell back before them. Blake, Castaños, Reynosa, and other leaders were all defeated at the end of Oct. or the beginning of Nov., and by the time Moore had reached Salamanca and Baird was at Astorga, French troops were occupying the point where he had hoped to effect a junction with Baird. He ordered Baird to fall back on Galicia, and

Hope with the artillery and cavalry on Portugal, but after mature consideration he resolved to attack N.'s communications with France. Hope succeeded in rejoining him as he received news that N., who had arrived in Spain in Nov., had taken Madrid on 2 Dec. and that the French were pressing on towards Lisbon and Andalusia. The Emperor was, however, unaware of Moore's whereabouts, and the latter discovering that Soult's corps had for some reason been left in an isolated position, decided to attack it. He ordered up transports from Lisbon to Corunna, making that his base of retreat in case of necessity, and getting in touch with the Spanish under Blake, agreed to co-operate with him. He effected a junction with Baird at Mayorga on 20 Dec., and at Sahagun a picturesque cavalry fight took place in which the British hussar brigade covered itself with glory. But Moore learned that overwhelming French forces were approaching in his direction, so he retreated across the river Esla. The Emperor had ordered Soult to cut him off from Galicia, and with 50,000 men was himself marching from Madrid, pushing through the snow-covered pass of Escorial in the attempt to cut Moore off; but, probably recognizing that Moore's forces were too small to cause him serious uneasiness, he turned back with most of his army towards France, leaving Soult with over 40,000 men to follow the British retreat. N. left Valladolid on 17 Jan. 1809, and arrived in Paris on the 22nd. The famous retreat to Corunna, undertaken in the depth of winter and in circumstances most galling to the morale of the British Army, necessitated in its commander the greatest gifts of firmness, discipline, and military tact; but Moore, in spite of a thousand difficulties, succeeded in reaching Corunna on 11 Jan. 1809, where he took up a position across the Lugo road. Three days after his arrival at Corunna the transports he was looking for entered the harbour, and on the 16th he was attacked by Soult with 20,000 men and forty guns. To combat this force he had 15,000 men and nine guns, which were almost worse than useless, so light were they

in calibre. The British position was maintained, and a counter-attack was in process of being delivered when Moore fell mortally wounded. Baird also was placed out of action, and Hope, who was now in chief command, considered it wise to embark the army. The casualties in this battle were on the British side about 1,000, and on the French nearly twice as many. The landing in England of the troops without overcoats, and in many cases without boots, raised much diverse comment upon Moore's conduct, but this quickly died down when the facts of his truly heroic leadership came to light, for with 30,000 men he had rendered it impossible for N. with ten times as many to seize Portugal and Andalusia.

Wellesley returned to Lisbon on 22 April 1809. N. in Paris had now decided upon a course of campaign. Soult was to advance upon Oporto and Lisbon, and Victor on Badajoz and Cadiz. Soult had already gained one of his objectives by the taking of Oporto, but he was menaced by the Portuguese and asked for reinforcements. Victor had inflicted a defeat on Cuesta at Medellin on 28 March, but he was also menaced by guerilla forces. Soult had over 20,000 men to his credit and Victor 30,000; the British forces all told were somewhere in the neighbourhood of 25,000. The Portuguese regulars (16,000) were near Thomar. General Beresford, who had been detailed for that work, had succeeded in organizing and training the Portuguese levies into some semblance of military usefulness. Catalonians who had been beaten were in Tarragona; but a Spanish junta had been formed which nominally, at least, could assemble about 100,000 men. Its members were very suspicious and jealous of one another, and this kept them back from the nomination of a commander-in-chief. On 5 May Wellesley advanced towards the Douro, detaching Beresford to seize Amarante, whence the French had dislodged the Portuguese. On 12 May Sir Arthur surprised Soult fording the Douro above Oporto, took that town and drove the French back. Beresford had succeeded in taking Amarante.

All that was left for Soult, therefore, was to abandon his artillery and baggage and escape as best he could with a loss of nearly 5,000 men over the Sierra Catalina. This victory also necessitated the retreat of Victor, who with Lapisse had crossed the Tagus at Alcantara and who then had to retire. Wellesley now decided to join Cuesta, which would give him a force of 22,000 British and 40,000 Spaniards, and march towards Madrid against Victor at Talavera, who in his turn was supported by Joseph with 50,000 men. It was, however, resolved to harry Joseph by dispatching against him Sir Robert Wilson with 4,000 Portuguese and the Spanish general Venegas with 25,000 men. But such arrangements as were made regarding dates of attack and otherwise were not carried out. Cuesta was jealous, and Wellesley and Venegas received contrary orders from the Spanish junta, and Wilson was forced to beat a retreat. On the other hand, Joseph effected a junction with Victor, and with his united force attacked the Allies at Talavera, on the Tagus. A two-days' battle ensued and ended in a French defeat, but Wellesley at the conclusion of the struggle was surprised to learn that Soult had passed the mountains and was now in his rear. To make matters more serious he was further informed that not Soult alone but three French corps were behind him, that Cuesta was retreating from Talavera, and that therefore he was in a most perilous position. He at once withdrew across the Tagus, blowing up bridges as he went, and passing through Merida northwards towards the river Agueda, began to throw up entrenchments in the country around Lisbon. Meanwhile, in May, Blake had inflicted a severe defeat on Suchet at Alcaniz, but Soult wiped off the disgrace by defeating him in turn at Maria on 15 June and three days after at Belchite. Venegas had been beaten by Joseph, and on Venegas effecting a junction with Cuesta they were attacked by Joseph at Ocaña on 19 Nov. and decisively defeated. For his part in this campaign Wellesley was created Viscount Wellington and Baron Douro, and received high

military honours from the Spanish and Portuguese authorities; but he began to appreciate Spanish and Portuguese assistance at its true value.

*The Portuguese Campaign of 1810.*

—By the beginning of 1810 enormous reinforcements were dispatched by N. to increase and assist his army in Spain. Masséna, with Ney, Junot, and Reynier under him, was in charge of 120,000 men, and was to operate against Portugal. Soult, having as his lieutenants Mortier, Victor, and Sebastiani, with 70,000 men was to occupy Andalusia. He took Seville on the last day of January, which necessitated the flight of the supreme junta, which afterwards detailed its powers to a regency of five members. Wellington had to proceed with the utmost caution, as advices from home told him of great discontent there in connexion with the war, which was regarded in England by a certain section of the public as ruinous and unnecessary. He had thrown up strong defences at Torres Vedras, near Lisbon, and had under his command about 35,000 British and 60,000 Portuguese. He was narrowly watching the roads leading into Portugal. Masséna moved forward early in June, forced Ciudad Rodrigo to surrender and a British force under Crawford to retire, took Almeida, joined with Reynier, who had been moving on his flank, and advanced, Wellington falling back before him on the opposite side of the river Mondego. Wellington took up a strong position on the road which crossed the Sierra de Busaco, to the north of Coimbra. Masséna seems to have underestimated the strength of Wellington's position, and delivered a frontal attack upon the heights, which he occupied on 27 Sept. He hurled the whole weight of his 60,000 men upon the Allied front, and after a fierce combat was repulsed with a loss of five generals and nearly 5,000 men, the Allied loss being only about 1,300. But the Portuguese had failed to occupy the Boyalva Pass and Sardão, which places were on the following day turned by Masséna, so that Wellington was forced to retreat by way of Coimbra to the lines of Torres Vedras. These consisted of

three massive lines of earthworks, strengthened by numerous redoubts, bristling with over 500 guns and manned by nearly 100,000 men. The outer line was nearly thirty miles long, and stretched from the vicinity of Lisbon to the sea. Masséna advanced, but the Portuguese attacked his rear, retook Coimbra, and on his approaching the lines he received a shock when he viewed their strength; he attempted to cross the Tagus, was repulsed, and in some despair sent to the Emperor to ask for reinforcements. An admirable "battle general," Masséna was scarcely the man to reduce such formidable lines of defence, and it was now Wellington's policy not to give battle to him, but slowly to reduce him by hunger. The progress of the French in other portions of the country during this year had been considerable. They had occupied practically the whole of Spain, were in possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, Almeida, and Lerida. At the end of this campaign all the Allies were in possession of was Lisbon, a good part of Portugal and the two strong fortresses of Badajos and Elvas—not a very great portion of the peninsula—but what they held they held strongly.

At this time N.'s attention was directed elsewhere, so that he found it impossible for him to reinforce Masséna, but he ordered Soult to assist him by moving against Badajos, which the latter invested and took on 10 March 1811. He had left Victor in front of Cadiz, in which city Sir Thomas Graham was stationed. Graham left Cadiz by sea, and, joining with Spanish forces near Tarifa, advanced by land against Victor. Severe fighting ensued. Graham had 4,000 British and 9,000 Spaniards to Victor's 9,000 French. In the end Victor was driven back, but the Spaniards refused to pursue him, and Graham, annoyed with La Peña, the Spanish commander, re-entered Cadiz, refusing to co-operate with him further, and the blockade of the city was resumed by the French.

By this time Masséna found himself in sore straits; his food supply was at an end, as were his stores of all sorts; his men were deserting in com-

panies, and he found it difficult to obtain horses. A retreat was commenced, the rearguard of which was commanded by Ney with conspicuous ability. Wellington was content to let hunger fight for him against the French, instead of throwing away men in the pursuit, and in this he was well advised. Masséna's retreat was one of the most disastrous in military history. From time to time rear-guard actions were fought, which necessitated the sacrifice of much baggage and ammunition. At length Masséna reached Celorico, where he was attacked by Wellington on 29 March, and fought a second engagement at Sabugal on 3 April, being driven back towards Salamanca. During the campaign in Portugal he had lost nearly 30,000 men, and in the retreat about 6,000.

Wellington was quick to observe that the most important keys of the two great roads from Portugal into Spain were Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida on the north, and Badajos and Elvas on the south road, all of which except the last were held by the French. Beresford was investing Badajos, and there he was joined by Wellington in person, who, however, had dispatched Spencer to invest Almeida. But Wellington did not remain long before Badajos, for news reached him that Masséna was marching to the relief of Almeida. When at Fuentes d'Onoro, near Almeida, he was attacked by Loison, seconded by Masséna two days afterwards (5 May). Wellington was in command of about 33,000 Allied troops, whereas Masséna had under him over 45,000. Repeated French cavalry charges had little effect on the steadiness of the Allied right, which was covered by the light division, and which changed its positions as if on parade. Masséna could make no impression on Wellington's position, and was forced to withdraw to Salamanca, Almeida falling to the Allies on 11 May. At Fuentes d'Onoro the French lost about 3,000 men and the Allies about half the number.

Soult had compelled Beresford to raise the siege of Badajos and retreat beyond the river Albuera, where he was attacked by Soult on 16 May. A most sanguinary struggle followed;

repeated French attacks were made against the Allied right held by the Spaniards, and at one time these seemed to be broken, when by the advance of Sir Lowry Cole's division order was restored and Soult was forced to fall back towards Seville. Only about 7,000 British took part in this battle, and nearly half of these were put out of action, the entire Allied loss being 7,000 and the French about 1,000 more. Wellington, marching from Almeida, rejoined Beresford and continued the siege of Badajoz, but by this time Masséna had been replaced by Marmont, who was marching southwards to join Soult. Badajoz held out stubbornly, and at length Wellington withdrew from under its bastions. He returned in the direction of Almeida, and with 40,000 men commenced the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo. Soult was at this time at Seville, and Marmont in the Tagus valley, near the pass of Baños. It was now Sept., and Marmont had succeeded in effecting a junction with Dorsenne, who had marched from Salamanca, the combined forces numbering about 60,000 men, with 100 guns. They managed to pour new supplies into Ciudad Rodrigo, and then marched upon Wellington, who, on learning of their advance in force, had retired from the blockade of the town they had succoured. He fought a rear-guard action with Marmont at El Bodon, and at Fuente Guinaldo on the two days of 25 and 26 Sept. He checked Marmont's advance with about 15,000 men in order to save the light division from being cut off. At length he took up a strong position near Sabugal, and Marmont once more withdrew to the Tagus valley, whereupon Wellington returned to the investment of Ciudad Rodrigo. There had also been minor successes during 1811. About the end of Oct. Hill had captured Arroyo de los Molinos by a stratagem, and had almost cut to pieces a French corps under Gérard. The French attempt to take Tarifa, near Cadiz, had also been repulsed, but Suchet had taken Tortosa in Jan. and Tarragona in June, and in taking Murviedro at the end of Oct. had defeated a relieving force under Blake.

The French still held Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, the two principal keys of Spain on the Portuguese frontier, and may be said still to have been secure in their tenure of Spain.

It is significant, however, that so long as N. personally directed operations in the Peninsula the French plans in that country met with unbroken success, whereas the moment his attention was directed elsewhere Gallic schemes for the absorption of Spain into the Empire commenced to crumble, and it was only the strenuous direction and attention which N. was able to give to them from afar which prevented them from falling to pieces in their entirety.

During 1812 N. was, of course, immensely occupied with the Russian campaign, and early in that year he had withdrawn nearly 30,000 men from Spain. Carrying out a well-concerted plan, Wellington instituted what he described as a number of magazines, or depôts, of provisions, which he placed at many points, thus enabling him always to take and keep the field. He now assumed the offensive, and by skilful strategy forced the French corps into such districts as he knew to be infested by guerrilla bands of Spanish irregular troops. This policy hindered concerted action on the part of the French. At the beginning of Jan. 1812 he once more set siege to Ciudad Rodrigo; but much remained to be done, for nearly 200,000 French still remained in Spain, disposed as follows: Dorsenne with the army of the north, amounting to nearly 50,000 men, occupied the Asturias and the northern coast; Marmont with 50,000 men, who were known as the army of Portugal, was stationed in the valley of the Tagus; and Soult with the army of the south had over 50,000 men in Andalusia; Joseph with the army of the centre occupied the country in the neighbourhood of Madrid with nearly 20,000 men. Wellington heard that Marmont was moving northwards, and on the twelfth day of his attack on Ciudad Rodrigo delivered such a furious assault upon its defences as met with success, but he lost no less than 1,300 men. He then executed a rapid march southwards with 22,000

men and laid siege to Badajos. He was pressed for time, as Soult and Marmont were hastening to relieve the place. On 7 April he directed an assault against it, and a terrible carnage ensued. One of the bastions was climbed in the most daring manner, and eventually the place was taken. Once inside the town the Allied troops committed the most dreadful excesses, most of which were caused through indulgence in liquor. During the entire siege they had lost 5,000 men, and the slaughter at the bastion of no less than 3,500 had so irritated and enraged them that when at last they succeeded in entering the place they were scarcely responsible for their actions.

These successes placed the two great gates into Spain in the hands of the Allies. Wellington, pretending to enter Spain by way of Badajos, turned northward, crossed the Tormes, and advanced in the direction of the Douro, behind which the French were drawn up. It took him nearly a fortnight to reduce some French forts around Salamanca, but at last he faced the French along the Douro. Marmont succeeded on 15 July in turning Wellington's right, but the British commander moved parallel with him. It was Marmont's object to get between Wellington and Portugal on the Ciudad Rodrigo road. This he tried to do on 22 July. His action precipitated the battle of Salamanca, in which the Allies gained a decisive victory, the French being driven back to Valladolid and then to Burgos. Wellington next turned his attention to Joseph, who had been marching to reinforce Marmont, but Joseph retired before him, and on 12 Aug. Wellington entered Madrid, where he captured a number of French troops and stores. Soult, raising the siege of Cadiz, effected a junction with Suchet for their mutual defence. Indeed, by the beginning of September all the French armies began once more to assemble together, but Wellington, desiring to take them in detail, marched against the army of the north under Clausel. He was stopped by the castle of Burgos, which he failed to take by assault, and as he was in-

formed that Soult and the army of Portugal were both marching against him he commenced the "retreat from Burgos," which, though skilfully manœuvred, lost him 7,000 men and was a considerable shock to his morale. Once more he returned to Ciudad Rodrigo, where he went into camp, and the French armies, pressed for food, had scattered in search of it. He was resting from his labours, but although he had retreated from Burgos the net result of the campaign was most encouraging, for he had occupied Madrid, had secured a brilliant victory at Salamanca, had raised the siege of Cadiz, had stormed Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, and had freed Andalusia of the French. Moreover, he had gained the complete confidence of the Spanish Cortes, which about the end of September had nominated him commander-in-chief of the Spanish Army. His reward for this year's work was an earldom and subsequently the marquisate of Wellington, the Spanish authorities creating him Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the Portuguese Marquis of Torres Vedras.

The commencement of the year 1813 found Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia occupied by Suchet with 63,000 men. There were still nearly 140,000 Frenchmen in Spain besides this force, most of them in Leon and Biscay or guarding the communications with France. Such of these, about 60,000, as menaced Wellington's positions were under the command of Joseph, but these were assembled in scattered detachments along a front reaching from Toledo to the river Esla. Wellington had done good work in further organizing the Spanish forces, which, especially as regards their guerrilla bands, were now truly formidable in purpose if not in numbers. Still, Castaños in Galicia had 40,000 men, Elio in Murcia 20,000, and other companies throughout the length and breadth of Spain were nearly as numerous. Portugal, too, had raised fresh troops, and reinforcements had arrived from Britain, so that the Allies, excepting the Spanish bands already indicated, now numbered about 75,000 men, their line stretching from Lamego to the pass of Baños. Wellington ad-

vanced upon Joseph by the south bank of the Douro, forded the Tormes near Salamanca, having previously detached Graham with 40,000 men to make his way through the rugged district of the Trasos-Montes, north of the Douro river. Graham was to work his way towards Braganza, where he was to effect a junction with the Spanish forces and attempt to turn Joseph's right. This he did in a most energetic manner, and such was his success that Joseph was compelled to retire hurriedly from the Douro behind the Pisuerga. Towards this point the Allied Army now concentrated itself, but Joseph, retreating still further, fell back behind the Ebro. By a circular movement Wellington succeeded in turning Joseph's right, and again the King of Spain retreated behind the river Zadorra, near Vittoria, where Wellington inflicted upon him a severe and crushing defeat, which ended in absolute rout. In a few days' time the French troops under Suchet in Catalonia and Valencia had retired across the Pyrenees into France. This point may be said to mark the beginning of the freedom of the Peninsula from French dominion, but the war was by no means concluded. At the same time the French were smarting under a series of heavy defeats, whereas the Allies were inspirited by a long roll of successes. The name of Wellington became something to conjure with both in the British and Spanish lines, and the confidence of the troops in their leader did much to hasten the end he had in view. He was now rewarded with the rank of field-marshal in the British Army, and the Portuguese Government, which had sought refuge in Brazil, created him Duke of Victory, not Duke of Vittoria, as has been incorrectly stated.

At this juncture Wellington's principal intention was to reduce the fortresses of Pampeluna and San Sebastian; he laid siege to the latter first, contenting himself with blockading Pampeluna. The attack on San Sebastian was futile, and Wellington, who had now about 80,000 men in all, raised his siege of the place in order to meet Soult, who was attempting to

relieve Pampeluna. They met close to Sorrauren, where about 12,000 Allied troops faced over 25,000 Frenchmen. A terrific struggle at close quarters ensued, but the Allies could not be dislodged, and Soult withdrew; Wellington assumed the offensive, and in the engagements of Roncesvalles, Maya, Sorrauren, Yanzi, and Echallar drove him back with very considerable loss. The British commander then once more attacked San Sebastian and carried it, excepting the castle, at a fairly costly price. Soult again attempted to relieve it (31 Aug.), but was repulsed at Vera and St. Marcial; the castle itself surrendered on 9 Sept.

It was now Wellington's determination to extend his line across the river Bidassoa for the purpose of strengthening his position and securing the port of Fuenterrabia. Crossing the river, he attacked the French position on the Bidassoa road. The French considered the passage impossible, and on Wellington crossing in strength near Fuenterrabia were so surprised that they gave way on the right, and after a good deal of hard fighting were forced to quit the very strong entrenchments they had occupied. Pampeluna surrendered on 31 Oct. Soult's army of nearly 80,000 men was at this time entrenched in three strong lines stretching from the sea in front of St. Jean de Luz to Amotz, and thence to Mont Mondarin. On 10 Nov. 1813 Wellington directed an attack in column on this extended position. He succeeded in carrying Soult's advanced works, and concentrated nearly 50,000 men towards the French centre at Amotz, thus cutting Soult's army in two. The French right was rolled back, and Soult withdrew during the night to Bayonne with a loss of about 4,000 men, the Allied loss amounting to about 2,700. But the French had lost fifty guns as well, and all their ammunition and warlike stores. Bad weather now ensued, and the rivers were unfordable. The native authorities could not be made to move or to extend proper treatment to their troops. On entering France the Spanish soldiers committed such dreadful excesses in revenge for the French occupation of



their country that Wellington was forced to send 20,000 of them back to the Peninsula, at the same time resigning his command of their army, a decision which he later recalled. He then effected a passage of the Nive and came into touch with Soult at Villefranque. His army was now divided into two portions by the river, and Soult, taking advantage of this, attacked Hope, who had 30,000 men, with a force double that number. A desperate battle ensued, but, Wellington and Beresford coming up, the French were forced to retire. Smaller engagements were fought on 11 and 12 Dec., and on the 13th Soult, with 35,000 men, made a fierce attack against Hill, who was in occupation of the heights near Villefranque. Hill succeeded in repulsing the French before Wellington arrived. In the battles of the Nive the Allies lost about 5,000 men and the French about 2,000 more.

Operations were suspended until Feb. 1814, at which time the French line extended from Bayonne up the banks of the Adour, and then took a forward trend along the Bidouze to St. Palais. Hope was keeping an eye on Bayonne, and Beresford and Hill watched the Adour. Soult had 41,000 men at his disposal and the Allies about as many. Wellington decided to approach the Adour below Bayonne, and, collecting a number of vessels, he left Hope and 30,000 men to watch the town and commenced a movement to encompass Soult's left. Following an attack by Hill on the 14th and 15th, Wellington pressed on and drove the French outposts over the Bidouze. This forced Soult to leave his position in Bayonne, and he concentrated at Orthes. Hope succeeded in passing 600 men across the river in boats on 22 and 23 Feb., and on the 24th Wellington's flotilla, convoyed by men-of-war boats, crossed the river, constructed a bridge of twenty-six vessels over it, protected it by batteries, and passed 8,000 troops across it. Bayonne was then invested. On the 27th Wellington effected the passage of the river below Orthes, and attacking Soult with a force nearly equal to his own, about 37,000 men, in a strong position which

he held on the heights behind the town, threw out a force under Beresford, which after hard fighting was repulsed; but the French left an important part of the heights unoccupied in order to pursue, and Wellington, taking advantage of the circumstance, pushed up a light division into it between Soult's right and centre. Hill then forded the river, turned the French left, and Soult withdrew just in time to save being cut off. Beresford was dispatched to Bordeaux, which surrendered. Soult retired slowly eastwards and fought several actions, especially a severe one at Tarbes on 20 March. He retreated to Toulouse, and Wellington, crossing below that town, was checked by a bridge being swept away. It was restored, however, and he crossed the Garonne and attacked Soult on 10 April. In the battle which ensued, that of Toulouse, the Allies with 52,000 men outnumbered the French with 40,000, but Soult was in a strong position to the north and east of the city, and Beresford's men had to face a march of several miles under heavy artillery fire. He succeeded in taking Mont Rave, and Soult fell back behind the canal of Languedoc. Soult retreated still further, and Wellington entered Toulouse, having lost about 5,000 men to the French 3,000. On 13 April the capture of Paris and the abdication of N. were announced, and on the 18th Wellington and Soult entered into a convention, and peace was formally signed at Paris on 30 May.

For the operations of this campaign Wellington was created Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington, and peerages were conferred on Beresford, Graham, and Hill.

Throughout this great war the administrative ability of Wellington shines out with equal brilliance to his soldier-like qualities. Any failures which he had were in connexion with his sieges, for which his men were scarcely adequate. Transport from Britain was a matter of weeks, and he was by no means well seconded by his government. His transport and engineering departments were very incomplete and his material insufficient. Nor was ammunition

always forthcoming in a regular manner. By resource and determination he rose superior to all these difficulties, and by his action in Spain greatly contributed to the overthrow of the Napoleonic power.

**Permon, Madame (1755-1802).**—Whose only title to fame is her friendship with the Bonaparte family; was the mother of Laure Permon, who married General Junot and wrote the much-quoted memoirs which bear her title of Duchesse d'Abrantes. Mme. Permon was the daughter of Constantine Comnenus, of the noble Greek family of the Comneni, who reigned at Constantinople and took refuge in Corsica after the capture of that city by the Turks. In her youth at Ajaccio she knew both Letizia and Carlo Buonaparte, and it was in her house at Montpellier that the latter died in 1785. N. and his family never forgot her kindness to their father, and also to themselves when forced to flee from Corsica.

In Paris Mme. Permon, by her royal descent—a legend, according to some—a witty tongue and gift for intrigue, occupied a leading place among the Corsican colony settled there. After the Jacobin downfall in 1794 N. was a constant visitor at her house. She befriended Saliceti when in danger of his life, after the fall of his friend Robespierre, by concealing him in her house. Her husband had made money in military contracts to the French expedition fighting in the American War of Independence, and her son Albert followed the same course during the Revolution. According to her daughter, N. proposed for Mme. Permon's hand, though she was forty at the time and he only twenty-six, and further planned that Albert Permon should marry his sister Pauline, and Laure, Louis or Jerome. No other evidence of this assertion exists. It was Mme. Permon who made the famous remark "The pike is eating the two other fish" when N. so adroitly took the supreme place after Brumaire. When Mme. Permon died her coffin was ornamented with the arms of the Comnenian family.

**Philadelphes, The.**—A secret society, the purely imaginary inven-

tion of Charles Nodier in his intentional literary mystification entitled *Histoire des Sociétés de l'Armée*, first issued in 1815 and often reprinted since. It is written in the character of a retired officer of N.'s army, and gives a full account of the Philadelphes. This society, he explained, existed for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons, and had ramifications all over France. Its existence was said to be known to N., who caused its chief, a certain Col. Oudet, to disappear in a mysterious manner. The book was accepted for some long time as a serious contribution to history, but Nodier himself laughingly admitted that it had not the slightest foundation in truth. The *Dictionnaire Historique de la France* warns its readers that Nodier's writings "are not entitled to any great confidence."

**Pichegru, Charles (1761-1804).**—French general. The birth-place of Pichegru is variously placed, but it seems most probably to have been Arbois, in the province of Franche-Comté, and the date 16 Feb. 1761. His parents were poor and of the farmer class, but he received a good education in the monastery of his native town and at the military school of Brienne. At the age of eighteen he enlisted as a private in a regiment of artillery, and within six months became a sergeant. In 1789 he held the rank of adjutant, and three years afterwards was placed over a battalion of volunteers and sent to join the army of the Rhine. He assisted in reconquering Alsace and in the reorganization of the disheartened troops of the Republic. In 1793 Pichegru became commander-in-chief of the Army of the Rhine-and-Moselle, and in Feb. was appointed to the Army of the North. Comte Lavalette, in his memoirs, tells us that he was of "middling size. His eyes were fine, full of fire and intelligence; his air was martial and his deportment calm and dignified." And he further states that Pichegru soon gained "the esteem of everyone."

In the following year Pichegru fought three great campaigns, and became famous as the conqueror of Holland. Much interest attaches to

his occupation of this country—notably the incident of the seizure of the Dutch ships which were frozen in the Helder, and regarding which Thiers, in his *History of the French Revolution*, gives the following account: "The marvellous itself became already associated with the extraordinary operations of the war. Part of the Dutch fleet was at anchor near the Texel. Pichegru, unwilling to give it time to get clear of the ice and to sail for England, sent some divisions of cavalry and several batteries of light artillery towards North Holland. The Zuider Zee was frozen; our [French] squadrons galloped across those plains of ice, and our hussars and horse artillery summoned the ships, immovably fixed, as they would have done a fortress. The Dutch ships surrendered to these strange assailants." The splendid restraint which prevented the sack of Amsterdam by the French soldiery was also due to the discipline and tact of their leader.

Pichegru took part in a conspiracy for the restoration of the Bourbons, but he was suspected, and his resignation was accepted by the Directory in 1795. He retired to Bellevaux, near his native town, where he remained until he was returned by the department of the Upper Saône to the council of the Five Hundred in 1797. He there headed the royalists, but some of his plans were discovered and he was arrested, with other deputies, and sent to Cayenne. After eight months he succeeded in escaping, and arrived in London in 1798. In 1803 he went to Paris with Georges Cadoudal to take part in a royalist rising against N., but he was betrayed by a friend and arrested on 28 Feb. 1804. On 15 April he was found strangled in his cell. It has been said that he was murdered by the orders of N., but there is no foundation for this statement, and, indeed, it is more likely that he took his own life.

Pichegru was the possessor of tremendous physical strength, and this, with his powers of command, gained for him a personal ascendancy over his men which enabled him to preserve a thorough discipline. He was the originator of a new species

of war which was afterwards used with great effect by the French. Finding that the troops he had to lead were brave but not hardened to war and rather easily discouraged by delay, he invented a system of sharp-shooting, of flying artillery, of attacks constantly repeated. This was found to be especially effective against cavalry, and at the same time raised the spirits and fed the self-love of his own troops.

Sir Gilbert Blane, who attended Pichegru during a severe illness he had whilst in England, writes:

"Pichegru had been well educated, both classically and mathematically, and it was evident from the conversations I had with him that subjects of science were familiar to him. He was by nature a humane and moderate man, and had much more the appearance and manners of a Swiss than of a Frenchman. . . . He said that during all his command his army had never a tent, that they never were sickly, except that part of it which was employed in the siege of Sluys, that in a space of time from four to six hours an army can build huts to shelter themselves, and that his camp was like a town composed of huts."

Pichegru seems to have possessed a certain charm of manner which sometimes blinded the eyes of his associates to the fact that he was above all an egoist who played always for his own hand.

**Pictures, Napoleon in.**—Is there any historical or biographical value in the Napoleonic canvases of Delaroche, Meissonier, and Orchardson? That is a question which people seldom trouble to ask, yet the fact remains that their conception of the Emperor has been largely moulded by these and analogous works. The usual idea of N., his character, his appearance, his mighty doings, has been very materially affected, year after year, by paintings representing scenes in his astounding career.

The student of *genre* pictures in which N. figures is confronted by rather an embarrassment of riches, legion being verily the name of paintings of this sort. The production of them began while the Emperor was yet alive and active, for he was not greatly

inclined to be modest about his doings, and sought rather, like his great predecessor, Louis XIV., to have them blazoned far and near. Louis caused his palace of Versailles to be decorated with huge paintings, delineating his own achievements; and N., likewise, had not been long in power ere he started giving analogous commissions, the two artists chiefly favoured by him in this way being David and Gros. No doubt the works of these men served to make the Emperor popular among his people, while, be that as it may, there is good reason to believe that during the opening years of the Empire the general public of France loved no pictures so well as those depicting Bonaparte's martial triumphs. For the newspapers of this time glow with praise of countless works of this sort, and their preponderance in the Salon catalogues of the day is extraordinary; while we find that in 1810 there was published a portfolio entitled *Napoléon à la grande armée*, this containing no fewer than a hundred and forty-six military prints, most of them from the hand of the distinguished engraver, Jean Duplessis-Bertaux (1747-1815).

The waning of Bonaparte's power, his subsequent abdication, and his ultimate defeat and banishment did not tend, unless for a little while, to attenuate the output of Napoleonic pictures. And the portfolio mentioned above was shortly followed by another and more ambitious one, *Victoires de Napoléon en Allemagne*, which contained upwards of eight hundred prints, nearly all of them engraved by Pierre Nolasque Bergeret (1782-1863). A number of these prints were afterwards reproduced in bas relief on the Colonne Vendôme, and meanwhile the painter, Horace Vernet (1789-1863), was turning his attention to history, the result being a great harvest of Napoleonic pictures, notably *Les Adieux de Fontainebleau*, *Napoléon signant son Abdication*, and *Napoléon à Charleroi*. Some of this artist's work, as M. Louis Hourticq observes aptly in his invaluable *Art in France*, is "like the spirited tale of a trooper"; yet Vernet's are by no means the best pictures of Bonaparte painted about this time, and the palm should be

awarded to Dominique Ingres (1781-1867) and Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863). Ingres as a young man elicited the personal interest of the Emperor, and later on he expressed his sense of gratitude by a great canvas, *L'Apothéose de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>*; while Delacroix, chiefly preoccupied with the remote past and devoted to figuring scenes from the Crusades, executed a magnificent *Bataille de Taillebourg* for Versailles on the occasion of that palace being transformed into a sort of military museum.

Ingres and Delacroix were both regarded by the younger artists around them in Paris as leaders in what is usually styled "the romantic movement." These younger men were on the alert for novelties of all kinds, and the art of lithography, invented only a little while before this by a German, Alois Senefelder, accordingly won a speedy welcome now in France, nor did workers in this new medium fail to swell the great catalogue of Napoleonic pictures. A host of lithographs were done by Nicolas Toussaint Charlet (1792-1845), yet superior to his prints, perhaps, are those of his great contemporary, Raffet (1804-60). He had a keen eye for the more amusing side of warfare, yet he was anything but oblivious to the gruesome side of a campaign, as is evinced by those excellent prints illustrating scenes from N.'s ill-starred attempt to march into Russia. Looking at some of these things by Raffet, we seem to feel the bitter cold of the steppes and to feel the fierce blizzard driving in our faces as it drove in those of Bonaparte's soldiers.

It is highly probable that both Charlet and Raffet, looking back on their early days, could remember seeing N. reviewing his troops. And while it is unlikely that that brave sight was ever vouchsafed to the eyes of Paul Delaroche (1797-1856), he too must almost certainly have had dim recollections of seeing the Emperor in person driving through the streets of Paris; while it is likely again that the artist knew old men who had fought in the Napoleonic campaigns. Be that as it may, Delaroche early began to devote himself exclusively to historical

painting, a field in which he soon gained popularity; and this fame of his exists to the present day, in some measure at least, there being few Napoleonic pictures more widely known than two from his brush, the one showing Bonaparte leading his troops across the snowbound Alps, the other representing the Emperor brooding in sullen fashion in his sanctum at the palace of Fontainebleau. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that these canvases appeal less to the genuine lovers of painting than to the crowd; while it was from their hands, certainly, that the painter chiefly gathered the laurels showered on him in his own day, the masses liking the flavour of sentimentality prone to pervade his art. The people also appreciated what is always a popular element, the precise and conscientious style of workmanship, and no doubt it was this same characteristic in the paintings of a later artist, Jean Louis Ernest Meissonier (1815-91), which enabled him to become, for a space, a very idol among the Parisians, who poured a small fortune into his pockets. Admiring his skill always, his compatriots admired it especially when he employed it to figure events in the career of N., and again and again the painter essayed this line of action. A great number of his canvases of this sort have been etched competently, and even beautifully, the result being that they are widely known in countries other than France; and their popularity notwithstanding, they possess a great deal of genuine artistic merit, this being true in particular of one wherein the Emperor is delineated riding over snowy ground on his famous white charger, a body of soldiers following. This painting, like some of Raffet's lithographs cited before, makes us verily feel the cold which the artist has tried to reproduce; and there is a story to the effect that Meissonier, eager for a complete and convincing realism in this relation, went to the top of his house one snowy day, remained there till he was almost frozen to death, and then hurried to his studio to introduce his own blue, numbed face into his picture, a looking-glass being, of course, requisitioned for this curious

task! Whatever the amount of truth in this anecdote, there can be no question as to the absolute veracity of the artist's rendering of uniforms, accoutrements, and so forth, for he made a close and lifelong study of such details; and it is likely that a more recent, and in some ways more gifted painter, Edouard Detaille, has also taken much trouble to make himself an expert in this particular realm. Detaille has painted a number of striking Napoleonic pictures, and we may well mention a large canvas in the Hôtel de Ville at Paris, its subject the return of the *Grande Armée* to Paris in 1806, together with one depicting the young Bonaparte in Egypt.

Bidding adieu to France and her artists, we may pause to note that Napoleonic pictures are specially popular in America, and a monumental biography of the Emperor by an American scholar, William Milligan Sloane (published New York, 1896), contains a harvest of works of this sort, contributed by different men. Then, turning to England, the first name which occurs to us is that of Turner; for, though it is by his landscapes that this great master is chiefly famous, he made occasional excursions into *genre*, and one of his pictures of this kind has for topic the imperial exile at St. Helena. It is just possible that Turner saw N. when the latter was brought to England after Waterloo, while one early-Victorian painter who certainly witnessed the captive on this occasion is Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865), who subsequently transferred his impression of the sight to canvas. A more familiar rendering of N. on board the *Bellerophon* is that of the Scotsman, Sir William Quiller Orchardson (1832-1910), who painted several other Napoleonic canvases, notably one figuring the Emperor engaged in a mild altercation with Las Cases; and, if these paintings are somewhat cold and uninspired, somewhat lacking in verve, they are mostly redeemed by skilful draughtsmanship and good colour. This last can scarcely be said for a picture by James Sant, *St. Helena: The Last Phase*; yet there is something curiously

impressive about the pallid face shown here, something curiously poignant about the eyes, which seem to follow us hither and thither. Now in the possession of the Glasgow Municipal Gallery, Sant's work was for some time the property of the Earl of Rosebery, in whose well-known contribution to Napoleonic history it appears as an illustration; and it is accordingly almost as widely known as any analogous picture; it has served, as surely as the studies of Delaroche, Meissonier, and Orchardson, to give the great public a certain definite, if inaccurate, conception of the visage of the Emperor. He has outlived himself completely, so to speak—outlived himself, perhaps, more completely than any other hero of the past—and painters are largely responsible for this.

**Piedmont.**—A district of northern Italy, comprising the upper valley of the Po. Its boundaries are, on the north Switzerland, on the south Liguria, on the east Lombardy, and on the west France. At the time of the French Revolution, the kingdom of Sardinia, including Piedmont and Savoy, took the part of the Royalists, with disastrous results. In spite of the gallant resistance of Piedmont, the Sardinians were everywhere defeated, and their king, Victor, was forced to sign an armistice at Cherasco (1796). He was succeeded by his son Charles Emmanuel IV., who weakly entered into a confederation with France, forfeiting his people's independence by the cession of Turin. This was a fatal step; the Sardinian monarch, seeing that he could not hope to retain this portion of his dominions, resigned the throne of Piedmont (6 Dec. 1797) and withdrew, leaving the French in possession. Later, during N.'s Egyptian campaign, Charles Emmanuel attempted the recovery of his Piedmontese territory, but in vain. The success of N.'s arms at Marengo sufficed to crush the king, who retired to Naples, took holy orders, and died in 1819.

Meanwhile the First Consul, who desired to incorporate Piedmont with France because of its strategical importance as an avenue to Italy, was

deterred in his project by the opposition of Paul I., Tsar of Russia, who stoutly championed the King of Sardinia. However, on 24 March 1801 Paul was assassinated, and the way was clear for annexation. After the battle of Copenhagen, while negotiations for peace were being carried on in London, N. informed various foreign courts that he purposed a provisional organization of Piedmont, but his words to General Jourdan, commanding the army of occupation, were: "This organization is merely a first step towards annexation." To the agents of Charles Emmanuel he said that while their ports were open to England, he must refuse to treat with their king. He had, however, already determined not to give up Piedmont; and when on 11 Oct. 1802 a treaty was arranged between France and Russia, it merely contained a clause by which the monarchs of these countries agreed "to concern themselves in friendly concert with the interests of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and to treat them with all the consideration compatible with the actual state of things." N.'s reasons for annexing Piedmont are obvious. It was his policy in Italy, as elsewhere, to break up conquered territory into small states, entirely dependent on France, and entirely lacking in coherence and mutual support. In Piedmont also N. held a position of considerable strategical importance, such as would be of value in the European struggle which he already foresaw. Moreover, the Piedmontese were a race of hardy physique and military tendencies, and would be likely to prove good conscripts.

On 21 April 1801 Bonaparte issued a provisional decree making Piedmont a French province under military control. On 21 Sept. of the following year this was replaced by civil administration, and from that time until 1814 it was governed as a French province, under French laws, with French as the official tongue. In 1805, too, the fiscal system of the Empire was given to Piedmont. Feudal dues were done away with, and for the loss of these many of the nobility were compensated by official appointments.

Piedmont was divided into six departments, under a governor, General Menou, whose term of office lasted from 1803 to 1808, during which time he accomplished various beneficent public works, while N. himself, who paid a visit to the province in 1805, made further suggestions for the betterment of its condition. In 1808 Menou was succeeded by a "Governor-General of the departments beyond the Alps," Prince Camille Borghese, who had married N.'s sister Pauline. His district comprised Piedmont and Liguria, while Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla had already been included under the government of Piedmont. The appointment of Prince Borghese was designed to compensate the Piedmontese for the social advantages they had lost with the Sardinian court. He was, in fact, a mere figure-head, without talent or ability, and having little need for either, since his duties consisted of holding levees and giving banquets, and the yielding of implicit obedience to the commands of the Emperor.

Notwithstanding that the taxes were heavy and the conscription severely enforced, French rule was accepted by the Piedmontese with equanimity. They were, as has been said, a military race, who viewed compulsory service with anything but disfavour. The noble families were monarchical in their tendencies, but if many of their members remained loyal to the House of Savoy, others were content to accept the sovereignty of the Emperor Napoleon and to enter the Senate of the Empire or the legislative body, while two even found their way into the Council of State. The imposition of the French tongue, which among the well-to-do had long been in vogue, was somewhat of a burden to the rustic population. On the other hand, the restoration of peace after the turbulent period of the Austro-Russian and French invasions enabled them to return to their agricultural and commercial avocations, and something like prosperity reigned once more. On the whole, N.'s administration in Piedmont was conspicuously successful. By a provision of the Final Act (9 June 1815) at the Congress of Vienna, Pied-

mont was restored to the House of Savoy, in the person of Victor Emmanuel, younger brother of Charles Emmanuel IV.

**Pierron.**—The butler at Longwood. He remained with the Emperor throughout his captivity on the island, to which he returned in 1840 for the exhumation.

**Piombino.**—A principality in Italy, previously ruled by the Appiani family; was in 1589 acquired by the Spaniards. It was ceded to France in 1801 and given by N. to his sister Elisa Bacciochi (*q.v.*), who held it from 1805 to 1815, when it was restored to the Buoncompagni Ludovici family, subject to Tuscany. In 1860 it became part of the kingdom of Italy. Piombino lies at the southern extremity of the peninsula of the Monte Massonecello and is the port of embarkation for Elba, the nearest point of which is about six miles to the south-west.

**Pitt, William (1759 - 1806).**—British statesman; was born at Hayes on 28 May 1759 and educated at Cambridge. In Jan. 1781 he entered Parliament for Appleby, and in July of the following year, at the age of twenty-three, he took office in the Shelburne ministry as Chancellor of the Exchequer. His reputation steadily increased, so that when Lord Shelburne resigned the King pressed Pitt to accept the leadership. Pitt, however, refused, nor would he accept office under the Fox-North Coalition which followed. But when the ministry was dismissed after the passing of the India Bill he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury (Dec. 1783). In the House of Commons the task which faced the young statesman called for almost superhuman powers. He had but one supporter of any ability—Dundas—while on the opposite side was a large majority headed by Burke, North, Fox, and Sheridan. The unequal contest lasted for three months, but in the end Pitt won. An election in March placed him at the head of an administration which lasted for seventeen years.

The first part of this administration (1784-92) was beyond reproach; his domestic policy was admirable, and

Britain's prestige among the nations of Europe was much increased. But the same could not be said of the second period of his administration. Throughout the French Revolution Pitt maintained a policy of non-intervention and strove hard for peace; but overwhelming public opinion forced him into a war with France, for which he was afterwards blamed both by French and British. He showed himself singularly unfitted to cope with the situations arising out of the war, showed himself even unappreciative of the great issues which were at stake. No single brilliant stroke of military policy distinguished this period; the army was a disgrace to Britain; and Pitt did his best to reduce the navy to the same state of inefficiency by appointing his brother First Lord of the Admiralty, a position for which he had no qualifications whatever. Meanwhile by a curious anomaly Pitt retained his authority in the House of Commons, and it was only on the rock of Catholic emancipation that his ministry finally came to grief. Addington, a man of small talents in comparison with Pitt, now formed a ministry lasting from 1801 to 1804, in which Pitt scorned to take office. For a time the treaty of Amiens gave to the country a feeling of security, which was speedily dissipated by the restive attitude of the First Consul. At length war was declared, invasion threatened, and the tottering ministry overthrown.

Pitt's second administration was handicapped by the King's prejudice against Fox's admission to the Cabinet. Later he was deprived of other supporters. The strain began to tell on his health. In 1805 came news of the disaster at Ulm, to be followed and partially discounted by the glorious victory of Trafalgar. But Austerlitz struck down the great minister as with a crushing blow; he sank gradually, and died at Putney on 23 Jan. 1806.

**Pius VII. (Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti) (1740-1823).**—Became Pope in March 1800. At the time of his election the Papal States enjoyed comparative peace, as the French troops had been withdrawn. Aware of N.'s wish to re-establish Roman

Catholicism in France, Pius and his cardinals drew up the famous Concordat, but its efficacy was considerably impaired by the addition to it of certain *Articles organiques* by the French Government. N. prevailed upon His Holiness by means of promises of future concessions to come to Paris in 1804 and consecrate his coronation, and Josephine confessing to him that she was not ecclesiastically married to N., Pius insisted on their remarriage. N.'s treatment of the Pope during this visit was a curious mixture of reverence and familiarity. He seems to have had an almost superstitious faith in the consecration ceremony, yet subjected him who performed it to many indignities. Pius remained in Paris for four months, returning to Rome with glowing accounts of the Emperor's intentions, which, however, were never consummated. Indeed, in 1808 N. invaded the Holy See and annexed the Papal States to the French Empire. Naturally a rupture of diplomatic relations between the Emperor and Pius was the result, and a papal bull was issued excommunicating the invaders. The Pope was requested to repeal this bull, and on his declining to do so was seized and imprisoned at Grenoble and later at Savona. During this time he seems to have been harshly treated by his captors, but in 1812 N. caused the old and ailing man to be brought to Fontainebleau, where he lived regally until the Emperor's return from Moscow. Pius was then forced, against his conscience, to assent to another Concordat, which promise, however, he soon retracted. N.'s fall in 1814 permitted him to return to Rome, and the Congress of Vienna (1815) restored his papal dominions, at the same time repealing the French legislation which had been introduced into them. His remaining years were spent at Rome, and it is recorded that in spite of the unkind treatment meted out to him by N. he always extended the utmost generosity to the family of the fallen Emperor.

Regarding N.'s relations with Pius VII., one must bear in mind that N. never realized the Pope to be a mere puppet in the hands of his



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cardinals: he believed him to be absolute monarch in his kingdom, as N. was in France; and consequently he could not understand how the Pope's personal promises were so often repudiated from Rome. He was convinced that he possessed an influence over the Pope, and he did not know that in reality the cardinals (the agents of the aristocrats) were omnipotent in the Church of Rome, and they had planned his downfall and the downfall of revolutionary France.

**Pleiswitz (Poischwitz), Armistice of.**—One of the most disastrous steps in N.'s military career was taken when he signed the armistice of Pleiswitz, on 4 June 1813, during the War of Liberation. It is true that his army was in a sad condition, yet the position of the Allies was, if anything, still worse, and had N. boldly continued hostilities he might even then have righted himself. The armistice was largely organized by Metternich, who desired to maintain Austria's position as "armed mediator" till she had time to complete her armaments. The armistice was signed by three commissioners, Shuvaloff, Kleist, and Caulaincourt, representing Russia, Prussia, and France.

**Poland.**—One of the smaller countries of eastern Europe, which ranked as a separate kingdom until the end of the eighteenth century, but from that time till the settlement in 1919 after the Great War was divided between its powerful neighbours, Russia, Austria, and Germany, the first of which bounds it on the north, the second on the south, and Germany on the west. Its population consists mainly of Poles, who are of Slavonic origin, Lithuanians, Germans, and Jews.

In 1772, during the reign of Stanislaus II., a partition was deemed expedient by the European military powers, and Poland lost about a fourth of her territory and a fifth of her population, for which she received a better constitution from her partitioners. Fired with the success of the French Assembly, and desirous to regenerate their own country, the Poles rose in revolution in 1791, and succeeded in founding a constitutional monarchy in place of an aristocratic

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government. But under pressure from Russia and Prussia the second treaty of partition was signed in Sept. 1793, and Poland was left with a third of her original domains and a population of three and a half millions.

Poland at this time held the attention of the eastern European powers, who were thereby to a certain extent prevented from realizing the trend of affairs in the west; while the western powers were too fully occupied in their coalition against N. to be able to resist the partition of that unfortunate country.

In 1794 the Poles rose against their invaders and rapidly drove the Prussians out of Poland; but they were eventually defeated by the Russians, who occupied Warsaw. The third and last defiance of right and international law took place in 1795, when Poland was divided between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. Following upon this partition, great numbers of the Poles left their country and joined N., fighting his battles all over Europe—the name of the Polish lancers being feared by the troops of all his adversaries. From this time many of the Polish patriots looked to N. as a possible deliverer and restorer of their national rights.

Poland now became the political cat's paw of N., who used her for his own ends in an unprincipled manner; and though no doubt he may have faced the possibility of a redeemed Poland, the suggestion alone served his purpose as a weapon against Russia, and he went no further. In 1806 he announced that France had never acknowledged the partition, and later he entered Posen as the "liberator of Poland" amidst great enthusiasm. Warsaw was his headquarters for some time, and while there he joined in the social life of the city. Meanwhile the people of Poland were divided—one party holding themselves aloof, a second throwing themselves on N.'s promises and goodwill, and a third preferring to rely on the Tsar for emancipation.

After the peace of Tilsit in 1807 the lands of Warsaw, the province of Posen, and certain other tracts of land were made into the grand-duchy of

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Warsaw and given to the King of Saxony as a separate sovereignty. The treaty of Schönbrunn in 1809 materially enlarged this grand-duchy. Several of N.'s marshals and generals were given lands in Poland—many of them of great extent.

In 1810 the Tsar attempted to win the Poles to his side, but his inducements were not sufficient to tempt N.'s followers to desert him. The following year a rupture took place between Russia and N. over Poland, and this was probably one of the causes of the war of 1812. Alexander II. of Russia desired N. to make a formal promise that Poland would never be restored as a country and its name never officially used. In reply N. forwarded to Russia a counter-promise "never to give help or assistance to any power or to any internal rising whatsoever looking to a restoration of Poland," to which Alexander's answer was a document containing the identical words "that the kingdom of Poland shall never be restored."

Hampered by his dynastic alliance, N. could no longer appeal to Polish sentiment; and in reply to a deputation of Poles who waited upon him requesting the restoration of Poland, he had to say that he had promised the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his domains in Poland. This somewhat cooled the Polish ardour, and N.'s later appeal for a national rising met with but a feeble response, although about 60,000 Poles fought for N. in his first campaign with Russia.

After N.'s retreat from Moscow in 1812 the grand-duchy of Warsaw was no more, and in Feb. 1813 the Russians invaded it, occupying Warsaw and thus taking possession of the country. Many of the Polish soldiers, however, continued to follow N.'s fortunes in 1813 and 1814.

At the Congress of Vienna the disposition of Poland formed one of the burning points of controversy. Finally Danzig, Thorn, and the province of Posen were ceded to Prussia, Austria acquired Galicia, and Russia the remainder of Poland. The Tsar fulfilled his promise of reigning as a constitutional king, and granted a constitution to Poland similar to that

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established in France by Louis XVIII.'s Charter, with the proviso that all officials should be Poles and that Polish should be the official language. This charter was, however, set aside by Nicholas I. in 1825.

**Polotsk, Battle of (Russian Campaign).**—During the retreat from Moscow a Franco-Bavarian Army under St. Cyr occupied an entrenched camp at Polotsk, which was attacked by Wittgenstein in command of 30,000 Russians on 18 Oct. 1812. St. Cyr held his position until night put an end to the fighting and the Russians withdrew from the entrenchments. But on the following morning the Russians were assisted by reinforcements under Steingell, who attacked from the opposite direction, and St. Cyr was eventually forced to retreat, though he saved almost the whole of his artillery.

**Poniatowski, Joseph Anthony (1763 - 1813).**—Polish prince and French marshal; was born at Warsaw, and, embracing the military profession, first saw active service in the Austrian campaign against the Turks in 1788. He returned to Poland, became commander-in-chief of the army after the constitution was proclaimed, and fought bravely in many of the battles against Russia. When the King of Poland assented to the confederation of Targowica, Poniatowski resigned his position and emigrated, but returned to fight for his country in the Kosciuszko rebellion. In 1806 he headed the party in Poland which hoped for their country's redemption by N.; and when the grand-duchy of Warsaw was created in 1807 he was appointed minister of war and commander-in-chief. In 1809 the Austrians invaded the grand-duchy, but Poniatowski eventually forced them to evacuate Warsaw, and in his turn invaded Galicia. He brought to N.'s aid for the invasion of Russia a corps of 36,000 Poles, and shared with the Emperor the horrors of that disastrous campaign, distinguishing himself at Smolensk and Borodino. He adhered to his allegiance to N., and with fresh troops, amounting to 13,000 men, he rejoined the Emperor at Lützen. Brave

to a degree, Poniatowski's death was that of a hero. Through the three days' fighting at Leipzig he led his men in the midst of danger, receiving for his services a marshal's baton and that greatest of all honours—the covering of a retreat. Doggedly and fiercely his men fought while their comrades crossed the Elster in comparative safety. Then came the premature destruction of the bridge, spelling for Poniatowski and his men surrender or death. Already covered with wounds, but contesting every inch of the way, he and his companions were forced gradually, step by step, back towards the river. Death with honour was his choice; into the waters of the Elster he plunged on horseback, but to gain the opposite bank proved impossible to the exhausted man and beast. His remains were recovered some days after, and now lie in Cracow cathedral.

**Pons de L'Hérault, André (1772-1858).**—Administrator of the Rio mines during N.'s exile in Elba. The son of tradespeople, Pons was born at Cette in 1772, and early in life entered the merchant service. Later he joined the navy, and at the time of the Revolution had exchanged into the army, taking part in the siege of Toulon (1793) as a captain of artillery. It was at Toulon that Pons first met N., and little would either of the men dream of the circumstances which were to bring them together in later years. In 1809 Pons was appointed administrator of the famous iron mines in Elba, and was one of the deputation who received N. on his arrival there (3 May 1814). He was a republican, and from this standpoint he never swerved; but, at the same time, his admiration for the Emperor as a man was very great, and he clearly recognized N.'s genius. Pons was commissioned by the Emperor to write the story of his Elban phase, and with this in view he made a most careful study of N., having unique opportunities for so doing. It was not, however, until the end of the nineteenth century, forty years after his death, that his notes were published by L. G. Pélissier in two

volumes, *Souvenirs et Anecdotes de l'Île d'Elbe* (1897) and *Mémoire aux Puissances Alliées* (1899). His work is worthy of attention in that it is an honest record of N. as he appeared to a contemporary at that period of his career; it is unbiased, free from exaggeration, and reliable—a study by one who admired yet did not wholly approve. The relations between the two men were often strained almost to breaking point, and several times Pons offered to resign his post, but N. would never allow him to do so. The Emperor was intolerant of Pons' sturdy independence, an independence which involved the refusal of many of his demands and seriously annoyed him. Pons gives us a clue to N.'s attitude whilst an exile in Elba. He says: "The Emperor was tortured with the idea that he was being belittled. He leaned even more upon his imperial grandeur than upon his military glory. Perhaps he was right. His military glory was an immortal and accomplished fact. . . . It was not the same with his imperial grandeur. However immense that may have been, fate had broken it, and he alone, the man, the great man, remained superior to events. It was, above all, the man whom one respected in the Emperor." Pons' home was taken over by N. (without payment), to be his residence at Rio, and although the administrator and his family were permitted to live there when N. was elsewhere, yet on the latter's arrival at Rio Pons had to remove into a small house, which was quite unsuited to his requirements. In spite of the many disagreements which took place between them, it was to Pons alone that the Emperor confided his plans for his return to Paris—because, as N. himself stated to Montholon at St. Helena, "his co-operation was indispensable for the preparation of the vessels of transport which were necessary"; and he was one of the little band which followed Bonaparte's carriage down from the Mulini palace to the embarkation quay. Pons received the appointment of councillor of state under the Second Republic. He died in the year 1858 at the age of eighty-six.

**Pontivy.**—A town rebuilt by N. in 1804 in the department of the Morbihan. It was the seat of the Vendéan and Chouan wars; and in order to watch the royalist parties N. caused barracks and other buildings to be erected there. The old part of the town still clings to the name Pontivy, while the portion constructed by order of the Emperor is now known as Napoléonville.

**Porteous, William.**—Superintendent of the Honourable East India Company's gardens at St. Helena. He kept a boarding-house in Jamestown, at which N. spent his first night on the island.

**Portraits of Napoleon.**—It was natural and inevitable that a man of N.'s temperament should have his portrait painted often, but as regards the artists whom he employed he had by no means the good fortune of some previous French sovereigns. No past master like Clouet was forthcoming, as in the days of Henri II., no De la Tour or Largillière as in the time of Louis XV., and indeed the Napoleonic period does not hold a high place in the annals of French painting. The superb impetus which followed Watteau flickered to its close when the Revolution forced the Watteauesque Fragonard to fly from Paris, and retire to his native village of Grasse in Provence; and thenceforth, till the advent of the Romantic group, some ten years after Waterloo, the bulk of French artists practised a cold, unimpassioned, and too often pompous manner—a manner recalling that which held sway in the days of Rigaud, Le Brun, and De la Fosse. But if, accordingly, N. had not the chance of engaging portrait-painters of the highest order, at least he commissioned the best available talent; and, in truth, with the exception of Ingres, there is scarcely a notable artist of the Napoleonic period who did not execute a likeness of the Emperor. Nor did he confine his patronage to men of reputation, for among those he employed to perpetuate his semblance are quite a number who are literally forgotten save for their works in this relation.

There are upwards of twenty por-

traits of Napoleon, and hardly two are alike, yet it is just in this diversity that their unique interest lies. The Emperor's skull, according to expert phrenologists, was marked by a greater number of significant protuberances than that of any other man on record. Nearly every known gift or taste, they declare, was indicated by the shape of his head, and to this fact is traceable the extraordinary difference between his likenesses. One man perceived chiefly one particular aspect, another was impressed by the indication of some wholly different faculty; and N.'s portraiture, in consequence, throws light on the whole of his character, and forms as valuable an illumination thereof as any writings on the subject.

Only a few of the Emperor's portraits are dated, and thus it is difficult to arrange them in absolutely chronological order; but probably the earliest is one at Versailles by an otherwise forgotten artist named Phillipsteaux, and singularly winning is the face depicted here. We come after this to a portrait by Alexandre Fragonard (1780-1850), a son of the great Fragonard, which can be approximately dated, because a contemporaneous engraving thereof has the title, "Bonaparte: Général en chef de l'Armée d'Italie"; while again, it is likely that a painting by an Italian artist called Rusca was done at the same time as Fragonard's, for a distinct similarity exists between the two. We come next to two portraits in which N. is entitled "Premier Consul," and which may therefore be assigned to about, or soon after, the year 1799, these two being a small colour engraving by a Frenchman, Charles Levachez, and a full-length by Jean Baptiste Isabey (1767-1859), a Parisian painter destined later on to enjoy great patronage from the Emperor and his *entourage*. The last four pictures show a harder, more determined expression than that figured by Phillipsteaux and Fragonard, and it is clear that N.'s face was inclining thus simultaneously with the growth of his power, the fact being further witnessed by two portraits by Andrea Appiani, a Milanese artist, whose skill came under Bonaparte's notice during his con-

quest of Italy. A full-length by Hilaire le Dru, a Frenchman who also painted pictures of several of N.'s more notable officers, was probably painted about the time of the foregoing pair; while passing on we come to four portraits which, inasmuch as they depict the Emperor in regal attire, must be ascribed to the time of his coronation in 1804, and were indeed possibly executed to celebrate that event. Three of these are by otherwise forgotten men, Gamerey, Desrais, and Chatillon; while the fourth is the work of Baron Gérard (1770-1837), a Parisian artist whom the Emperor greatly favoured, and who is also remembered by his likeness of Talleyrand. These coronation pictures all exhibit no little vanity on the sitter's part, an addiction to pomp and splendour; while turning to subsequent works, we are struck once again by the singular hardness of the face delineated. We see this in two engravings by little-known men, Duplessis-Bertaux and Bertrand, and we mark it, too, in a fine print entitled "Napoleon Bonaparte: from an original drawing made from the life, a short time previous to the Russian campaign, by a gentleman of his suite, engraved by W. Nicholls." We note this hard aspect once more in a portrait by one Vignen, and in a further likeness by Isabey; yet it is wholly absent from a fine likeness by the Emperor's favourite portrait-painter, Jacques Louis David, while it is little in evidence in a picture by one of the latter's many pupils, Anne Louis Girodet-Trioson. The latter pair are both known to have been painted in 1812, but it is virtually impossible to date three other portraits, the work respectively of Vanthier, Lefèvre, and Hodges, artists of whom little or nothing is known. These three works, however, have the semblance of belonging to the same period as David's one; while a portrait which suggests a slightly later date is a beautiful miniature by Muneret, now in the Wallace Collection, London. In this picture we are struck by the gloomy expression, and this is still more marked in a full-length drawing of the Emperor which, at present in the collection of a clergy-

man, the Rev. R. A. Gatty, was done on board the *Bellerophon* by a midshipman, whose name, unfortunately, has not been preserved. As regards further anonymous likenesses, there is one in the Wallace Collection which shows N. in the costume of the Institut Français; while Mr. Bemey-Ficklin, of Tasburgh Hall, near Norwich, possesses a fine miniature of the Emperor which bears no name, but is in all likelihood from the hand of Muneret. In conclusion, it is interesting to note that the English artist, Sir Charles Eastlake (1793-1865), happening to be at Plymouth when the captive Emperor arrived there, seized every available opportunity of studying the latter's physiognomy, and produced as result a huge picture depicting N. surrounded by some of his officers which is now in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Not a portrait in the ordinary sense of the term, it yet can claim a certain amount of value as a likeness; and analogous value pertains to numerous other historical paintings in which the Emperor is included, those, for example, of Carl Vernet (1758-1836) and Baron Gros, who were both brought into personal contact with N., and may have sketched him from life. A basis of this sort belongs also, perhaps, to the Napoleonic pictures of Delaroche and Charlet, both of whom, in boyhood at least, must frequently have seen the Emperor; but the familiar works of Meissonier, on the contrary, are purely imaginative, for that artist was not born till 1813.

**Posen, Treaty of (11 Dec. 1806).**—Concluded between France, Prussia, and Saxony, its provisions were: (1) Saxony was to join the Confederation of the Rhine; (2) she was to provide a contingent of 20,000 men (though only 6,000 were taken) for the campaign then progressing. The elector obtained the title of king. Weimar and the other minor Saxon states gained admittance two days afterwards to the confederation.

**Pozzo di Borgo, Carlo Andrea (1764-1842).**—Was born at Alata, a village near Ajaccio on 8 March 1764. He is known to fame as the implacable foe of N., one who never rested till he

had, with marvellous skill, manipulated international politics to the undoing of his enemy. It was the Corsican vendetta transferred to history, its weapons the intrigues of diplomacy, its *coup de grâce* involving the destinies of nations.

The family of Pozzo di Borgo was one of ancient nobility and long famous in Corsica, whilst several of their number distinguished themselves in the service of Venice in the sixteenth century.

Carlo Andrea Pozzo di Borgo was in early youth a close friend of Joseph and Napoleon Buonaparte. His education was obtained at Pisa and the Buonapartes' in France, but during the holiday periods they fraternized, for their families were then closely allied in politics. One account records how Carlo and N. used to sit on the terrace of the Casa Buonaparte reading Montesquieu and other writers with avidity; whilst it was to Carlo that N. confided the difficulties of his life at Brienne. As youths, their sympathies harmonized, both were democratic and republican, but later political jealousies arose, when Paoli, finding the Buonapartes too ambitious and individualistic, favoured Pozzo as being at once more amenable and tactful and as able. The latter was therefore chosen as one of the two delegates to the National Assembly in Paris to demand the political incorporation of Corsica in France. Next, when the six deputies to the Legislative Assembly were nominated, Paoli, who dominated the elections, did not even propose Joseph Buonaparte, though one of the foremost young men in the island, whilst Pozzo was nominated, and finally elected as deputy of Ajaccio. The feud between the families commenced, however, when N., arriving at Ajaccio, sought election to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Corsican volunteers, with a brother of Pozzo as one of his rivals. The high-handed methods of N. and his party to secure a favourable return, such as the seizure by force of one of the commissioners who happened to be lodging in a rival's house, roused the enmity of their former friends, amongst them the Pozzo di Borgos,

one of whose number it is said was trampled in the attendant brawls.

In the Legislative Assembly, Pozzo di Borgo sat on the benches of the right until Aug. 1792, when he returned to Corsica, and under the new constitution became *procureur-général-syndic*, chief of the civil government, while Paoli commanded the army. The breach with the Buonapartes was now complete. Consequent upon Lucien's (*q.v.*) denunciation of Paoli at Toulon, he, together with Pozzo di Borgo, was cited to appear before the Convention. N. had known nothing of Lucien's attack, and on hearing that Paoli was suspected, wrote in eloquent defence of the national hero, but the break between them was beyond repair, and when the Paolist party triumphed, the Buonaparte family was forced to flee to France. Paoli and his coadjutor having refused to obey the summons of the Convention were now in open rebellion to French rule, and negotiated for and received foreign help. When Corsica came under English protection, Sir Gilbert Elliott was appointed viceroy with Pozzo as president of the Corsican Council. For some inscrutable reason it was considered advisable that Paoli should retire from Corsican affairs, and it was stated in some quarters that Pozzo di Borgo, by his diplomacy, had brought his patron into discredit with the English authorities in order to dominate affairs himself.

When N. sent troops to occupy Corsica Pozzo fled, for his name was excepted from the general amnesty. He took refuge in Rome, but the French authorities demanded his expulsion, and ordered his arrest in northern Italy. He escaped to London, and again came into touch with Sir Gilbert Elliott, now Lord Minto, and on the latter's appointment to Vienna (1798) on an embassy Pozzo accompanied him. He lived in that capital for six years as *persona grata* in political circles. N. kept always close watch upon him, knowing well that, though holding no official position, this fellow-Corsican was a dangerous enemy.

In 1804 Pozzo di Borgo's chance came. Through the influence of

Prince Adam Czartoryski he entered the Russian diplomatic service, and in 1805 was Russian commissioner with the Anglo-Neapolitan and the following year with the Prussian Army. The influence he now began to put in force against N., in court and cabinet, can never be fully gauged. Never for one instant was this dominating passion forgotten. A temporary check was, however, set on his career when, after an important mission to Constantinople, the alliance now arranged between Alexander I. and N. rendered his retirement necessary. He proceeded to Vienna, but N. demanded his extradition, and Metternich accordingly requested him to leave the Austrian capital. For safety he again took refuge in London, where besides his many friends he found congenial soil for his vindictive hatred. Even when the Emperor seemed to have reached summits beyond an enemy's reach Pozzo never lost heart, so firm was his belief in the satisfactory settlement of the vendetta, a belief which appeared in his prophetic remark to Sir Stratford Canning in a London drawing-room when the birth of the King of Rome was announced: "Wait for the end, Napoleon is a giant who bends down the mighty oaks of the primeval forest; but some day the woodland spirits will break from their disgraceful bondage, then the oaks will suddenly rebound and dash the giant to earth again." He was still in touch with continental affairs and ever working towards the overthrow of his powerful enemy. Triumph was his at last when in 1812 he was recalled by Alexander. He now set himself to inflame the mean jealousies of N.'s brothers and sisters, he played on the weakness of Murat and secured the renegade services of Bernadotte. He was the Tsar's right hand in all affairs connected with the Emperor, and at Moscow was the instigator of Alexander's refusal to make peace with the defeated N. It was Pozzo di Borgo who instigated the rapid march of the Allies against Paris; he was behind the Tsar's demand for N.'s abdication, and when Alexander was almost vanquished by the pleas of Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald

for a regency, it was Pozzo who kept him from this concession, and in one early dawn had the inexpressible triumph of watching Marmont with his army corps coming to play traitor to the Emperor—the final proof that the army was not loyal to its one-time idol. After this there was no further hesitancy—the Emperor must resign for himself and his heirs. So the son of N. was thrust aside, the Emperor was an exile in Elba, and the Bourbons had returned. During the Restoration Pozzo was appointed Russian ambassador to the Tuileries, and endeavoured to arrange a marriage between the Duc de Berry and the Russian Grand Duchess, Alexander's sister. In all affairs connected with N.'s family, however—his violent hostility being so well known—the Tsar had arranged for these details to be conducted by a subordinate, M. Boutiakim. At the Congress of Vienna (*q.v.*) his influence was thrown in the balance against any concession being made to N., he demanded that the prisoner should be sent from the dangerous Elba to a far more distant island. During the Hundred Days he joined Louis XVIII. in Belgium, and together with Wellington, apart from discussions of the situation, received and treated with all those treacherous to N., Fouché (*q.v.*) amongst them. The Tsar, following his dreams of liberal policy, had instructed Pozzo to allow an appeal to the people of France on the subject of the government of their country. This appealed to Pozzo's democratic sympathies, but Wellington refused to make any concessions to what he denominated rebellion. At the final overthrow of his mighty enemy and his proscription to St. Helena he spoke the famous and memorable words: "I have not killed Napoleon, but I have cast the last spadeful of earth upon him!"

Pozzo di Borgo was now made permanent representative of Russia to the court of France. He opposed the reactionary and consistently supported the moderate party and the ministry of the Duc de Richelieu, a line of conduct which enraged Metternich and made him into an enemy, for he blamed Pozzo for the Liberal revival in France.

During the early years he tried his utmost to lessen the burdens laid on France by the Allies and especially to shorten the period of foreign occupation. Paris recognized his sincere French sympathies, and the suggestion was even made that he should become French Minister for Foreign Affairs. When Charles X. ascended the throne Pozzo's influence at the Tuileries declined, for the reactionary tendencies of that monarch had always repelled the Corsican. He rendered valuable service to France in 1830 by averting differences with Russia when the Tsar Nicholas was reluctant to acknowledge Louis Philippe. In 1831 he again visited Russia and the following year London, where he renewed his friendship with Wellington. His prestige in Russia was damaged by his pronounced French sympathies, and in 1835 he received the intimation of his transference to the London embassy, which, though not endangering his official position, sufficiently indicated that his influence at the court of the Tsar had declined. The climate of London affected his health adversely, and in 1839 he retired from service and settled in Paris, where he died on 15 Feb. 1842, mentally deranged. The title of count had been conferred on him in 1818 when he was made a peer of France.

Pozzo di Borgo remained a true Corsican, keeping to the national customs wherever he was and always showing his intense love for his native land, with which he remained in close touch. He instituted the publication of the two Corsican historians Filippini and Peter, and Gregori dedicated to him a collection of the statutes. He inaugurated several charitable institutions in Corsica, and his beneficence to his countrymen was unfailing. His large fortune he bequeathed to his nephews, one of whom was afterwards killed in true Corsican fashion for the odious manner in which he had dispensed the charities bequeathed to the inhabitants by his uncle.

It is interesting to recall that the treaty of 1831 guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of Belgium, which was confirmed by the six Powers in the treaty of 1839, the breaking of

which by Germany was so largely responsible for the entry of Great Britain into the Great War in 1914, was signed by Pozzo di Borgo as plenipotentiary on behalf of Russia, his co-signatories to the treaty being the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Belgium, Austria, France, and Prussia.

**Primolano, Battle of (Italian Campaign).**—After defeating an Austrian division under Davidowich at Roveredo (*q.v.*) on 4 Sept. 1796, N. moved rapidly on towards Primolano, where he overtook the rear-guard of the main Austrian army under Würmser on the 7th, and attacked it with such impetuosity that the Austrians, who held a strong position, were utterly routed with the loss of 2,000 prisoners and nine guns.

**Prud'hon Pierre (1758-1823).**—French painter. See PAINTING.

**Pultusk, Battle of (Friedland Campaign).**—On the morning of 26 Dec. 1806 Lannes, with 35,000 men, fell in with a Russian army under Bennigsen drawn up on a plain and carefully concealed by a horde of Cossacks near the town of Pultusk. Lannes attacked, and when he had dispersed the Cossacks the Russians were exposed to view. Although surprised at the superior numbers opposed to him, he pressed forward, and a violent struggle took place in which the Russians were driven back. Reinforced from the town, however, they regained their ground, and another bloody conflict ensued which lasted well into the night, when a terrible storm separated the combatants. Neither side could claim a victory, and during the night both French and Russians retreated from the field; the losses on both sides were severe and about equal—between five and six thousand men.

**Pyramids, Battle of the.**—During the French advance on Cairo in 1798 N. led an army against the fortified camp of the Mamelukes at Embabeh, opposite Cairo (21 July). The French divisions on the left rushed the camp, while the others, under Desaix, and Regnier, met the charges of Murad Bey's superb cavalry. The musketry



## PYRENEES

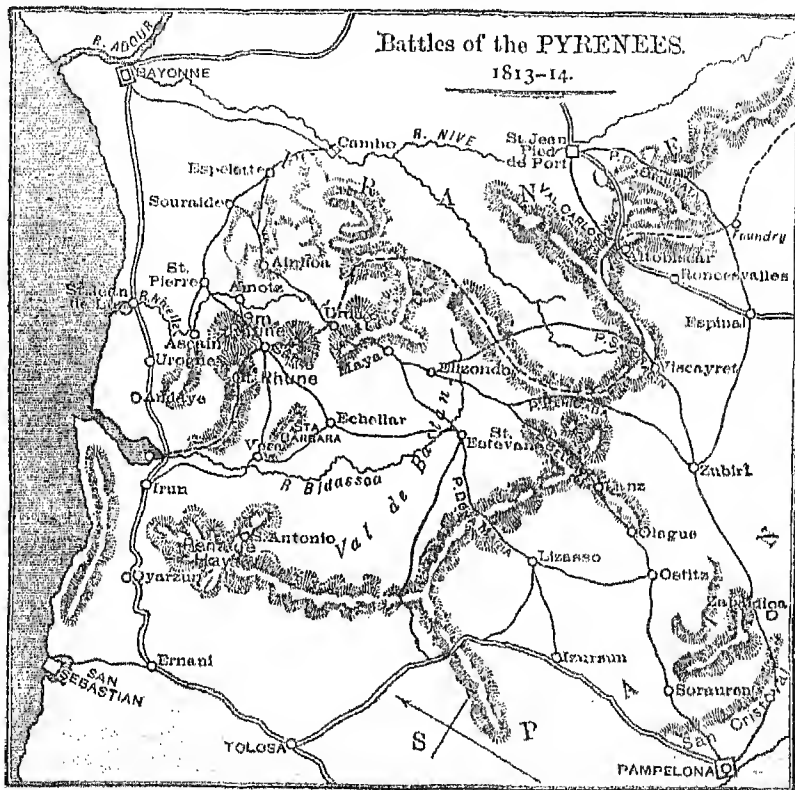
and artillery fire of the French mowed down the Mamelukes by thousands, and the Bey was obliged to withdraw his decimated squadrons. The French losses were very small.

**Pyrenees, Battles of the.**—A series of engagements fought during the Peninsular War of 1813. Wellington, part of whose forces were engaged in the siege of San Sebastian (q.v.), suspended the operations there in order to meet Soult, who with

## QUIBERON

Q

**Quatre Bras, Battle of.**—The fighting in this engagement of the Waterloo campaign began about 2 P.M. on 16 June 1815. The advance-guard of the left wing of the French Army, under Reille, had pushed forward to the farm of Gémioncourt, which was defended by a small force of Dutch and Belgians under the Prince of Orange. The latter were



25,000 men was marching to its relief. The following actions took place: Roncevaux (q.v.) and Maya (q.v.) on 25 July; Sauron (q.v.) on 28th and 30th; Yanzi on 1 Aug.; Echallar and Ivantilly on 2 Aug. Soult failed to dislodge the Allies (British and Spanish), and Wellington assumed the offensive, gradually driving his opponents back towards France. He then returned to the siege. The Allies' losses were about 7,000 during these battles, and the French lost 10,000.

driven from their position, but the Duke of Wellington now came on the field with reinforcements of British. The French also received reinforcements, and the sanguinary fight continued for several hours, until at nightfall Ney withdrew his forces to Frasnés. Out of about 33,000 men the French lost 4,300, while the Allies lost 4,700 out of the 22,000 men who took part. See WATERLOO CAMPAIGN.

**Quiberon.**—The scene of the royalist defeat (1795); a peninsula,

with a small fishing village of the same name stretching southward from the coast of Morbihan. In the June of 1795 Piusaye, the leader of the *émigrés* in England, effected a landing at Quiberon with the assistance of a British fleet under Admiral Warren. General Hoche (*q.v.*), however, defeated these troops and drove them back to their entrenched camp, which included many thousands of Chouans who had rallied to the royalist cause. Hoche then blockaded the peninsula, and on the night of 20 July he stormed the entrenchment, hundreds of the royalists being driven into the sea and drowned.

## R

**Raab, Battle of (Wagram Campaign).**—On 14 June 1809 the French under Eugène Beauharnais, numbering about 35,000 men, attacked an Austrian Army under the Archduke John which was advancing towards Raab. The chief part of the fighting lay in the possession of the villages of Kismeyger and Szabadghedy, both of which were gained by the French, though the latter changed hands three times before it was finally held. After the loss of 6,000 men, half of whom had been made prisoners, the Archduke was forced to retreat, leaving Eugène strongly established in the village of Kismeyger.

**Raffet, Denis Auguste Marie (1804-60).**—French artist. See PICTURES, NAPOLEON IN.

**Rainsford, Thomas.**—Inspector of police at St Helena. He arrested Las Cases. He was presented to N. on 24 June 1816, and died in the following year.

**Ramolino Family.**—Ancestors of N.; domiciled in Corsica since the 15th century; a Gabriele Ramolino arriving in Corsica as a Genoese official about the time that Francesco Buonaparte left Sarzana for the same destination. They were adherents of Genoa, and for generations held appointments in the service of that republic. Taking the pedigree back three generations from N. leads to: Giovanni Agostino Ramolino, born on 25 April 1697, who

married Angela Maria Peri, the daughter of Andrea Peri (captain of Corsican militia in the service of the Genoese Republic, a well-known military family; and secondly Maria Maddalena d'Istria, of a family of feudal signors, Corsicans. The son of the above was Giovanni Girolamo, born at Ajaccio 13 April 1723, who married Angela Maria Pietra Santa. Their daughter Maria Letizia (*q.v.*), the mother of N., was born 24 Aug. 1750. Giovanni died at Ajaccio, 1755.

**Rapp, Jean, Comte de (1772-1821).**

—Was born at Colmar, and entered the army at the age of eighteen. As aide-de-camp to General Desaix, he served with distinction in the Italian campaign, gallantly comforting the latter who was mortally wounded on the field at Marengo. Rapp thus came under the notice of N., who appreciated his services. He fought in many campaigns both in Germany and in Egypt. At Austerlitz he commanded a division of the cavalry of the imperial guard, swooping down on the Russian squadrons and scattering them after a bloody conflict. Rapp reported the victory to the Emperor, who replied that he had with his own eyes witnessed the movement which was to cover the young aide-de-camp with glory. After Wagram, where again he gained considerable reputation, Rapp was created a count. He was in one of the carriages following the Emperor's when the infernal machine exploded in 1801. He is mentioned in several instances as having rendered services of the most intimate character to the Empress and her ladies. In 1809 Rapp seized a would-be assassin who had designs upon the person of the Emperor, and had him arrested and secretly shot. On the retreat from Moscow in 1812, Rapp conducted himself with great credit; ghastly incidents were crowded into this retreat: through all sorts of horrors the survivors of that broken army passed, mutilated soldiers and dismantled guns in a blinding snowstorm; and through it all Rapp lent succour to his comrades. After his return from Russia he was sent to defend Danzig, which he held during a siege which lasted a whole year before capitulating. On his

## RASTATT

return to Paris in 1814, Louis XVIII. instructed him to lead an army corps against N. Rapp took command of the corps, but only to go over to the Emperor and place himself and his men at the imperial service. During the Hundred Days he commanded the French Army of the Rhine, but being unable to oppose the enemy's forces took refuge in Strassburg. After Waterloo, on his reconciliation with Louis XVIII., he was appointed high chamberlain and raised to the house of peers (1819). The news of N.'s death affected him deeply. He himself died at the early age of forty-eight in Nov. 1821 only a few months after his imperial master.

**Rastatt, Congress of.**—The Congress of Rastatt (1797-99) was provided for by the treaty of Campo Formio (17 Oct. 1797). It was designed to settle German affairs and to determine the compensation to be awarded to the German princes who by the treaty of Campo Formio had been deprived of their territories. Austria and Prussia desired the secularization of ecclesiastical lands in Germany, for this, while depriving Austria of the support of the spiritual princes, would have sufficed to indemnify the secular powers. The French Directory likewise favoured this plan. But Bonaparte, who attended the Congress in person on 25 Nov. 1797, influenced the French delegates to its opposition. Thus for many months the negotiations at Rastatt dragged on, both France and Austria well aware that the Congress was but an armistice and one in perpetual danger of dissolution. Early in 1799 French and Austrian troops were in the neighbourhood, and some desultory fighting was even engaged in. At last the members of the Congress were ordered by the Austrian troops to leave the town, the date agreed upon being 28 April. Scarcely had the French representatives quitted Rastatt when they were set upon, two of them being murdered (Bouquier and Roberjot, supporters of the Directory), while the third, Debry, a Bonapartist, was slightly wounded. The assassins were never discovered. Anti-Bonapartists have credited N. with the in-

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stigation of the murders, suggesting Debry as the instrument. Others have asserted that Austria, her armaments completed, chose this means of precipitating war. These and other theories advanced are, however, one and all without foundation.

**Raszyn, Battle of (Wagram Campaign).**—On 19 April 1809 30,000 Austrians under the Archduke Ferdinand marched on Warsaw, which was then occupied by Prince Poniatowski. Although the Prince had only 12,000 men for the defence of the city, he skilfully drew up his little army at Raszyn and for over four hours gallantly resisted the enemy. But overwhelmed at length by numbers he was obliged to withdraw into the city and capitulate.

**Récamier, Jeanne Françoise Julie Adelaïde (1777-1849).**—Was born on 4 Dec. 1777 at Lyons, the family name being Bernard. Her beauty attracted the notice of the banker, Jacques Récamier, and at the age of fifteen she was married to him, the bridegroom being forty years older than the bride. In Paris she at once commanded attention and admiration, and her accomplishments and undoubted love for literature drew the intellectuals of the day about her. From the beginning of the Consulate to almost the end of the July monarchy her *salon* was the centre of the literary and political life of the time. Added to this, her sympathies were royalist, and her husband's wealth rendered her a desirable friend to the needy *émigrés* returning to France, who cultivated her assiduously. Under their influence she affected to look upon N. as a parvenu, and together with Mme. de Staël criticized—for the world to hear—the new court and its central figures. Many of the disaffected and disappointed place-seekers, ostensibly friends of N., also gathered around her, among them Bernadotte and Moreau, and this, added to the fact that she refused to act as lady-in-waiting to the Empress Josephine, made her suspect to the government. Her beauty, wit, and wealth undoubtedly made her a sufficiently inimical influence against N., and at last she was banished by his orders.

## RÉCAMIER

Royalists and intellectuals at last saw that witty criticism of the new *régime* must cease, a lesson the former learned so well that soon their daughters were marrying into the newly created *noblesse*.

On her banishment from Paris Mme. Récamier lived at Lyons for a while; she then proceeded to Rome and later on to Naples, where she lived in close friendship with Murat and his wife, who were then plotting with the Bourbons against their own brother and benefactor. Constant, the former lover of Mme. de Staël, had become a great personal friend of Mme. Récamier, and at her instigation he pleaded the Murats' cause at the Congress of Vienna.

In 1805 her husband sustained heavy losses, and the Bank of France refused to assist him in his straits, doubtless as punishment for the political activities of his wife, who stayed with Mme. de Staël at Coppet for a considerable period. An ardent admirer now came into her life, the Prince Augustus of Russia, and her husband was willing that a divorce should take place in order that she might marry him, but the project was not carried through. In 1814 she retired to the Abbaye-aux-Bois, an old convent in Paris, and here her visitors were as numerous and famous as ever, though in later days her means were still further diminished. Neither ill-health, age, nor worry seemed to impair her beauty or power of attraction. Her somewhat cold temperament had served to protect her from scandal, but it also rendered her incapable of any serious attachment, though as far as possible Chateaubriand and one other may be said to have been the exceptions. She had counted many famous men among her admirers, Lucien Bonaparte, Montmorency, Prince Augustus of Russia, Ampère, and Constant, but none gained any influence over her to the extent Chateaubriand did, though she suffered intensely beneath his carping temper. Yet he was constantly beside her in the later years, and in a sense was the master of her house. The nearest approach to affection on her part, however, was for Prosper de Barante,

## REICHENBACH

whom she had met at Coppet. She lived to the age of seventy-two, and died at Paris 11 May 1849.

**Regnault, Michel Louis Étienne, de Saint Jean d'Angély (1761-1819).**—Elected to the Constituent Assembly, he sat in the Left Centre and voted as a moderate reformer. Several of his articles appeared in the *Journal de Paris*, a paper founded by André Chenier, and in the *Ami des Patriotes*, a journal which was subsidized by the Government. He was imprisoned during the Revolution, and on being released was appointed administrator of the army hospitals in Italy in 1796. While there he established a friendship with Bonaparte, who found in him "an excellent comrade, obliging almost to a fault." Regnault accompanied N. on his expedition to Egypt, but through sudden illness was forced to return to Malta. During the next seven years he was promoted step by step to the council of state, the Institute, secretary of state, and was finally created a count. He was at this time the close personal friend of N., who cherished great regard for him. Having accompanied the Empress Marie Louise to Blois in 1815, he was elected to the chamber of deputies, and during the Hundred Days resumed his office as secretary to N. He was afterwards proscribed, but made good his escape to the United States through the generosity of Fouché, who obtained passports for him. He soon returned, however, to Liège, and in 1819 received permission to settle at Paris, where unhappily he died the same evening as he arrived.

**Reichenbach, Treaties of.**—The failure of N.'s 1812 campaign resulted in the following year in treaties of alliance between Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The treaties between the three first-named countries were signed at Reichenbach on 14 and 15 June, each of the contracting parties engaging not to conclude a separate peace with France. On the 27th yet another treaty was signed at Reichenbach, this time between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Austria also bound herself not to make peace without the consent of the Allies, at the same time promising to provide

150,000 men for the impending war with France.

**Reichstadt, Duke of.**—See ROME, KING OF.

**Reille, Honoré Charles M. J. (1775-1860).**—Count, French marshal; fought in the Peninsular War and distinguished himself at Vittoria in 1813, where he was stationed on the Bilbao-Vittoria road. After severe fighting he was defeated and the French were forced to retire in disorder. At Waterloo two years later he commanded an infantry division between Valenciennes and Avesnes, and with Soult and Foy attacked the Allies' centre, but, as is well known, he once more suffered defeat at the hands of his old enemy, Wellington. He was included in the amnesty by Louis XVIII., was made a peer in 1819, a marshal of France in 1847, and five years later a senator.

**Religion.**—Various passages in N.'s memoirs and elsewhere justify one in concluding that if he professed any religious system at all it was a cold and politic Deism, which merely recommended itself to him because of the necessity for the state of some religious foundation. "The state," he said once, addressing certain priests in Italy, "cannot exist without religion, lacking which it is as a ship without ballast." There are signs that in early life N. was faithful to the religious influences of his boyhood. While living in Auxonne, he was prepared for confirmation at Brienne by a confessor, to whom when First Consul he wrote, "without religion there is no happiness, no future possible: I commend myself to your prayers." In Corsica, however, he was mobbed as the enemy of the church, and there can be little doubt that the free-thinking spirit of the Revolution caught hold upon him. He declares that all religions are the children of mankind; that Christianity is merely a bulwark to shield the rich from being massacred by the poor; and indeed he seems to have subscribed to the "advanced" paganism of his time. But when First Consul we find him making overtures to the Papacy. He clearly saw that if he were to advance himself to the imperial power, it would be necessary for him to placate Rome,

and he was well aware of the value of religious influence in propping up a throne. Shortly after his inauguration as First Consul, therefore, stories were put into circulation concerning his early piety—a piety which it was hinted was frequently fanned into flame by the sound of the village chimes at Malmaison. N. was also shrewd enough to observe that the French public as a whole, tired of the blasphemies of the Revolution, were returning to the papal fold. In this matter he swam with the tide. In July 1801 the treaty, known as the Concordat, was concluded, and the First Consul conceded that the Pope should be officially recognized by the state as head of the church. The appointments of archbishops and bishops made by the government were not to be valid until confirmed at Rome. In return the Pope was to end the conflict of state and church in France, arouse the republican spirit in French catholicism, accept a subsidy of fifty millions of francs as against the loss of the confiscated ecclesiastical estates, and to recognize the status of the clergy as civil officials in the pay of the state. This naturally cast down one of the strongest props of the Bourbon party, who had hoped much from Rome. The Pope and N. both recognized that unless strong and immediate measures were consolidated the free-thinking party would have plunged France into a condition of religious anarchy. The *bourgeoisie* of France was catholic in sentiments, but lived in fear of the jibes of the free-thinkers and philosophers, who abounded on all sides. N. threw his weight on the side of Rome, mainly because of the political advantages he saw in such an alliance.

Reverting to N.'s personal views upon religion, it is noteworthy that as a youth he cherished the dream of founding a new religion like another Mahomet, which he intended to use to overthrow Europe. He said: "I created a religion. I saw myself on the road to Asia, mounted on an elephant, with a turban on my head, and in my hand a new Koran, which I composed to suit myself." Paris was to be the Mecca of this faith. But these dreams speedily vanished. "I

come too late; there is no longer anything great to accomplish. I admit that my career is brilliant, and that I have made my way successfully. But what a difference from the conquerors of antiquity! Take Alexander! After having conquered Asia, and proclaimed himself to the people as the son of Jupiter, with the exception of Olympias, who knew what all this meant, and Aristotle, and a few Athenian pedants, the entire Orient believed him. Very well; should I now declare that I was the son of God Almighty, and proclaim that I am going to worship Him under this title, there is not an old beldame that would not hoot at me as I walked along the streets. People nowadays know too much. Nothing is left to do."

Méneval notes his crossing himself involuntarily on the occasion of some great danger, or the discovery of some important fact. Indeed he was a man in whom superstition wrestled strongly with a desire to regard religion from an ultra-modern and somewhat self-centred view-point.

**Rémusat, Augustine Laurent de (1762-1823).**—Belonged to a good family of Toulouse, and prior to 1789 was *avocat-général* at the *Cour des Comptes*, also to the *aides* of Provence. When the sovereign courts were swept away he was sent as delegate to Paris by the *Cour des Comptes* to watch over their interests. He remained in the capital throughout the troublous times of the Revolution, and, being unknown, was safer there than in Aix, where doubtless he would have fallen a victim. In 1796 he married Claire de Vergennes, the Mme. de Rémusat (*q.v.*) of the well-known *Memoirs* and *Correspondence*.

The Rémusats were reduced by events to poverty and obscurity, but by an appeal to Josephine, Augustine de Rémusat gained place and favour with N. In 1802 he became prefect, and his wife lady of the palace. Later he was appointed chamberlain and superintendent of plays. Both he and his wife being close friends of the intriguing and faithless Talleyrand, it was but natural that Rémusat should also be suspected by N., who, however, with his usual kindness of heart,

never caused the culprits to suffer as undoubtedly they deserved. Under the Restoration, Rémusat, for "loyal" services, was made prefect, first of Haute Garonne and then of Nord. Of his two children the elder was the well-known Charles de Rémusat, but the second, Albert, was afflicted with rickets and was an imbecile.

**Rémusat, Claire Elisabeth Jeanne Gravier, Madame de (1780-1821).**—Was born on 6 June 1780. Her grandfather was the Marquis de Vergennes, Swedish ambassador, and her father, who had been intendant, was master of requests at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution, also *chef de bataillon* of the national guard and member of the Commune in 1789. Though not enthusiasts in the revolutionary cause, the family were by no means enemies to the movement. Both father and grandfather, however, died on the scaffold a few days before 9 Thermidor. Mme. de Rémusat, still a girl, was taken, together with her sister, to a retired country estate by her mother, and there survived the troubled period of the Revolution. In 1796, at the age of sixteen, she married Augustine Laurent de Rémusat (*q.v.*). Two children were born of this marriage, the distinguished Charles François Marie de Rémusat in 1797, and Albert Dominique de Rémusat in 1801, an imbecile.

In 1802 M. de Rémusat was appointed prefect, and Mme. de Rémusat *dame du palais* through the influence of the Empress Josephine. N., hearing through his wife of the Rémusats' straitened circumstances, immediately extended his favour to both husband and wife, and continued to do so until the end of his reign. The record of their services and characters is sufficiently sycophantic, for though reaping immense benefits from N.'s favour, neither scrupled to plot for and welcome the Bourbons. After the divorce Mme. de Rémusat accompanied the Empress Josephine in her retirement. Under the Restoration M. de Rémusat received reward for his acquiescence, and both husband and wife transferred their easy loyalty to the Bourbons.

At court Mme. de Rémusat counted Talleyrand among her admirers, and was looked upon as a woman of uncommon cultivation and intellect. After her death her *Essai sur l'Éducation des femmes* was published, and was honoured by the academic *couronne*. In 1879-80 her grandson, Paul de Rémusat, edited and published her *Mémoires* (3 vols.).

*Memoirs.*—The *Memoirs* of Mme. de Rémusat, a lady of royalist descent, cover the period from 1802 to 1808. She and her husband saw much of N.'s court during that time, and as a keen observer of men and manners she has bequeathed her testimony concerning it. Her husband was made prefect and she lady of the palace, and in these capacities he was of use to the First Consul and his wife in assisting to arrange the etiquette of the new court. The gradual evolution of the consular into the imperial court was quickly noted by Mme. de Rémusat. She says: "Although Bonaparte would have been angry if anyone had seemed to doubt the sincerity of his utterances, which were at this period entirely republican, he introduced some novelty into his manner of life every day which tended to give the place of his abode more and more resemblance to the palace of a sovereign. He liked display, provided it did not interfere with his own particular habits, therefore he laid the way to ceremonial among those who surrounded him. He believed also that the French are attracted by the glitter of external pomp." According to these *Memoirs*, N. was by no means kind to Josephine. "He became harsh, violent and pitiless to his wife," she writes; "but at times he would lavish caresses upon her." Josephine's jealousy, it appears, affected her temper considerably, and Mme. de Rémusat, as *confidante* to the wife of the First Consul, had to listen to a great deal that she did not particularly desire to hear. N. frequently required Mme. de Rémusat to remain to dinner to smooth over matters between Josephine and himself. With 1803 came a return to the customs of the monarchy, and rumours of war with Great Britain. The *Memoirs* regarding this period

strike a note similar to those of Thibaudcau (*q.v.*), only, of course, the more masculine interest in politics is replaced by a feminine interest in persons. The journey of the First Consul to Belgium and his opinions on many subjects are to be found in the second and third chapters, and the preparations for an invasion of England are described. Mme. de Rémusat at this period had a great many long interviews with N., and this aroused suspicion regarding their relations. N.'s interest in her was, at least to begin with, purely an intellectual one, as, like few women of that time, she was able to converse on political and allied subjects. Josephine began to display a certain amount of coolness to her, but on Mme. de Rémusat protesting took her once more into her confidence. The Bonaparte family, ever ready to disseminate scandal, had spread injurious reports, and Josephine apprised Mme. de Rémusat of these.

The winter of 1804 was remarkable for the balls and fêtes held at court and at Paris. This was also the time of the conspiracy of Cadoudal, an incident which is related in glowing colours. The death of the Duc d'Enghien is also reported, as are the remarkable words of N. upon learning of the tragedy. The Duc d'Enghien, said N., was a conspirator like any other, and he had to be treated as such. The Bourbons were fated to be perpetually deluded. "If all these fools were to kill me," he continued, "they would not get their own way. They would only put angry Jacobins in my place. . . . A kingdom is not got back by dating a letter from London and signing it 'Louis.' . . . I have shed blood; it was necessary to do so. I may have to shed more, but not out of anger—simply because blood-letting is one of the remedies in political medicine. I am the man of the state. I am the French Revolution. I say it and I will uphold it."

The accession of N. to the imperial throne is briefly dealt with, and the fêtes and ceremonies in connexion with the coronation are described with much vivacity. This ends the first book.

The second book begins with the opening of the session of the Senate

and the journey of N. to Italy. The war with Austria, the battle of Austerlitz, and the state of Paris during that campaign are the next subjects which occupy the memoirist, who throughout pays a good deal of attention to the various personalities, great and small, with whom she came into contact. Thus Talleyrand, Cardinal Maury, Fouché, and Eugène de Beauharnais, amongst others, figure much in these pages. The monotony of the court at this time is complained of, but there is much insight into the real state of affairs, and the fictitious tranquillity of France at this period is expressly noted. Later the Emperor seems to have taken a species of dislike to M. de Rémusat, for on several occasions he said to others: "I am very sorry, but Rémusat will not get on. He is not devoted to me as I understand devotion." Mme. de Rémusat had struck up a great friendship with Talleyrand. He was, she says, hard to please and of a sarcastic disposition. "His manners, although highly polished, seem to place the person whom he is addressing in a relatively inferior position." She speaks about him as having been spoiled. Mme. de Rémusat was afraid to ask him questions in case they excited his sarcasm. She tells us how her efforts to express herself wittily before him used to cause large drops of perspiration to stand upon her forehead. She gives a most striking picture of Talleyrand's *salon*, where all sorts and conditions of men of importance were to be met.

The next point of importance in these *Memoirs* is the divorce of Josephine, or, rather, the projects for that divorce, which commenced about 1807. The war with Spain and the departure of the Emperor for that country practically conclude the work, which is one of great merit, both historically and biographically.

**Renaudin, Madame de, née Tascher.**—Was an aunt of Josephine, sister of her father. She was the mistress, afterwards the third wife, of the Marquis de Beauharnais, who had made her acquaintance when holding the office of *Gouverneur des Îles du Vent de l'Amérique*. It was Mme.

Renaudin who arranged the marriage of Josephine to the young Vicomte de Beauharnais, the second son of the marquis, her lover, whom she married the same year (1796) that her widowed niece married N.

**Rhine Confederation, The.**—Was a confederation of Germanic states planned by Talleyrand and ratified at St. Cloud in July 1806. N. had long meditated this movement. His design was to dissolve the ancient Holy Roman Empire, sweep the whole territory adjacent to the Rhine clear of petty states, and establish only such principalities as he thought proper in view of Gallic exigencies. This confederation omitted Austria and Prussia and subsequently all princes who had leanings towards these two powers. A diet of the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg was formed, which also included the Dukes of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Berg, and this body carried out the reforms of the treaty. The confederation made an alliance between the French Empire and the Franco-German Empire, binding each to help the other in any continental war. Metternich took the initiative in negotiating with the princes of the Rhine, and successfully carried out N.'s views, and N. was declared protector of the confederation. The campaign that followed did much to redress the wrongs that the Germans had suffered at the hands of the French. Austria threw in her lot with her ally, and a successful invasion of France took place. As a return to the princes of the Rhine, Metternich gave them back the supremacy of their sovereignty. Thus the danger of these weaker states falling into the hands of Austria was averted, and in March 1814 it was agreed that Germany should consist of a confederation of sovereign states. Later, delegates of the several states formed a federal diet to carry out the fundamental laws of the confederation. It also regulated trading with other states, and military and other internal and external organizations. N. also gained control over their commercial codes and did his best to ruin England by excluding her goods from the continent. He gained such influence over



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the country that 150,000 men were ready to turn out at his command. Subsequently, in the Russian campaign, nearly 147,000 of these followed the new Charlemagne. When Metternich drew up the conditions upon the basis of Austria's "armed mediation," the dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine appears as the fifth condition. The grand army was maintained in Germany; reinforcements had now increased it to a body of 170,000 men, and N. was thus able to subdue any rebel risings and see his new reforms in working order.

**Richepanse, Antoine (1770-1802).**—French general; was born at Metz, entered the cavalry when quite young, and embraced with enthusiasm the principles of the Revolution. He was general of brigade at Altenkirchen, and served under Hoche. In Italy he was present at Novi, and was promoted general of division. While acting under Moreau at Engen in 1800 his division successfully resisted the attack of 40,000 Austrian troops, and he led the advance on Vienna. In 1802 N. sent him to suppress the negro revolt in Guadeloupe, and this task was almost completed when Richepanse succumbed to yellow fever. His widow received the title of countess. Richepanse's reputation for daring and skill stood very high.

**Ried, Treaty of.**—This treaty was concluded between Austria and Bavaria on 8 Oct. 1813. By its terms Austria guaranteed that if Germany were liberated Bavaria would be erected into an independent kingdom, while Bavaria agreed to restore to Austria the cessions she had obtained from the latter country.

**Rio Seco, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—This battle, which ended in the utter rout of the Spaniards, was fought on 14 July 1808. The opposing forces were about 15,000 French, under Bessières, and 26,000 Spaniards under Cuesta. The latter fought courageously, but owing to the faulty dispositions of their commander met with heavy losses, leaving 3,000 men and 18 guns upon the field, besides 2,000 prisoners, in the hands of the enemy. The French losses vary according to

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different authorities, but were probably less serious.

**Rivoli, Battle of.**—The Battle of Rivoli was fought on 14 Jan. 1797. The French (10,000) under Joubert held a strong natural position on the heights of Rivoli, which was attacked by Austrian forces (nearly 40,000 strong) under Alvinzi, who attempted to surround Joubert. The regiments on the French left had been broken and put to flight, when N., with a strong force, arrived and restored the battle in that quarter. Meantime Joubert's right had given ground and his centre was attacked in front and rear at the same time. N. seeing the danger of the situation proposed a suspension of arms, to which Alvinzi foolishly agreed. This gave N. time to make fresh dispositions, and a splendid victory to the French was the result.

**Roche foucauld, Mme. de la.**—Third or fourth cousin of Josephine by her first marriage, and appointed chief lady of honour. She was an ardent Royalist, and used her position for plotting, being an inveterate enemy and hater of N., though accepting his bounty. N., who knew this, found it difficult to dismiss her because of her relationship and because she had been useful at the Tuileries in establishing the court.

**Rolica, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—On 17 Aug. 1808, in a strong position near Rolica, General Delaborde, with a division of 5,000 French, awaited a British and Portuguese force of 9,000 under Wellesley. As the Allies advanced, Delaborde, aware of the risk he ran of being outflanked on either side, immediately occupied another position, even stronger than the former one, in the passes behind. After heavy fighting this, however, was carried by Wellesley, and the French retreated, though in good order, with a loss of about six hundred men and three pieces of cannon. The British lost about five hundred killed and wounded.

**Romainville and Belleville.**—Heights near Paris where Joseph Bonaparte, Mortier, and Marmont were defeated by the Allies 30 March 1814, the day on which Paris capitulated.

**Rome, King of (Napoleon Francis Joseph Charles, Duke of Reichstadt) (1811-32).** — Also known as Napoleon II., was the son of the Emperor Napoleon and Marie Louise, Archduchess of Austria. He was born at the Tuileries palace, and was created King of Rome, as the heirs of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had been so styled. His advent had been awaited with great impatience by both his father and the nation, and was made the cause of a national rejoicing. Within three years of his birth the Napoleonic dynasty, which had seemed to be doubly secure by the appearance of an heir, crumbled away. During the time in question the Emperor was in Russia, and latterly engaged in almost constant warfare, and so had but little time to give to his infant son. At the time of the downfall of the Empire the child and his mother were at Blois, and only with difficulty did they escape being held as hostages by Joseph and Jerome Bonaparte. N. abdicated in favour of his son, whose title was not recognized, and who was removed with his mother to Vienna. Despite efforts on the part of the Bonapartists to carry off the little prince and restore him to his father during the Hundred Days, he remained in Austria, and after Waterloo he was granted the title of Prince of Parma with hereditary rights for his descendants, but the powers would not permit his participation in the affairs of that state to which his mother betook herself. As a compensation he was awarded the title of Duke of Reichstadt by the Austrian Emperor, and estates conferred upon him.

As a boy the Prince was placed under the tutelage of Count Dietrichstein, who found him not a little precocious and extremely attached to military affairs. There was, it is said, a true warlike strain in his character. Everything French was removed from his surroundings, but, that notwithstanding, the boy was wont to ask questions of a most embarrassing kind concerning his mighty father. On one occasion it appears that a work dealing with N.'s career fell into his hands whilst he was yet quite a child, and

that he plied one of his tutors, Foresti, with questions regarding his illustrious parent, asking him whether he was "a great criminal" as he seemed to have wasted so much human life. "It is not for us to judge him," replied the astute yet kindly tutor. "Continue to love him and think well of him."

The Duke's instructors noted in him a strong indifference to all matters pertaining to religion, an aversion to regular studies and great quickness of repartee. On learning of the death of his father, whom he could not have remembered, he shed many tears, as Collin and others relate.

As the Duke grew older he evinced a strong desire to make a study of his father's deeds and exploits, a dislike for mathematics (in which his father so greatly excelled), a high sense of honour, and a lively force of imagination. What were the Duke's own views regarding his position? There is little doubt that he was privately preparing himself to take up his position as Emperor of the French. And on the occasion of the expulsion of Charles X. he repeatedly referred to it in the Imperial family circle, as if to sound the views of those who composed it with regard to himself. It was, indeed, always his wish to be considered as a French prince. But he said: "I cannot be an adventurer to lend myself to the tricks of a party. My way must be clear in France ere I set foot there." In Oct. 1830 the French people showed a great desire for his recall, but Metternich could be trusted not to permit the news to reach the Duke's ears.

The Duke's military education and advancement made rapid strides, but his health, never robust, began to cause his immediate circle serious anxiety. He indulged in exercise far beyond his powers, and this brought about catarrh and fever, and aggravated a natural weakness of the chest. Despite the utmost care and devotion he passed away at the Castle of Schönbrunn on 22 July 1832.

Great difficulty must attach to any attempt suitably to estimate the character of the Duke of Reichstadt. His early death precludes the idea that

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his character was finally formed; yet it may be permitted us to foreshadow the type of man that the young Napoleon might have become had he survived to years of maturity. All observers are agreed that although he possessed some of the physical and mental characteristics of his mother he had inherited many of those which distinguished his illustrious father. Thus his glance, his firm mouth and chin, and his voice are said to have been N.'s. His spirit was fiery and ambitious, and he is described by a competent observer as "hot-headed, vehement, possessed by a quenchless thirst for action, and an extraordinary ambition." These were not the obsessions of the dullard Flabsburgs. Added to this there was a deep vein of originality in his nature. He was not content to be the same as others, to be patterned after the shallow and soulless creatures who surrounded him. "He never lost a chance of making a show of independence," says one of his biographers—a great tribute to one who brought up in a circle inimical to his dynasty and surrounded by near relations who hated it, was still sufficiently master of himself to love and worship an ideal rather than bend to the dictates of those who had resolved that he should never see the throne of France. But he is withal not a grand but a pitiful figure, this poor lad, who, like Shelley's Prince Athanase.

"Had grown quite weak and grey  
before his time,

Nor any could the restless griefs  
unravel,

Which burned within him, withering  
up his prime."

So he flits across the page of history, a shadow, a ghost in the line of dynasty, whose pitiful story must excite compassion in all generous hearts if it failed to move those marble ones to whom he had the greatest right to look for sympathy.

### **Roncesvalles (Peninsular War).—**

One of the battles of the Pyrenees (*q.v.*), which took place on 25 July 1813. Marshal Soult, with about 30,000 French, fell upon General Byng's division, which occupied the

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pass of Roncesvalles, and the latter was forced to retreat.

**Rousseau, Theodore.**—Odd man at Longwood. He was deported in Oct. 1816, and retired to the United States, where he took service with Joseph.

**Roveredo, Battle of (Italian Campaign 1796).**—An Austrian division, under Davidowich, 20,000 strong, lay at Roveredo, in the Austrian Tyrol—its object being to check the French advance. On 4 Sept. 1796, however, N. fell upon and completely defeated Davidowich, driving the Austrians into the higher ground behind, with heavy losses.

**Royalists.**—See CHOUANS and EMPIRE.

**Russia.**—During the reign of Alexander I. Russia inaugurated a new foreign policy. In the past her energies had been concentrated on extending her possessions in eastern Europe and Asia and in entering upon any foreign alliances she sought only to hasten this end; but gradually with her increase of wealth and power she began to look upon herself as a European nation of the first importance whose word should have weight in European affairs. This propensity was evinced by Catherine when she sought to prevent the naval supremacy of England by creating the League of Neutrals, and by Paul, her son, when he instituted his peace negotiations with N. Alexander advanced this claim still more emphatically, and in the Convention he concluded with the First Consul in Oct. 1801 it was arranged that an equal balance between Austria and Prussia should be preserved and accepted as an unalterable principle in the designs of both parties; that the integrity of the kingdom formed by the two Sicilies should be respected; that the Duke of Württemberg should receive in Germany proportionate compensation for his losses; that the dominions of Bavaria should be preserved intact, and that rights and liberties of the Ionian Islands should not be transgressed. Having secured these concessions the Tsar felt confident he must be consulted, and that his opinion would hold weight; in fact, he entertained the hope that the affairs of

Europe might be conducted and arranged by himself and his new ally. The realization, however, that the designs and policy of France and Russia were utterly at variance soon shattered this illusion, and began the ever-widening breach between the two countries. Before the end of 1803 the behaviour of N. in Italy and Germany made it very clear to Alexander that he must resist him in order to prevent the absolute subjection of Europe. In 1804 war became inevitable, and in the following year was begun. After the Russian defeat at the battles of Austerlitz (1805) and Friedland (1807), Alexander and N. met, and agreed upon a peace. Regardless of other states they proposed and agreed to divide the world between them, but no great success attended this arrangement, for N., incapable of countenancing an equal, had entered it with the intention of using his confederate as a tool to further his own plans. Russia soon suspected this, and her suspicions were justified by N.'s attempted domination of the continent. In 1812, with the advance of the *grande armée* on Moscow, the inevitable and conclusive struggle began, and during the three years it continued Russia was largely responsible for the Allies standing firm and for the final defeat of N.

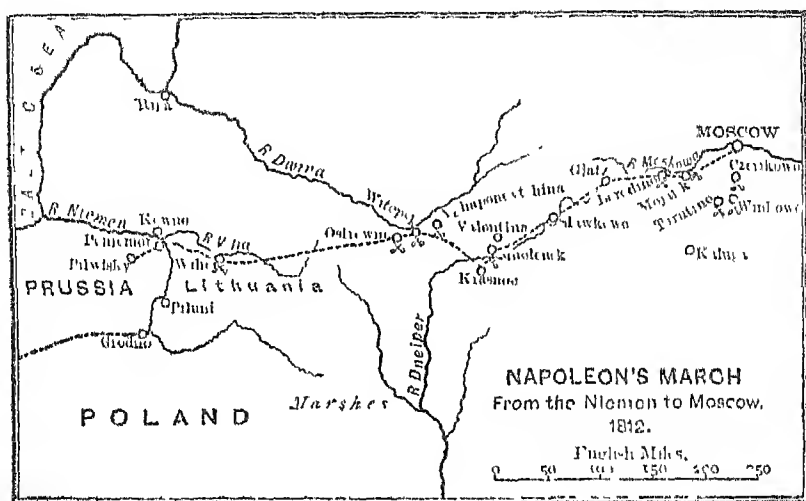
**Russian Campaign (1812).** — Through the slaughter of men at Aspern and Wagram, war had become unpopular with the French people, so N. resolved to make his allies bear the brunt of the campaign on which he was about to embark, not only in finding money, but men as well. Thus, of the host of 360,000 which composed his army, nearly two-thirds were Germans, Austrians, Italians, or Poles. These troops were, of course, without the impetus or inspiration of patriotism, and in this they contrasted badly with the Russians, who, upon the invasion of Muscovite territory, were determined to offer a desperate resistance.

The Napoleonic army was gathered along the line of the river Niemen by the middle of June. Its right was composed of 34,000 Austrians: three corps were centred around Warsaw,

under the command of Jerome. On the left at Tilsit were the Prussians and other German corps, 40,000 strong; while N., himself, occupied the centre with 220,000 men. The supply service had been carefully prepared, and 100,000 men had been assembled to act as reinforcements. On 24 June the French Army crossed the Niemen, suffering greatly from the heat. The centre, with the Emperor, moved towards Vilna, covered by Murat and the cavalry, whilst Jerome advanced against Prince Bagration; but the health of the troops was affected almost from the first: fatal cases of sunstroke were numerous, and there were many desertions. The horses, too, suffered greatly from the green crops which were supplied to them as forage. Jerome reached Grodno on 5 July, but he was irresolute, and despite the Emperor's explicit orders, lost much time. The Russians, under Barclay de Tolly, entrenched themselves at Drissa on the Dwina, whilst Bagration retired towards Mohilev. Davout superseded Jerome, and the advance was resumed. The object was to surround and overpower Barclay, leaving Davout to deal with Bagration. The French cavalry found itself unequal to the task of rounding up the Cossacks, who swarmed everywhere and harassed them constantly, but the Russians were forced to retire by sheer weight of numbers, and Barclay fell back on Vitebsk. Arrangements had been made for a conflict on a large scale; Murat's cavalry had been thrown well in front with an advanced guard of sufficient numbers to hold the enemy in conflict until the main body came up; but the Russians were in no mind to oblige the Emperor in this respect, or to be drawn into fighting a full-dress battle. They steadily withdrew whenever they got into touch with the French, whose troops were meanwhile breaking away in large numbers. After five weeks, during which he had only marched two hundred miles, N. had lost a third of his troops, which before the final setting out had numbered 420,000 men; moreover, the morale of his army was in bad case. The Russians had received no check, and their men

had steadily improved. Bagration and Barclay were about to effect a junction near Smolensk, and on learning this N. resumed his advance in the direction of that place. The Russians in turn advanced to meet him with 130,000 men, but their inefficient staff work saved them from the disaster they certainly would have incurred had they come up with the Napoleonic army; for they marched in two columns, which lost touch with one another, and as neither could engage the French singly, both retired upon Smolensk, where they reunited with the Dnieper between them and their

four days to concentrate the entire army and arrange it in battle array. All the men that N. could muster were 128,000 to the Russian 110,000. When the battle began at six in the morning of 5 Sept., the Emperor was suffering from an attack of illness such as hampered him at Waterloo. He directed operations until nearly noon, when he seems to have allowed the corps commanders to do pretty much as they liked. The battle was an indecisive one, although 38,000 Russians were killed and only 25,000 French. The Russians had been strongly entrenched, but their

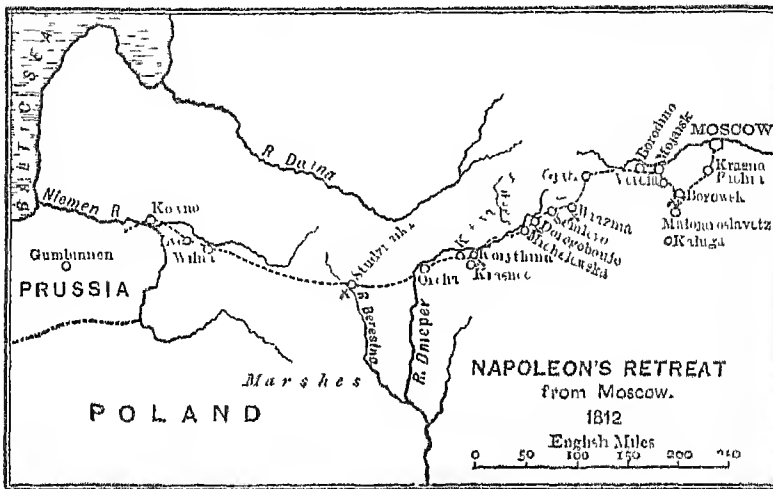


enemies. On the morning of 16 Aug. the town was attacked by Ney and Murat. A movement was made against the Russian left and rear; but ere it could be complete the Muscovites had retreated under cover of darkness. Their policy now was to wear down the French Army, and in this way they were succeeding beyond expectations when Kutusov was dispatched to assume the chief command. Indifferent to, or impatient of the hitherto successful tactics of his colleagues, he resolved to engage the French in a great battle, and with this object in view he drew his army up at Borodino, about seventy miles from Moscow. Murat and Ney quickly came up with him, but the French marching had been so poor that it took

first line of redoubts was carried and held by the French until the close of the day; but in the end the French had to retire, leaving the Russians in possession of the field. Later, Kutusov retreated, and Murat, with the exhausted cavalry, made an effort to follow. On the 14th the horsemen came up with the Russians while in the act of evacuating Moscow, and agreed with them to observe a seven hours' armistice to permit them to clear the town, which they were afraid might be set on fire. The main body, under N., began to enter Moscow as night was falling. N. passed the night in a private house, and next morning rode to the Kremlin; but fire had already broken out among the wooden houses, and the conflagration,

after raging two days, became so serious that the French had to betake themselves to the country once more. Kutusov was not far away, and was in communication with a fertile hinterland. Wittgenstein had collected 40,000 Russians, and was advancing against St. Cyr, who had relieved Macdonald, but who had only 17,000 men left to him. The peace with Turkey had relieved Tschitschagov's army, which was marching to effect a junction with Tormassov in the neighbourhood of Brest-Litewski, and their combined forces would number something over 100,000 men. To oppose

upon St. Petersburg. Murat received a severe mauling at Tarutino on 18 Oct., and regarding this as a challenge, the French Army moved out to meet the Russian under Dokhturoff at Malo-Jaroslavitz. No decisive fighting followed until Eugène arrived along with the guards and Davout's corps. Later the Russian main army also came up, and finally Kutusov made his appearance. The struggle lasted until 11 p.m., and eventually the French succeeded in driving off the Russians, but Kutusov had attained his end and had barred the road to Kaluga as he had intended.



these there was only Schwartzemberg, with about 30,000 troops.

The French Army by this time had become greatly dispersed; indeed, some of its forces were almost six hundred miles distant from one another. At Moscow there were about 100,000 men, 30,000 in the neighbourhood of Brest, 17,000 near Drissa, 30,000 at Smolensk. All of these were confronted, with the exception of the Moscow army, by greatly superior forces. Matters were looking decidedly gloomy, and on 4 Oct. N. dispatched Lauriston to the Russian headquarters with orders to treat for peace. In the meanwhile Murat was ordered to keep Kutusov employed—N. intending to join up with Victor and St. Cyr and advance

N. had thus either to force his way through the Russian ranks or to retreat through an exhausted and desert country. A retreat upon Smolensk via Mojaïsk was then decided upon, and Kutusov, either thinking that the French intended an offensive against Kaluga, or with the express object of luring the French Army to self-destruction, gave orders to retreat.

At daybreak on 26 Oct. 1812 the celebrated retreat from Moscow commenced. It has frequently been stated that the rigorous climatic conditions which they had to face were the chief reason for the disorganization of the French Army; but the more probable origin of the disaster was lack of discipline. No frost had been experi-

enced until late in October, and the weather, if cold, was dry and bracing. When the Beresina, a slow-running river, was reached on 26 Nov. it was not even frozen over, and the pioneers were able to work standing in the water all through the day. The truth is that the French Army was now composed of panic-stricken fugitives: its chiefs had entirely lost their heads, or were ignored by the rank and file. At the beginning of November bodies of Cossacks began to threaten the retreating French, so that the command was given to march in a hollow square in order that impending attacks might be the better beaten off. Kutusov was hanging on the flank of the army, hurling squadrons of Cossacks at it and picking up stragglers. The *grande armée* was by now a helpless wreck, scarcely 50,000 strong. Reaching Smolensk on 9 Nov., it halted there till the 14th. On resuming the march, the Emperor kept in front with the guard, while Ney brought up the rear. Once more the Russians barred the way near Krasnoi, where on the 16th they tried to head off the remains of the French Army. N. halted to let the ranks close up, and then attacked vigorously. He succeeded in clearing a way for himself, but Ney and the rear-guard seemed trapped. By a brilliant night march, however, they effected a breach through the Russian ranks at the cost of 5,200 men out of 6,000. From Orcha N. dispatched orders to Victor to join him at Borissov on the Beresina. A thaw had set in, and from marching on a frozen surface the French now found themselves floundering in mud. Hearing that Borissov was in the hands of the Russians, the Emperor gave orders to cross the Beresina at Viesselovo. Oudinot was sent thither to construct bridges for the passage of the army, and encountering the Russian advance-guard near Borissov, he drove them back. The Russians, confused, gave time for Victor to come up, while Oudinot constructed the necessary bridges at Studienka, which he found more suitable as a passage than Viesselovo; but the road to Studienka had been left open, and Wittgenstein was traversing it in pursuit as quickly as

man and horse could go. The passage of the Beresina was begun on the afternoon of 26 Nov., but the Russians were closing in. The crossing continued throughout the night. Ney, with magnificent self-sacrifice, held off the pursuing Muscovites until all had passed over, in which task he was assisted by Oudinot and Victor. By midday on the 28th the last effective Frenchman had crossed the Beresina, and only a few thousand stragglers remained beyond the river. Subsequent to this the retreat of the French Army became a headlong flight, and at Smorgoni the Emperor, who not only saw that he could do little for the disorganized rabble by which he was surrounded, but also had recently received news of the Malet Conspiracy (*q.v.*), handed over the command to Murat and left for Paris on 5 Dec. to assemble a fresh army for the following year. Travelling post-haste, he reached his capital on the 18th.

Rigorous climatic conditions now set in, and the sufferings of the troops were indescribable. Harassed by the constant attacks of the Cossacks, frost-bitten and starving, with only rags to keep out the intense cold of a Russian winter, the wretched Frenchmen died by hundreds. All baggage was abandoned and seized by the enemy. At Vilna the houses were filled with French sick and wounded and the courtyards with the dead. The Russian pursuit was incessant. Discipline vanished entirely, and Murat, who was dashing enough as a cavalry leader, was perhaps the last man to place in charge of a disastrous retreat. From time to time the semblance of a stand was made, but it was only momentary. The entire country overrun by the French had now been regained by the Russians, and their pursuit of their enemies ended only with the Niemen, which at that time formed the western boundary of the Russian empire. The *grande armée* was no more. Only about 1,000 men of the guards hung together; the remainder were ragged and unarmed, roaming the country in small bands. The wings under Schwartzenberg and Macdonald, the Poles, and a few others still showed some semblance of discipline,

but half a million men had perished or were prisoners, over 150,000 horses had been lost, and about 1,000 guns. A quarter of a million men had found graves in Russia, and the Russians estimated their own losses at about 200,000. Alexander resolved to proceed from defence to attack, and on 13 Jan. 1813 his main army crossed the Niemen.

The Russian campaign may be said to have been the first act in the drama of N.'s downfall. Neither the northern snows nor the absence of discipline in his army, but his own strategic blunder was the final cause of N.'s overthrow on the plains of Muscovy. He had planned to do in a year what required at least double that time. Many writers have considered the cardinal error of the whole campaign to have been that he continued his march past Smolensk to Moscow; but the supreme folly of attempting to reach the capital with only 100,000 troops in hand, after having transported by forced marches half a million of men into the very heart of Russia, was the true cause of his failure. N.'s strategy, like his policy, was beginning to degenerate; and, strange as it may seem, as his genius was on the wane his schemes and inspirations grew not only greater but more shadowy.

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**Saalfeld, Battle of (Jena Campaign).**—On 10 Oct. 1806, with a small force of Prussians, Prince Louis Ferdinand at Saalfeld endeavoured to protect Hohenlohe's flank march on Jena. The Prussians were, however, completely outnumbered by the French under Lannes, and suffered defeat, while their brave leader, already wounded, when called upon to surrender replied by a cut with his sabre, and was killed by his adversary. The Prussians lost 800 killed and wounded, thirty guns, and 1,200 prisoners.

**Sabugal, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—On 3 April 1811 the French Second Corps under Regnier met with defeat at Wellington's hands near Sabugal. Their killed and wounded

numbered over 1,000, while the British losses were only about 200. After this check the French Army was withdrawn into Spain.

**Sacile, Battle of.**—On 16 April 1809 48,000 Austrians under the Archduke John encountered a Franco-Italian army under Eugène Beauharnais. A severe defeat was inflicted on the latter, and Beauharnais had to retire. The losses of the French and Italians were 4,000 killed and wounded and as many prisoners, while the Austrians did not lose half that number.

**Sagunto, The Siege of (Peninsular War).**—After the fall of Tarragona, Suchet in Sept. 1811 laid siege to the rock-fortress of Sagunto. It was well defended by a Spanish garrison under General Andriani, who beat off two assaults. Blake endeavoured to relieve the city, but on 25 Oct. he was defeated by the French with a loss of 1,000 killed and wounded, besides 2,500 prisoners; and that night the garrison surrendered.

**St. Cyr, General.**—See GOUVION ST. CYR.

**St. Denis, Louis Etienne (1788-1856).**—Second valet at Longwood and *garde des livres*. He remained at Longwood throughout N.'s captivity, and returned in 1840 for the exhumation.

**St. Domingo Expedition, The (1801-03).**—As objects of envy in colonial enterprise or as a cause of war, the West Indian Islands as known at the present day do not seem to present any sufficient attraction. Yet though for long so impoverished and depressed, they represented in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the richest and most desirable colonies in the world, for the United States, scarce numbering five million souls, offered no alluring revenues, Australia was practically a *terra incognita*, and South Africa was still wrapped in mystery. But the West Indies were a mine of wealth; slaves, sugar, and coffee yielded princely returns, for as yet no sentiment or ideals had banned the trade in human flesh and the possibilities of beetroot and chicory were undiscovered. France, Spain, Great Britain—all three had snatched at



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these desirable possessions and fought each other fiercely in the process. At the period under consideration each of these powers held some portion of the islands for its own, France holding St. Domingo, the eastern portion of the island of Hayti. First held by the Spaniards, it had been seized by French buccaneers in 1630, while in 1677 the French Government had taken over the whole colony.

Before the Revolution the trade of this colony is said to have constituted the greater portion of the French overseas commerce, but the headlong reforms of the disciples of Rousseau not only shattered the prosperity of the place but entailed the death of the majority of the French colonists. The National Assembly had hastened to preach the gospel of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" to the West Indies, and on 15 April 1791 proclaimed the equality of whites and blacks. This the planters refused to recognize as binding; the negroes rose in revolt, and a massacre of the white population ensued. In the October of that year the remaining colonists sent a despairing appeal for help, describing the appalling condition of affairs in the island. This plea was supported by representations from the towns of Nantes, St. Malo, and other places which were dependent upon their colonial trade; but the Assembly refused to interfere, and further ratified the decree of equality. Soon the slaves had overrun the whole French portion of the island, Port de la Paix and one or two other settlements alone excepted. At this juncture Toussaint l'Ouverture (*q.v.*) came into prominence, and out of the gory chaos produced something approaching order, and the French Directory, recognizing his power and wishing to attach him to their interests, named him commander-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo, in which capacity he rendered material assistance in repulsing an English attempt on the island. The Revolution and its gospel of liberty had awakened in l'Ouverture the dream of complete emancipation of the slaves, with finally the island for their own kingdom. Therefore his friendship with the French was merely a tem-

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In the autumn the negro troops, though in the pay of the French since the surrender, followed out Toussaint's plan, deserting *en masse* (13 Sept. 1802). The menace was more deadly than before, for only 500 French soldiers were left to face between 10,000 and 12,000 insurgents animated by fear of slavery and deadly hatred of their would-be oppressors. Yet despite the fearful odds French

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pursued from court to court, had recourse to poison to rid himself at the last of his vindictive enemies, and but few of the heroes of the ancient world cared to live to recount their reverses even had they been permitted to do so. But if N.'s enemies were no less vindictive than those of Hannibal or Pompey, they were held in check from administering the *coup de grâce* upon their victim by a humanitarianism which had but little of chivalry in its composition. A truly generous, even an ordinarily humane view of the position of their illustrious prisoner would have prompted the Allied Powers to a method of control vastly different in character from that which was finally agreed upon. Life indeed was to be granted their splendid enemy. But such a life, such an existence, as was to be aggravated by every circumstance of petty insult and grievous slight as hirelings of the most witless and factless character could devise and perform. It is a wretched excuse to plead on behalf of the Powers that they did not desire such treatment to be meted out to the Emperor. They could not have been ignorant of the inferior personalities, of the miserable and circumscribed characters of those to whom they committed his charge. It is vain, it is futile, to state that such men as they surrounded him with were not selected as the instruments of a disgrace which was in some measure intended to slake the miserable thirst for revenge which animated the monarchs and statesmen who employed these wretched tools for its accomplishment.

Men are but human in their hates as in their affections. But it might have been hoped that a council composed of all that was held as being noble and enlightened in Europe would have mitigated the fate of the great prisoner in such a manner as to have spared him the daily indignities of a Lowe or a Cockburn. But, it may be asked, were those who sat at that board as liberal in sentiment and generosity as they were noble in birth? As it chanced the thrones of the Europe of that day were occupied by men to whom the title of "mediocrity" could only be applied as a compliment.

In Austria stupidity was balanced by a calculated cunning; in France royalty had become a synonym for imbecility; while in Britain the dregs of a dullard race were disgracing the purple with the lowest profligacy and licence. Such were the men who conceived themselves the just judges of N.—the descendants of brigand barons, the dull-witted scions of Austrian aristocracy, the elderly roués of Orleans and the cock-fighting, hard-living gamblers of St. James's.

But the most intense admiration and partiality cannot deny that if justice was travestied and outraged by the severity of these men that a considerable degree of caution was required to insure the future peace of Europe. It may be urged that perfect human enlightenment would have dictated the incarceration of his enemies and would have left the conduct of European affairs entirely to the genius of the man who had shown himself better fitted than any since the dawn of time to lead the destinies of the human race. But perfect wisdom is rare in the counsels of men, and humanity had not in the days of N. attained to that degree of sagacity which would have welcomed the leadership vouchsafed by his supreme might and natural genius. The conflicting interests of nationality have only too frequently been the ruin of the truer advantages of humanity in general. Providence ensures an unfailling supply of genius to the race. But through the blindness and jealousy of the debased and ignorant the boon of sufficient leadership is only too often forfeited or transmuted to a curse. The desire for personal exaltation may be with truth attributed to N.; but it did not blind him to the fact that the days in which he lived were full of evil for those who dwelt under the shadow of tyrannies, compared to which his rule was as the day is to the night. Let the just man ask himself whether he would have preferred to live under the corrupt and cramping rule of a Habsburg, the material, coarse, and unenlightened sway of a George IV., the lewd vulgarity of an Orleans, or the liberal and illuminating despotism of the mighty Corsican.



necessary to reduce into a system our demeanour, our words, our sentiments, even our privations, in order that we might thereby excite a lively interest in a large portion of the population of Europe, and that the Opposition in England might not fail to attack the ministry on the violence of their conduct towards us." Thus the "politique de Longwood" aimed at the discrediting of Lowe. What other arms were left the Emperor to fight with? Lowe, discredited by the Opposition at Westminster, might fall into disgrace and N. be released.

The British Government sought to limit the annual cost of the Longwood establishment to £8,000, but Lowe took it upon himself to increase it to £12,000. N. hearing of the need for economy, dismissed seven servants and pledged some silver-plate for £250, saying, "What is the use of plate when you have nothing to eat off it?" O'Meara says that N.'s object in pledging the plate was "a wish to excite odium against the Governor by saying that he has been obliged to sell his plate in order to provide against starvation, as he himself told me was his object."

In Oct. 1816 more stringent regulations for the custody of the Emperor arrived from England. His sphere of exercise was limited from 12 to 8 miles and a ring of sentries was posted near Longwood at sunset instead of 9 p.m. Schemes of rescue were certainly afloat at this time. Attempts were probably made from America, but concerning these nothing definite can be ascertained at this length of time. It was probably these attempts which gave rise to the new and more severe regulations regarding N.'s sphere of exercise.

But it was not exercise that the Emperor desired. He longed for that political excitement, or, rather, that exercise of government which was as the breath of his nostrils. "Je suis tout à fait un être politique," he had once said to Gallois. Deprived of statesmanship he was deprived of life. Take away his canvas from the artist, his pen from the author, his chisel from the sculptor, and what does he become—a creature of nought. So was

it with Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena. There are few pictures more pitiable than that of the demigod, the Prometheus who had brought the fire of freedom from heaven, chained helpless to the rock.

N.'s one occupation was the dictation of his *memoirs*. He tried to learn English from Las Cases, but without avail. That faithful servant was arrested on a charge of attempting to convey letters to Europe and forced to leave the island, so that the dictation of the *memoirs* was taken down by Gourgaud and Montholon. Gourgaud was the next to leave. Passionately jealous of the Montholons, he had many a sleepless night over small attentions shown them. At length he challenged Montholon to a duel. N. forbade the absurdity, and "Gogo" craved permission to leave the island—permission which was granted. O'Meara too attempted to facilitate the passage of N.'s correspondence, and had to go. N. himself admitted that he bribed him. His successor, Dr. Stokoe, likewise fell, but the next in office, Dr. Verling, refused N.'s advances and resigned.

During the first part of his captivity N.'s health was comparatively good. Even so late as 1819-20 he engaged much in riding, gardening, and other amusements, moving about under a broad-brimmed Panama hat, with spade in hand, superintending the little alterations executed from time to time on his domain. At times he would interrupt the work of his subordinates to demonstrate to them various points in military tactics. Indoors he would play billiards and chess, and he took a delight in reading aloud, especially the plays of Voltaire. If any of his audience betrayed symptoms of somnolence he would instantly charge them with the breach of courtesy, but it is difficult to imagine how any but the dullest intellect could have slumbered whilst he declaimed prose or poetry, enlivening and animating the whole as he did with passages of spontaneous and incisive criticism.

The Emperor took a deep interest in those who made up his immediate circle. On the arrival of Antommarchi, that learned anatomist with-

stood an examination on chemistry so badly as to be almost driven from the presence.

N. was himself only too conscious that the disease to which his father succumbed had now seized him in its fatal grasp. His medical advisers do not appear in the least to have comprehended the nature of his malady, which is fully described in the article *AUTOPSY*. For further details of N.'s residence in St. Helena, see *MONTHOLON*, *ANTOMMARCHI*, *O'MEARA*, *BALCOMBE*, *LOWE*, *COCKBURN*, and other articles.

**Salamanca, Battle of (Peninsular War 1812).**—About 19 July 1812 Marmont with his army (42,000 men and 70 guns) made an attempt to prevent the Allies (46,000 British and Spanish, with 60 guns) under Wellington from retreating into Portugal. The morning of the 22nd found the two armies facing each other, though the famous battle did not begin until two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Allies vigorously attacked the French left, which was some distance from their centre. It was during the defeat of this wing by the British that Marmont, who was hastening in person to remedy the situation, was severely wounded, and the command fell to Bonnet, but, as he also was wounded soon afterwards, Clausel took the command. In the centre the British were at first repulsed, but Wellington and Beresford restored the battle and the French were driven from the ground they had gained. Clausel now made a splendid effort to prevent defeat by massing his centre and left for a final stand against the advancing victors. But it was in vain, and just as night spread her dark pall over the combatants the Allies had gained a glorious victory, and had inflicted a serious blow to the French nation. The French loss is not known, but it must have been very considerable, for the British alone lost over 3,000 men, the total loss of the Allies being over 5,000 in killed and wounded, while they took over 7,000 prisoners.

**Saliceti, Antoine Christophe (1757-1809).**—Corsican deputy and revolutionist; was born at Salicato, in Corsica, on 26 Aug. 1757 of a Piacenza

family. He studied law at Pisa, and became an *avocat* in the upper council of Bastia. Next to Paoli (*q.v.*) Saliceti was the most popular man in Corsica, and between the two there was at first a great friendship. By Paoli's influence Saliceti was returned as procureur-syndic, but the latter's conduct in this position was of too arbitrary a character and an estrangement ensued. Again, Saliceti advocated and supported the union of Corsica with France as against the English sympathies of the Paolists. In 1789 Saliceti was elected deputy of the Third Estate to the French States-General. As deputy to the Convention he was the only Corsican who voted for the death of the King. So complete was the rupture with Paoli that in the Convention Saliceti laid the blame of Corsican intrigue and maladministration on his former leader's shoulders, and he was sent to Corsica to repress the counter-revolutionary movement, but the success of the party compelled his withdrawal to France, where he helped to quell the revolts at Marseilles and Toulon. At the latter place it was Saliceti who as commissioner was of such assistance to the young Bonaparte by giving him the necessary permission and encouragement to develop his plans at the turning-point of his career. At the revolution of 9 Thermidor, Saliceti as a friend of Robespierre was, of course, denounced, and was only saved from the guillotine by the amnesty of the year IV. He subsequently organized the Army of Italy, was a deputy to the council of Five Hundred, was administrator of the two departments into which Corsica had been divided, and held various other offices under the Consulate and Empire. In 1806 he became Minister for War and Police at Naples under Joseph Bonaparte, a position which he continued to hold under Murat. Though he possessed undoubted ability, yet in public affairs he was unscrupulous, money-loving and unsympathetic. N. held him in great estimation, and on his premature death in 1809—by poison, it is alleged—he wrote to Murat: "You do not know what you have lost and of what assistance this man might have been



in a difficult time. He was one of those who always succeed." Despite this a strange story is connected with the friendship of these two Corsicans, N. and Saliceti. The latter actually relates that once when he was walking with N. on a narrow ledge of the Genoese Riviera, a sudden idea possessed him to hurl the future Emperor into the sea. His own words are: "We were alone, and ten times did the idea occur to me to throw him into the sea: one blow and the world was changed." It is a peculiar fact that though N. employed Saliceti, he would never permit him to be near his person.

**Sanhedrin, The (1807).**—The Jewish Council convoked by N. on 9 Feb. 1807. His attention having been drawn to the exorbitant rate of interest, 75 per cent., charged by the Jews in Alsace, also to their evasion of conscription, he addressed himself to the adjustment of the matter with characteristic energy. On 30 May 1806 he suspended for a year all contracts and agreements entered into between agriculturists and Jews in the eastern districts. He next entered into negotiations with the leading Israelites, and a council of representative members was called. This proved a popular and useful measure, for during the invasion of Poland the Jews rendered great assistance to N. and his army. The proclamation and invitation was written in Hebrew, French, Italian, and German. The assembly met in a chamber of the Hôtel de Ville at Paris on 9 Feb. 1807, their president being David Sinzheim, the Rabbi of Strassburg. The basis of their deliberations was supplied by questions relating to marriage, and to the financial and national laws governing Jews propounded by the Emperor through the Comte de Molé. Nine decrees were the answers of the council to these interrogatories:

(1) Polygamy is forbidden to the Israelites.

(2) Divorce by the Jewish law is only valid after the previous decision of the civil authorities.

(3) The religious act of marriage must be preceded by a civil contract.

(4) Marriages contracted between Israelites and Christians are binding, although they cannot be celebrated with religious rites.

(5) Every Israelite is religiously bound to consider his non-Jewish fellow-citizens as brothers and to aid, protect, and love them as though they were co-religionists.

(6) The Israelite is required to consider the land of his birth or adoption as his fatherland, and shall love and defend it when called upon.

(7) Judaism does not forbid any kind of handicraft or occupation.

(8) It is commendable for Israelites to engage in agriculture, manual labour, and the arts as their ancestors did in Palestine.

(9) Finally Israelites are forbidden to exact usury from Jew or Christian.

Formal assent to these decrees was not obtained by the council from the Jewish bodies, except those of Frankfurt and Holland, neither were the decrees binding on rank and file; but they were widely adopted by the Jewish community of their own inclination and secured the adherence of the mass of western and American Jews. Judaism was changing from the mediæval form, and the tendency was towards a reconciliation with modern life while remaining loyal to the past. The decrees of the French Assembly embodied this tendency and therefore made a wide appeal. After the report of the council N. established the consistorial system (1808) which remained in force until the separation of church and state. This system, amongst other items, regulated Jewish worship and checked usury.

**San Ildefonso, Convention of.**—

On 7 Oct. 1800 a secret convention was signed at San Ildefonso by which Charles IV., King of Spain, surrendered Louisiana (q.v.) to France in exchange for Tuscany, which was ceded to the heir of Louis, Duke of Parma, son-in-law to the King of Spain.

**San Sebastian, Siege of.**—On 10 July 1813, during the Peninsular War, this fortress was invested by the British under Sir Thomas Graham, being garrisoned by 3,000 French under General Rey. After the repulse

of a vigorous assault there was a suspension of the siege between 25 July and 2 Aug. (see **BATTLES OF THE PYRENEES**); but by 31 Aug. the breaches in the walls were pronounced ready for the assault, and after the destruction of the sea-wall by mines the town was taken by storm, although with heavy expenditure. The citadel, however, still held out, and Rey did not surrender it until 8 Sept., by which time the walls had been shattered and almost everything in the castle destroyed by a terrific cannonade which had been kept up for seven days from sixty pieces of heavy artillery. This siege cost the Allies 3,800 men, while the French lost 1,300.

**Santini, Jean Giovan-Natale (1790-1862).**—An usher at Longwood and a Corsican by birth. He had been in the service of N. at Elba and was deported from St. Helena in October 1816. Subsequently he was imprisoned at Mantua and Vienna, and was kept under police supervision until the death of the Emperor. It was said that he was the author of a pamphlet entitled *An Appeal to the British Nation*, which was afterwards traced to Colonel Macaroni. It was whispered that it was his intention to assassinate Sir Hudson Lowe, with what truth it would be difficult to say. Eventually he became the guardian of the Emperor's tomb at Les Invalides.

**Saragossa.**—During the Peninsular War Saragossa was twice besieged by the French. On 15 June 1808 15,000 French under Lefebvre attempted to gain possession of it, but it was gallantly defended by the heroic inhabitants who were led by Calvo de Rozas, the governor, General Palafox, being absent in search of reinforcements for the defence of the city. On 14 Aug. the French were obliged to raise the siege owing to insufficient troops.

Again in December of the same year 45,000 French under Moncey and Mortier laid siege to Saragossa, but the defence, both on the part of the garrison and the inhabitants, was even more obstinate than during the first siege. On 2 Jan. 1809 Moncey was superseded by Junot, while a little later N. entrusted Marshal Lannes with

the direction of the siege. Many instances of personal bravery are recorded, especially among the women of the besieged, notably that of Augustina Zaragoza, whose story of heroism is well known through her sobriquet, "The Maid of Saragossa." After witnessing the most terrible carnage, disease and unspeakable suffering among the noble defenders, their gallant commander at last consented to negotiate for terms; and on 21 Feb. General Palafox and the garrison were allowed to march out of the devastated city with the honours of war.

**Sauron, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—One of the battles of the Pyrenees (*q.v.*) which was fought on 28 and 30 July 1813. From the village of Sauron the French, under Soult, on 28 July, attacked the British, who occupied a strong position on a ridge. After an unsuccessful attempt to turn Wellington's left Soult made a desperate attack on the British centre, but here again he was repulsed and withdrew to his former position. On the following day both armies awaited reinforcements, Wellington expecting Hill's division while Soult was assured of having d'Erlon's aid. On the 30th, at dawn, Wellington attacked the French simultaneously on their right and left, while at the same time a general attack was made by the British centre. The French were obliged to retreat and Sauron was carried by storm.

**Savary, Anne Jean Marie Rene Duc de Rovigo (1774-1833).**—French general; was born at Marquet-Chevrières, dept. Ardennes, educated at the College of St. Louis, Metz, and was serving in the Army of the Rhine in 1792. He became captain in the following year, accompanied N. to Egypt, and was there his aide-de-camp. In 1802 he was made chief of the First Consul's secret police, and in the following year a general of brigade. In 1804 he commanded the troops at Vincennes, and his efforts to exculpate himself from a large share of responsibility for the d'Enghien tragedy were accepted neither by contemporaries nor posterity. A general of division in 1805, he executed a mission to Russia, and

later achieved the brilliant action of Ostrofenka. He was created a duke after Friedland; was sent to Spain and induced Ferdinand to place himself in the hands of N.; and in 1810 replaced Fouché as Minister of Police. He was surprised by the Malet Conspiracy and suffered a few hours of confinement at La Force. He adhered to N. in the Hundred Days, was admitted to the Chamber of Peers, and would have followed the Emperor to St. Helena. Arrested on the *Bellerophon*, he suffered for a time a mild confinement at Malta; escaped to Smyrna and there embarked in ruinous speculations. After a sojourn in London he returned to France, where he was tried and acquitted. In 1831 he was appointed commander-in-chief in Algeria, but soon asked for his recall on account of failing health. His *mémoires*, though of considerable value and interest, are untrustworthy on many points.

**Saveria.**—A servant of the Bonapartes engaged by Joseph at Pisa in 1788. She remained faithful to Letizia through the many changes and sorrows of her life, and died in Rome after the fall of the Empire.

**Saxony.**—A German state situated to the south of Prussia and north of Bohemia, and belonging to the central mountainous region of Germany. At the time of N.'s rise and fall, the Elector of Saxony was Frederick Augustus, usually known as Frederick Augustus I., as he was the first king of Saxony. He assumed the government in 1768, and the first part of his reign was characterized by peace and progress, both agricultural and industrial. Many reforms were instituted, and the public debt was steadily reduced. The first coalition of European powers against N. was formed in 1793, but in the early stages of the long struggle Frederick did not take much part—his only contribution to the Allies being the bare number of men necessary. He withdrew his support from the coalition in 1796, when Saxony made a definite treaty of neutrality with France.

Saxony was, however, excluded from the Confederation of the Rhine, which was made by N. towards the end of 1805, as she was believed to be friendly

towards Prussia; and it was proposed to include her in the North German Confederation—a league of the King of Prussia. To this N. consented, on condition that Prussia should disarm. When war broke out in 1806, Saxony's troops shared with Prussia's the defeat at Jena; and soon after the Elector eagerly accepted Bonaparte's offer of neutrality and abandoned his ally.

At the peace of Posen in December 1806 Frederick assumed the title of King of Saxony and entered the Confederation of the Rhine, undertaking to supply N. with an army of 20,000 men. The Saxons had much sympathy with the liberal ideas which N. was supposed to embody. In the new kingdom Roman Catholics were given equal rights with Protestants, and its foreign policy was dictated by N., to whom Frederick was entirely subservient. At the treaty of Tilsit, Saxony received the grand duchy of Warsaw (as a separate sovereignty), and the district of Cottbus, but she had in turn to hand over some of her German territory to the new kingdom of Westphalia.

A Saxon army shared in the disaster of N.'s Russian campaign, which somewhat shook their king's belief in the Emperor; and when the Allies invaded Saxony in 1813 Frederick found himself in a difficult position. A proclamation had been issued calling to arms not only the Prussians but also Germans of the Rhine Confederation; Warsaw was gone; Prussia coveted his kingdom, and indeed the Tsar was reported to have said that Saxony would be a better addition to the King of Prussia's domains than Poland. Frederick opened negotiations with Austria, but with no result. He then retired to Prague, but refused to declare war on N., although he withdrew his troops from the French Army.

In April 1813 the King of Saxony entered into a secret treaty with Austria, whereby the former secured the integrity of his domains, and the latter 30,000 men. After the battle of Lützen, however, Frederick once more returned to his allegiance to N. and placed his troops at the disposal of the French. During the year 1813 N. fought two campaigns in Saxony, the

first opening in April and the second in August. The French headquarters were at Dresden and Leipsic. By this time the people of Saxony had begun to feel N.'s yoke somewhat burdensome; in addition their patriotic spirit was gradually being aroused, and there was a great revulsion of feeling against France. These factors combined caused at the battle of Leipsic the desertion of the Saxon troops to the side of the Allies; the King was taken prisoner, and his dominions were placed under the government of Russia for a year.

The disposal of Saxony was one of the burning questions at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, and after much controversy Prussia was given the northern portion, and the southern portion was restored to Frederick, who retained his kingship.

**Schuppenbeil, Convention of.**—See BARTENSTEIN, CONVENTION OF.

**Schönbrunn, Peace of.**—The peace of Schönbrunn, signed by France and Austria on 15 Oct. 1809, brought to a close N.'s Austrian campaign of that year. Peace negotiations had been afoot since August, but the very drastic demands of N.—he asked not only for large territorial cessions but also for the abdication of the Emperor Francis—had prevented the plenipotentiaries from coming to terms. At length, however, a peace was concluded at Schönbrunn, the terms of which were most disastrous for Austria. Its principal provisions were (1) Austria was to cede to France and to Bavaria large territories in Upper Austria, Carniola, and Carinthia; (2) to Russia and Saxony she was to give up western Galicia and a part of eastern Galicia; (3) she was to reduce her army to 150,000 men. The treaty added yet another to the list of N.'s triumphs, and degraded Austria from her position as one of the Great Powers.

**Sebastiani, Horace François Bastien, Comte (1772-1851).**—Marshal of France, was born in Corsica. Originally destined for the church, he abandoned that career on the outbreak of the Revolution and entered the army. He fought with distinction at Arcola, became colonel after Verona, co-oper-

ated in the 18 Brumaire, and was present at Marengo. In 1802 he was made general of brigade at the Camp of Boulogne; was wounded at Austerlitz and became general of division; while in 1806 he was dispatched on a mission to Turkey. There he succeeded in detaching Selim III. from the Coalition; and on Constantinople being threatened by a squadron under Sir John Duckworth took steps which caused the admiral to retire. He commanded the Fourth Army Corps in Spain, and showed considerable skill during the retreat from Moscow; at Leipsic he received a wound. He went over to the Bourbons in 1814, but abandoned them on N.'s return from Elba; was placed on half-pay after Waterloo, and was later chosen as a deputy for Corsica. Under Louis-Philippe he was successively minister of marine and foreign affairs, and also represented France at Naples and London. He was made a marshal of France in 1840. Sebastiani's closing years were embittered by the murder of his daughter the Duchesse de Praslin. He was buried at the Invalides.

The marshal's magnificent physique and dashing manner earned him the title of the "Cupid of the Empire."

**Sentimental Journey.**—During his confinement in the island of Elba N. on one occasion conversed about a journey which he took to Burgundy in the beginning of the Revolution, and which he called his "Sentimental Journey" to Nuits. At that place he supped with his comrade Gassendi, a captain in the same regiment with himself, married to the daughter of a physician of the town. At table N. remarked the difference of political opinion between the father and son-in-law, Gassendi the soldier being an aristocrat and the doctor having liberal opinions. N. took the side of the latter, who was so pleased with his assistance that he visited him upon the following day. The knowledge of his revolutionary opinions was spread through the town, and on all sides hats were doffed to him. At the house of Mme. Maret, or Muret, however, he encountered the aristocracy of the neighbourhood, where, as he expressed it, he was "caught in a veritable

wasps' nest," and had it not been for the generosity of the lady of the house, who exercised her wit on his behalf, he would have been very hardly dealt with.

**Shaving.**—Constant relates in an amusing manner how he taught N. to shave. He says that the Emperor was entirely dependent upon one or other of his valets for this office, and that did he attempt to shave he was certain to inflict a more or less serious wound upon himself. Later he became entirely dependent upon Constant who executed his tonsorial duties, but as his health was by no means good, and as he feared that N. might some day fall into unskillful hands, he urged upon the Emperor the desirability of learning to shave himself. To this N. made some demur, but in the end consented. However, he never succeeded in mastering what might be called the technique of shaving, for he invariably held his razor at right angles to the face, and Constant was often in dread that he might do himself serious damage.

**Shortt, Dr. Thomas.**—One of the signatories of N.'s post-mortem. He attempted to dominate the proceedings on that occasion, but only with partial success, and he had afterwards to admit that the liver was sound. See *AUTOPSY*.

**Siamese Slave.**—This man was a gardener at the Briars (St. Helena), the house of Balcombe, the purveyor. N. took a great interest in the old man and often talked to him. He had been entrapped on board an English ship and thus brought to the island of St. Helena where he was sold as a slave, the man who bought him letting him out to hirers and taking the old creature's earnings. O'Meara states that Admiral Cockburn gave instructions for his emancipation, but for some reason or other this was not done up to the time the admiral left the island. N. heard of this and desired Balcombe to buy the slave from his master and set him at liberty, the purchase price to be charged to Count Bertram's private account. Sir Hudson Lowe for some obscure or perverse reason prohibited this, and the Siamese remained a slave much to N.'s disappointment.

**Sieyès, The Abbé, Sieyès.** Emanuel Joseph (1748-1836).—Was born at Fréjus in 1748. He was educated for the church at the Sorbonne, but philosophy more than theology engaged his attention, Locke and Condillac among other political writers being his favourites. He became vicar-general to the Bishop of Chartres and canon and chancellor of the church of that city. He was the theorist of the French Revolution; the "man of systems" for whom Napoleon Bonaparte expressed such repugnance, yet the very man who together with his systems was to help him reach the pinnacle of his ambitions. That done, the systems and their author were relegated to convenient obscurity.

In 1789 Sieyès was appointed deputy from the Tiers Etat of Paris to the States-General. This nomination was due to the unique influence he possessed, an influence gained by his famous pamphlet, "What is the Tiers Etat?" the greatest political essay since Rousseau. This consists largely of aphorisms and axioms, a style which charmed and appealed to the logic-loving French. At the very outset the attention is arrested by the incisive questions, "What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been hitherto in our political system? Nothing. What does it ask? To become something." This was his passport and an effective one (though he is said to have owed the *mot* to Chamfort), and one which carried him far in the Parliamentary game, yet failing him at the goal.

To his contemporaries he seems to have been looked upon as an enigma, mainly, it would appear, because of his habit of silence in the midst of a society distinguished by its clamour. His remarks, when he did speak, were terse and sententious, and, as Talleyrand observed, generally conveyed some thought worth utterance. In 1790 Sieyès, occupied with the committees and his work on the constitution, seldom appeared in the tribune, and Mirabeau, speaking in full assembly, said that the silence of Sieyès was a public calamity. That this silence was not due to any lack of appreciation of his own powers is

amply illustrated by his saying: "The science of politics is one in which I think I am perfect."

In his political views he differed on some points from Rousseau, as, for instance, in ascribing vital importance to the system of representation which the Swiss thinker had decried. He also clearly perceived that the plan of government directly by the people, as outlined in the "Social Contract," was wholly unsuited to anything more than a small canton, and in this particular the ideas of Sieyès have influenced political development to a greater degree than those of Rousseau.

Sieyès' first draft for the new departmental system of France suggested the division into eighty squares and prescribed the appellation of the departments solely by number, largely with the view of obliterating local sentiment. He was indefatigable in political and administrative work, and in his mind was slowly maturing the scheme of that perfect Constitution of 1799, the means by which Bonaparte climbed to power.

Sieyès' system of foreign policy is of interest as showing the forward tendency of French ideas during Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, and clearly indicates that, apart from N.'s ambitions, France would have sought to dominate Central Europe. Sieyès' system rested on the basic principles that France must have the Rhine boundary, and for further security, must place Austria and Prussia further to the east, retaining on the right bank of the river only weak states which, necessarily, would be under her control and influence. This was his plan for general pacification, based on the unquestioned supremacy of France. Part of this scheme was realized in the Treaties of Bâle with Prussia and Spain in 1795; and during Sieyès' mission to Berlin in 1798-9 he sought to acquire still more by projecting changes which should lead to the shifting of the centre of gravity of Prussia to the north-east.

By 1799 ten years of political life had brought Sieyès to a commanding position in affairs, a position which, though it promised still greater things, was fated to be the end of his career.

He had done much to repress the Jacobins, and naturally expected to be the final builder of the constitution of the Revolution. Now he said France only needed a head and a sword. The inference was obvious. Who but Sieyès was the head?—but who was to be the sword? In pursuance of this idea he had made overtures to General Joubert in preparation for some future *coup d'état*, but the death of Joubert at the battle of Novi (1799) ended this scheme, whilst the return of Bonaparte from Egypt turned his thoughts in that direction, though he also scented danger in that quarter. Would Bonaparte fill the rôle and with the necessary obedience? As it proved, Bonaparte not only became the sword but the head as well.

Sieyès had been recommended to N. by his coadjutors in the plot which brought about the famous *coup d'état* of Brumaire (Nov. 1799) as one who was unambitious—a peculiarly mistaken opinion based on the fact that Sieyès had refused several nominations, though this was in reality but a deep design to mask a greater ambition—and with the surer statement that he was one who could be easily shelved when done with. His services at the crisis of the *coup d'état* showed that for once he possessed greater presence of mind than Bonaparte, but afterwards the theorist was outpaced in the race for power. The constitution on which he had been labouring so long was the very first question in which N. worsted him. This scheme, devised on two chief principles—"confidence coming from below, power from above"—was an elaborate system of election and representation with, at its head, a Great Elector with two subordinate Consuls. It was this last that roused Bonaparte's ire and against which he successfully protested, with a final phrase of disgust—"The Grand Elector would be a fatted hog or the chained ghost of a *roi fainéant*." And the rest is told briefly. The first three "provisional" consuls, Sieyès, Bonaparte and Roger-Ducos, were rapidly superseded by Bonaparte, Cambacérès and Lebrun. So was the end of his career arranged, and the gift of a fine estate at Crosne from the First Consul

## SMOKING

was at once a reward and bribe. The wits of the day did not fail to note, as the words of a contemporary epigram show :

"Seyès à Bonaparte a fait présent du trône  
Sous un pompeux débris croyant  
l'ensevelir.  
Bonaparte a Seyès a fait présent de  
Crosne  
Pour le payer et l'avelir !"

A certain narrowness of outlook and lack of force in his character were the effectual limitations preventing Seyès from becoming the power and guide he might so easily have become in his time; yet a certain dignified consistency throughout his career lifts him above the charge of mediocrity that has more than once been levelled against him.

During the Empire his part in public affairs was practically *nil*. At the time of the Restorations (1814 and 1815) he left France, but after the Revolution of July 1830 he returned and died at Paris on 20 June 1836.

**Smoking.**—"Only once," says Constant, "did the Emperor fancy smoking a pipe. It was on the following occasion: The Persian Ambassador (or possibly the Ottoman Ambassador, who, during the Consulate, came to Paris) had made the Emperor a present of a very handsome Oriental pipe. One day he thought he should like to try it, so accordingly all was got in readiness for such an experiment, and a light applied to the pipe-bowl. But in the way His Majesty set to work it was obviously impossible for the pipe to draw, he being content to open and shut his mouth alternately without inhaling at all. 'Devil take it!' cried he at last. 'What a time it is!' I ventured to point out that he was doing it wrong, and showed him the proper way to smoke. But the Emperor still persisted in his droll sort of yawning. Tired out by such futile attempts, he at last gave me back the pipe and told me to light it. This I did, and got it into working order. Yet scarcely had he puffed a cloud than the smoke, which he did not know how to eject from his mouth, got into his throat and nostrils,

## SNUFF

coming out of his nose and his eyes. So soon as he recovered breath, he cried out, 'Take the beastly thing away! Oh! what filth! I shall be sick directly!' Indeed, for over an hour he felt very queer, and once and for all relinquished a pleasure which, in his own phrase, was only fit to be 'a pastime for sluggards.'

**Smolensk, Battle of.**—Towards the middle of August 1812 the two main Russian Armies under Barclay de Tolly and Bagration effected a junction at Smolensk. But on the night of the 16th Bagration withdrew his troops to protect the road to Moscow. On the 17th French forces under N. assaulted the city, but only after a fierce struggle did they succeed in carrying the southern suburbs, while the walls of the town itself still resisted attack. Meanwhile, however, the wooden houses had caught fire, and under cover of the smoke caused and darkness Barclay de Tolly withdrew his forces and rejoined Bagration, having caused to N. the loss of some 12,000 men.

**Snuff.**—Constant states that the stories that N. took quantities of snuff from a leather-lined waistcoat pocket are altogether erroneous. "The Emperor never took snuff except out of snuff-boxes, and though in the main he consumed a good deal, he only took a very little at a time, merely putting a pinch to his nostrils just to sniff it and then letting it fall. True, the place where he stood was covered with snuff, but his handkerchiefs—infallible as evidence herein—were scarcely stained at all, though they were white and of very fine cambric. They certainly bore no marks of the confirmed snuff-taker. He often was content to hold the open box to his nose and just smell the snuff. His snuff-boxes were narrow, oval ones, made of tortoise-shell, gold-mounted, with cameos or antique gold and silver medallions upon them. He used to have round snuff-boxes, but as it required both hands to open these, and as this operation often resulted in his either dropping the box or spilling its contents, he grew disgusted with them. He always used very coarse snuff—usually a mixture of various kinds; with some

of this, for fun, he used to feed the gazelles which he had at Saint-Cloud. They relished it immensely, and, though shy of everybody else, always fearlessly approached His Majesty."

**Society under Napoleon.**—Much that we have said about Consular society holds good also concerning that of the Empire, yet between the two periods there were certain differences, and to call attention to these is indispensable. We have seen that during the Consulate Bonaparte himself exerted a distinct influence upon social manners and customs; yet at this time he was only a brilliant soldier, a clever politician, who had chanced to be on the spot when France was in a state of chaos, and who had contrived to get the reins of the country into his hands. His position, in short, was somewhat similar to that which Barras had held, the main distinction consisting really in the fact that the First Consul was a man of genius and personal magnetism, whereas his immediate predecessor was not. After Bonaparte's coronation, however, his situation became considerably altered; for now he was not only ruler of the state, but the acknowledged head of French society. It must be borne in mind, too, that he insisted on having his own way in many matters with which sovereigns do not commonly meddle; while Josephine, on her part, entered with great zest into the part of queen-playing, thus exercising an influence far beyond what she had had in the Consulate. And so, in studying Empire society, in trying to arrive at a true picture thereof, we must keep our gaze fixed chiefly on the imperial court, marking what sort of example it gave, what sort of criterion it set up. Of course the private life of a king and his consort are always veiled to some extent in mystery, yet people wrote about the Bonapartes with considerable freedom—a greater freedom, perhaps, than was employed by most trustworthy chroniclers of the Bourbons' doings—and in consequence we have at our disposal a good deal of valuable matter. There is, for example, the *Journal et Souvenirs* of Stanislas Girardin, together with the *Mémoires* of Prince Metternich; while no less im-

portant are the writings of men like Fouché and Constant, and most interesting of all, possibly, are the writings of Mmes. Avrillon, Rémusat and d'Abianes, all of whom were well acquainted with the *vie intime* of the Emperor and Empress.

The man who is placed in a prominent public position is almost invariably, if not inevitably, the subject of much gossip; and N. proved no exception to the general rule, his quarrels with his wife and his occasional *liaisons* being discussed far and near by scandalmongers. These had to own, nevertheless, that the Emperor's filial piety was admirable, while his keenest detractors could not deny that he showed the utmost generosity towards his sisters. N.'s mother, officially styled Mme. Mère from the inauguration of the Empire, was granted a suite of private apartments in the Tuileries, her son himself seeing that she enjoyed here every imaginable comfort; while the sisters, Elisa, Pauline, and Caroline Bonaparte, each of whom acquired the title of princess on their brother gaining the French throne, were allowed to spend money lavishly. Josephine, mayhap because she was a little jealous of them, vied with them in extravagance; and, besides having ushers, footmen, and pages, she had a large entourage of maids-of-honour, ladies-in-waiting, and wardrobe-women. The latter, almost every morning, were caused much unnecessary trouble by their mistress, who made them bring her basket after basket piled with interminable clothes, from which she selected such as she thought she would like to wear that day, now posing in a new dress before the mirror, now throwing aside a host of proffered articles, to be set in order afterwards by the patient attendants. And this sort of thing very naturally had an immediate effect upon French society, fostering in its ladies a desire for gorgeousness and a habit of reckless expenditure. An offensive idea became current that the woman who was not luxuriously dressed was an object of just scorn, and an English visitor to Napoleonic France, Lady Morgan—authoress of a once popular



novel called *The Wild Irish Girl*—tells us that on her informing some Empire *belles* that she herself possessed but one Kashmir shawl, she was told that this state of affairs was hardly respectable! Moreover, Josephine and the sisters Bonaparte were all inordinately fond of wearing jewellery, and this practice, little in evidence during the Consulate, now became a positive rage, numerous ladies spending thereon many thousands of pounds every year. This was the case in particular with a pair of famous beauties, both widely looked upon as important leaders in matters of fashion—Mmes. Savary and Maret, of whom the former subsequently became Duchesse de Rovigo, the latter Duchesse de Bassano—and, indeed, the sums which they squandered in this and analagous ways gradually passed into a sort of proverb with the Parisian populace. No doubt people exaggerated grossly when mentioning the amounts supposed to be spent thus by either of the two, yet there is every reason to believe that in both instances it was infinitely in advance of any kindred extravagance on the part of any lady of pre-Revolution times. Nor can it be gainsaid that N. himself—though not to the same extent as his wife—was instrumental in nurturing this new mode of luxuriousness, for in his eagerness that his court should be glittering and renowned throughout Europe he encouraged women to adorn themselves elaborately. His own style of living, however, seems to have been frugal rather than otherwise, although we are told that he was greatly addicted to drinking coffee; and it need hardly be added that, his fondness for that beverage becoming known, its consumption began to increase rapidly in French society, so anxious were people to do as the Emperor did, whether they really shared his tastes or not.

For a long time before the Revolution Rousseau had preached loudly the necessity of returning to a more rational, a less artificial manner of living; and in the Consulate it seemed as though, in some measure, at all events, French society had accepted the tenets of the Genevan philosopher.

With the advent of N. as Emperor, however, people began to forget Jean Jacques' drastic teaching, and, in fact, the life of the average fashionable woman of the Empire was largely an unnatural one. Rising from bed late in the morning, she would have a bath scented with almonds, after which, with the assistance of her maid, she would make an elaborate toilet; and then, having partaken of *petit déjeuner*, she would dally with the *Mercur de France* or the *Journal des Débats*. Thereafter she would commit herself for a considerable time to the tender mercies of the manicurist and the chiropodist, and next she would interview her domestics, and possibly her tradesmen, while probably she would send for her secretary and have her correspondence transacted. Having wasted the best hours of the day in this manner, she would find it was high time to make her afternoon toilet, this necessitating the summoning of the hairdresser; and, indeed, many Napoleonic *belles* were wont to spend by far the greater part of their time in dressing and redressing themselves, the final change of costume taking place before they sallied out at nightfall, either to a party or to a theatre. This existence, nevertheless, was varied occasionally by healthier pursuits, for if the fashionable ladies of the Empire did not join the men in outdoor games, or in the skating which went on in frosty weather at the reservoir of La Vilette, they would often go to the Champ de Mars to see the races, while a favourite mode of spending a fine day was to take the coach to St. Cloud. Furthermore, driving in the Bois de Boulogne was nearly as popular and fashionable with the rich Parisians of N.'s reign as with those of a later day; but young women of the Empire were frequently prone to eschew the Bois in favour of the Champs Elysées or the Terrasse des Feuillants, the attraction at these places being the hordes of young officers. The doings of these last formed the topic of endless gossip in the various drawing-rooms, and N.'s subjects, whether approving or not of his bellicose attitude towards Europe

in general, were ever ready to go and see the splendid martial reviews which the Emperor insisted on holding constantly. Never before this era had soldiering been so much in evidence in Paris, never had watching it been so common a pursuit with society.

As N. himself always took a keen interest in art, it became fashionable with his people to cultivate this interest, or at least to feign a taste for painting. Thus the Louvre, part of which had lately been transformed into a picture-gallery, was a chosen resort with Napoleonic society, the majority of its young women, withal, vastly preferring the occasional shows of contemporary painting, notably that held by the Académie Française. That institution, suppressed soon after the fall of Louis XVI., had reappeared during the Consulate as Class IV. of the Institute; but thenceforward it never succeeded to any great extent in discerning what artists of the time were really gifted and in electing them to its ranks. Still, if in this respect it was far inferior to its predecessor, it enjoyed an even greater prestige than the latter had done, and to the Empire ladies aforesaid it seemed that the crowning glory for a painter was to have his works displayed on the walls of the Academy. Military paintings, of course, were those which were most in evidence there throughout N.'s reign, yet none of these, perhaps, ever created such a stir in society as the canvas of Baron Gros, *Les Pestiférés de Jaffa*. Its frame was hung round with laurel and palm, and day after day a fashionable crowd came to gaze at the baron's handiwork.

Trustworthy writers on the subject are agreed that the different state functions at the Tuileries were mostly conducted in very punctilious fashion. Once or twice nearly every week, says M<sup>me</sup>. de Rémusat, the Emperor held a small evening gathering at his Parisian palace; and the authoress goes on to relate that the guests commonly arrived about eight o'clock, the first diversion offered them being merely card-playing. N. himself, we are further informed, seldom or never took part in this, being far too busy with affairs of state, and his friends

had usually been assembled for an hour, if not longer, before he made his appearance among them. Then they would do obeisance to him solemnly, and, the cards being laid aside, a concert was given by a band of Italian musicians; while at eleven o'clock an elaborate supper was served, although, as a rule the Emperor refrained from touching a single morsel of the dainties, wisely contenting himself with watching his friends eating. Officers in the army, coming to these functions, were allowed and even encouraged to appear in uniform, but civilians, of course, were expected to wear court dress. And while N. would frequently welcome of an evening some distinguished man who had never been presented to him officially, his attitude towards female guests was different, no woman being allowed on any account to come to a party at the Tuileries unless she had previously gone through the presentation ceremony. The Emperor in other ways watched over his wife jealously, and was always irritated on finding that anyone whom he did not regard as desirable had been seen conversing with her either in the palace or in the grounds; while Marie Louise herself, if annoyed by this eternal surveillance, would seem to have shared abundantly her husband's taste for ceremonial. Josephine, as mentioned before, loved the part of queen-playing, yet she was naturally gay and flighty, never demanding in reality nearly so much pomp and state as her successor did. And the imperial predilections in this particular—more, perhaps, than anything else—affected French life during the Empire, making it different from that of the Consulate. Rich people now gave parties whose sedate conduct was copied deliberately from that observed at the Tuileries; politicians and others, making speeches, seldom spoke in a natural way, but studiously adapted high-sounding phrases from the authors of bygone Greece and Rome; and a certain pompousness became the vogue even in ordinary parlance among fashionable people, just that pompousness which long before had characterized the talk of the *noblesse* surrounding the great

Louis. His age, appropriately styled *le grand siècle*, has frequently been compared to the Napoleonic time, and in nothing, possibly, do we observe a *rapprochement* between them so clearly as in this strange affection for formality, manifested so strongly by society in either period.

**Soult, Nicolas Jean de Dieu Duc de Dalmatia, (1769-1851).**— Marshal of France; was born of humble parents at St. Amans-la-Bastide, Tarn, on 29 March 1769. At the age of sixteen he enlisted in the royal regiment of infantry, and in 1792 obtained a commission in the grenadiers. Under Hoche, Jourdan, and Lefebvre he distinguished himself by a bravery always subservient to sound discretion, and in 1796 he rose to the rank of general of brigade. Soult first became prominent when co-operating with Masséna against the Austrians and Russians in Switzerland, where he was promoted to general of division. At the end of the Swiss campaign he joined the Army of Italy, again co-operating with Masséna, but their continual fighting against superior forces at last resulted in the two generals being shut up in Genoa, their obstinate defence of which city has since become celebrated. From this period commenced the friendship which Bonaparte ever after entertained for him. N., who only knew Soult by report, one day inquired of Masséna whether he deserved his high reputation. "For judgment and courage," replied Masséna, "he has scarcely a superior." The consequence of this honest tribute was that Soult held an important command in Italy till the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, and on his return to France he was received with distinction by the First Consul. On the establishment of the empire Soult was created a marshal. When the invasion of England was resolved on, he was entrusted with the command of the imposing mass of troops assembled at Boulogne, and so severe was the discipline enforced by him that even N. questioned whether the men would stand the strain. The marshal accompanied the Emperor in the campaign of 1805, and greatly distinguished himself at Austerlitz, on which occasion

he led the right wing. Although the whole weight of the enemy's attack fell upon his wing, he succeeded in gaining and holding the heights of Pratzen, which was the key of the situation, and thus assured the victory. At Jena and Eylau he further enhanced his reputation by his courage and skill in generalship, and after the peace of Tilsit he was created Duke of Dalmatia. Soult, however, was now sent to a scene of action where his ablest measures were attended with failure—Spain. In the autumn of 1808, together with Lannes and Victor, he helped to open a path of triumph to Madrid for N. and his brother Joseph; but later, in his pursuit of Sir John Moore, whose retreat he harassed, he was completely repulsed under the walls of Corunna while attempting to prevent the embarkation of the British troops. He had succeeded, however, in forcing the British to evacuate the country and his next step was to invade Portugal. Oporto was taken, and though he never completely subdued Portugal he governed the country till the arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The British then marched against him with such celerity that Soult was surprised at the passage of the Douro, and obliged to retreat to Galicia. After the disaster of Talavera, Soult hastened to effect a junction with Ney and Mortier in order to make a combined attack on the Allies; but Wellesley, now Viscount Wellington, who could not rely upon the Spanish generals, and who alone was not strong enough to withstand such a combination of forces, retired into Portugal. In Nov. 1809 Soult gained a brilliant victory over the Spaniards at Ocaña and overran Andalusia. When Masséna entered Portugal, Soult reduced Badajos, the key of the Guadiana, where he left a garrison, and returned to Andalusia. That fortress, however, was soon invested by the Allies; he advanced to its relief, and on 16 May 1811 gave battle to Beresford at Albuera, where he was defeated and forced to retreat. In the spring of 1813 he was summoned by N. to Germany, and at Lützen he distinguished himself at the head of the Guards, while at Bautzen

he led the centre. While at Dresden, however, news of the defeat of the French at Vittoria reached the Emperor, and Soult was immediately sent back to Spain to stay the progress of Wellington. His first attempt was to relieve Pampeluna, but after being twice repulsed he saw clearly that he could neither avert the invasion of France nor materially retard the advance of the Allies, and therefore fell back on his entrenched camp at Bayonne. There, however, finding his position untenable, he continued his retreat westward. On 27 Feb. 1814 he was defeated at Orthez, and on 10 April he suffered another defeat under the walls of Toulouse. On the abdication of the Emperor, Soult submitted to the government of Louis XVIII., but joined N. on his return from Elba. He fought at Ligny and Waterloo, and was banished when the Bourbon government was restored to power in 1815, not being recalled till 1819. At the beginning of the following year his marshal's baton was restored to him, and he was gradually restored to all his other honours. On the abdication of Charles X. he gave in his adhesion to the government of Louis Philippe, and in Aug. 1830 he was raised to the dignity of a peer of France, while in the following Nov. he was made minister for war. Three times Soult held the office of prime minister; but perhaps the most interesting episode in his life occurred in 1838, when he was sent as ambassador to the coronation of Queen Victoria, on which occasion he met his old enemy, Wellington. Soult died on 26 Nov. 1851 at his château of Soultberg, near St. Amans.

**Spain.**—Charles IV. of Spain had inherited from his father, Charles III., the art of despotism without the ability to wield it. Indeed, he appears to have been almost on the verge of imbecility, and under the influence of his wife, Maria Louisa of Parma, a coarse-grained woman, but one of considerable parts. His ministers treated him with tutorial disdain, and he was regarded as a man of slight account. These statesmen viewed the Revolutionary outbreak in France with alarm.

They had believed that could they establish an entente with Royalist France, they would be enabled to checkmate the naval supremacy of Great Britain, on whose ruin on the seas they hoped to reconstitute their own maritime power. But the "Family Compact," by virtue of which they were to have neutralized British sea power, was broken by the circumstances of the Revolution. Floridablanca, moreover, desired to avenge the downfall of his hopes by striking a blow at Republican France, and to this end conspired with the *émigrés* and the other powers. Maria Louisa, however, saw in this policy the diminution of those monies which she squandered upon personal pleasure, and in 1792 induced Charles to banish the minister. Aranda was put in his place, and he held office only inasmuch as his views were in accordance with those of the Queen and of Godoy, her paramour. A policy of neutrality disgusted the other powers. Later in the same year Aranda was dismissed, and the power of dealing with foreign affairs vested in Godoy. But the execution of Louis XVI. roused monarchical Spain to a white heat of fury, and the relationship of the slain king to Charles rendered Castilian intervention a foregone conclusion. War ensued, and the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 reflected but little glory upon the Spanish arms, successive defeats being due more to governmental incompetence than military inability. In 1795 the Treaty of Basel (*q.v.*) was concluded with France, and popular acclaim bestowed upon the favourite Godoy the title of "Prince of the Peace." But by the treaty and subsequent compact of San Ildefonso Spain became almost an appanage of the French Republic, and the real aim of these treaties was obviously to drag Spain into the war with Britain. Spain's awakening came with the battle of St. Vincent (*q.v.*), in which Nelson pressed the Spanish fleet back on Cadiz, and so cut her off from her colonies. Godoy, detested by both Liberals and Ultramontanes, had lost the favour of his royal mistress by his intrigues in other directions, and was forced to resign in March 1798. Freed

from his *régime* and unharassed by France during the absence of N. in Egypt, Spain enjoyed comparative independence. But upon the return of the First Consul to France he insisted upon the restoration of Godoy, who had also found his way back into the personal favour of Maria Louisa. By the secret treaty of San Ildefonso (*q.v.*) (Oct. 7 1800) Spain undertook to cede Louisiana (*q.v.*) and to assist France in a military capacity. In the following year Spain was compelled to attack Portugal, the Spanish troops being led by Godoy in person. Godoy concluded a separate peace with the Lusitanian kingdom, but N. compelled Charles to refuse recognition to it, and much harsher terms were imposed upon Portugal. N. also ceded Trinidad, a Spanish colony, to Great Britain, and sold Louisiana to the United States without in any way consulting the court of Madrid. N., becoming involved in a new war with England, enforced men and money from Spain, whose navy was finally shattered at Finisterre and Trafalgar. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau in Oct. 1807, Spain engaged to assist France against Portugal. Meanwhile Prince Ferdinand, Charles's son, had entered into secret relations with France. But the intrigue was discovered by Godoy, who induced Charles to have his son arrested on the plea of plotting to dethrone his parents. Meanwhile N., under the pretext of reinforcing his army in Portugal, had poured troops into Spain; he swiftly removed the mask, and seeing his move in its true bearings, Charles and Godoy resolved upon flight. A popular rising followed, and Charles deemed it wise to abdicate in favour of Ferdinand. Murat, not to be put off by this step, occupied Madrid. N. managed, by a series of clever moves, to get the persons of Charles, Maria Louisa, Godoy, and Ferdinand into his power, and confronting them with one another a pitiful scene ensued. Charles and his queen were pensioned off and retired to Rome, and Ferdinand was sent to Talleyrand's villa at Valençay, where he remained for six years. A "Junta of Regency" was improvised at Madrid, and was told by Murat that

N. desired them to accept his brother Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain. A popular revolt ensued. The story of the liberation of Spain is, to a great extent, that of the Peninsular War (*q.v.*). In 1814 Ferdinand was restored to the royal authority. The power of N. had been wrecked on the resistance of the Spanish people.

**Staël, Madame de.**—Anne Louise Germaine Necker, Baronne de Staël-Holstein (1766-1817), French novelist and miscellaneous writer, born at Paris 22 April 1766, her father, the famous financier Necker, her mother, Suzanne Curchod.

Madame de Staël as a child displayed intellectual powers of unusual quality, and began to write at an early age, though not to publish.

On her father's dismissal from the ministry, following upon the presentation of the *Compte*, the family went to reside at Coppet, Necker's estate on the Lake of Geneva, a place which was to become indissolubly linked with her name. On their return to Paris in 1785, Mlle. Necker devoted herself to literary work; *Sophie*, a novel, being printed in 1786, and a tragedy, *Jeanne Grey*, in 1790. Then came the question of marriage, and Mlle. Necker's choice fell upon Baron de Staël-Holstein, then an attaché of the Swedish legation, her choice, it is stated, being influenced by the fact that Staël was a "fervent advocate of Necker's political opinions and devoted to his official interests." The marriage was certainly one of *convenance*. The question of affection was "intellectually" ignored, and the negotiations on each side extended over some years as if for a purely business proposition. Marie Antoinette is said to have used her influence with Gustavus III. of Sweden to promise the Baron, as far as possible, a permanent position at the Paris legation as ambassador and a pension in case of his withdrawal. The marriage took place in Jan. 1786, Staël being thirty-seven years old, the bride twenty. The business aspect of the union seems to have pleased both, neither interfered with the other; the Baron profited by his wife's fortune, and Madame enjoyed a prominent position in society

as the ambassadress of a foreign power of some importance. Three children were born of the marriage.

According to contemporary writers, Mme. de Staël played her new part well, if in a somewhat flamboyant style. Her politics took the form of a mixture of Rousseauism and constitutionalism, a form to which she remained loyal always. In 1788 there appeared, under her own name, some *Lettres sur J. J. Rousseau*, a talented but exaggerated eulogy, with no trace of critical power. Owing to the de Staëls's influence at court, as averred by some, Necker's political fortunes had again brightened, yet again intrigue procured his final dismissal. He left France, but his daughter was unable to accompany him, her first child, a son, having been born a week before. Her position as ambassadress was a protection in the increasing dangers of the Revolution, and this protection she had generously extended to friends in danger. This becoming known rendered her speedy departure from Paris desirable, and, with the help of Manuel and Tallien, she fled, the day before the Sept. massacres.

Coppet was her refuge, and, generous always, she extended its hospitality to many friends and refugees. Thus began the "court of Mme. de Staël," so famous during the next twenty-five years. In 1793 she visited England, settling at Mickleham, in Surrey. Many details of this period are to be found in the letters of Fanny Burney. Mickleham was the centre of the Moderate Liberal émigrés, including among others Talleyrand (*q.v.*), Narbonne, and Jaucourt. Scandal arose concerning Mme. de Staël's relations with Narbonne, and the basis of it has never been refuted successfully. On her return to Coppet she wrote a pamphlet on the Queen's execution (*Réflexions sur le procès de la reine*), and, soon following, the *Épître au Malheur*. In the next year occurred the death of her mother; whilst the fall of Robespierre allowed her return to Paris. She reopened her salon, M. de Staël having been accredited to the French Republic by the Regent of Sweden, and was one of that strange and motley society under the Directory, she lead-

ing the intellectuals, Mme. Tallien and Josephine de Beauharnais the fashionables. About this time she wrote her *Réflexions sur la Paix, adressées à M. Pitt et aux Français* and *Réflexions sur la Paix Intérieure*. By now, though believing in a constitutional monarchy, she was not favourable to the restoration of monarchy in France with, of necessity, its attendant reaction and possible revenge of the deeds of the Revolution. One of her remarks in these essays has been cited as an example of her mental foresight. "France," she states, "can never become a mixed monarchy without passing through a military despotism." Other small works published were *De l'influence des passions* and *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*.

These years in Paris mark the time of her chief political importance and her first meeting with two people who were to have a great influence on her life, Benjamin Constant, her lover, and Bonaparte, her enemy, according to her and her friends. Many reasons have been advanced to account for her "duel" with N. Political reasons were of first importance, but temperamental ones were also present, besides which the first man in France and she, who desired above all things to become the first woman in that country, were bound to come into collision. If judgment must be given them on the evidence left to us by the most reliable authorities, the "woman of sentiment" emerges in rather a sorry condition from the trial, and N. is shown to have been, if not magnanimous, then greatly forbearing in his treatment of a really troublesome character. Rather might she be called the persecutor, for with her intense egotism she dreamed of nothing less than to rule France through Bonaparte.

Though knowing well that the First Consul disliked and suspected her she continued to hold her *salon* in Paris, and to have her say about affairs in no quiet manner. Moreover, she was left unmolested, though her part in various intrigues was not unknown. After the death of her husband she retired to Coppet, and in that year (1802) published her first work of note, *Delphine*.

In this book the "femme incomprise" was first introduced into French literature, and in its pages the authoress and her intimates appear in thin disguises.

In 1803 Mme. de Staël returned to Paris. To forestall possible developments she fussyly appealed to all kinds of persons of official and social influence to protect her from N. She knew well that her intrigues were known by the secret police and duly reported by them to the First Consul, who was now fully aware, as he stated afterwards, that Coppet was "an arsenal whence munitions of war were sent forth against him all over Europe." To Las Cases he remarked later that "she carried on hostilities with the one hand and supplication with the other." So, by posing as the tortured martyr Mme. de Staël hoped to escape her just deserts; but N.'s forbearance had now reached its limit, and the command was issued that she was not to reside within forty miles of Paris. She commanded her son to seek an interview with N. to beg him to cancel the decree of exile, but to no purpose, for he refused to alter his decision.

She was now N.'s bitterest foe, and spent her years of banishment in wandering from court to court calumniating his name and fame and promoting international intrigues against his throne and France. On receiving the command of exile she immediately set out to travel with her lover, Constant, staying at Weimar that winter. Later, at Berlin, she met August Wilhelm Schlegel, who became one of her devoted satellites at the Coppet "court." In April, at Vienna, she heard of her father's death. This was undoubtedly a blow to her, for the affection she bore him was of the sincerest, the deepest feeling her character ever knew.

She was now both wealthy and independent, and gathered around her at Coppet a brilliant company. To collect the materials for her famous *Corinne* she travelled to Italy with Schlegel and Sismondi, spending nearly all the year 1805 in the writing of it; 1807 saw its publication. In 1806 she had defied the decree of exile, and, settling near Paris, had remained there

undisturbed, but on the appearance of *Corinne* the police authorities ordered her return to Coppet. Again she visited Germany, and in 1808, having broken with Constant, she devoted her time to her book *De l'Allemagne*. This occupied her for two years, years which she spent at her home. She had determined to publish her book in Paris. With this end in view she wrote to the Emperor, an action which availed her nothing, its only result being the immediate condemnation of the whole edition (10,000 copies) of her book and a further mandate of exile, this time from France altogether. Again she retired to Coppet, and there, in 1811, she secretly married a young officer of Swiss origin, named Rocca, twenty-three years her junior. The fact of this marriage was not known till after her death. A son was born of the union.

Coppet, till now her refuge and base for intrigue, came at last within the sphere of police operations, directed from Paris, and Mme. de Staël decided to put herself out of reach of the "tyrant." Mme. Récamier and Montmorency had been exiled for visiting her, and she left Coppet almost secretly *en route* for Russia. She stayed at St. Petersburg, wintered at Stockholm, and spent the season of 1813 in England, where she received a brilliant reception. Many descriptions of Mme. de Staël, her manner and conversation, are to be found in the letters and writings of famous men of the day, Byron amongst others. At this time occurred the death of her second son, Albert, who fell in a duel following upon a gambling dispute. *De l'Allemagne* was published in the autumn, and she also began work on her *Considérations sur la révolution française*.

After the Hundred Days her health, and that of Rocca, having broken down, she travelled to Italy, and there her daughter Albertine married the Duc de Broglie in 1816. June of that year saw her again at Coppet, where Byron was now a frequent visitor, but in the winter she returned to Paris and opened again her *salon*, which was frequented by all the notables of the period. But her health grew rapidly

worse, and she died on 14 July 1817, survived by her second husband for a short six months.

**Staps (1792-1809).**—Was the son of a Thuringian pastor, an ardent Tugendbundist and an admirer of Joan of Arc. Inflamed by his ideals, he made an attempt upon the life of N. during a review at Schönbrunn (12 Oct. 1809). He arrived at the palace armed with a long knife, and his plan was to stab the Emperor whilst he read a petition. Berthier and Rapp, suspecting the lad by reason of his peculiar manner, had him searched and brought before N., who questioned him as follows: "What did you mean to do with that knife?" "Kill you," the lad replied. "You are an idiot or an Illuminat." "I am not an idiot and do not know what an Illuminat is." "Then you are diseased." "No, I am quite well." "Then why do you wish to kill me?" "Because you are the curse of my Fatherland." "You are a fanatic; I will forgive you and spare your life." "I want no forgiveness." "Would you thank me if I pardoned you?" "I would again seek to kill you."

This happened on the 12th, and the same day the Emperor sent the following account to Fouché: "A youth of seventeen, son of a Lutheran minister of Erfurt, sought to approach me on parade to-day. He was arrested by the officers, and as the little man's agitation had been noticed suspicion was aroused; he was searched and a dagger found upon him. I had him brought before me, and the little wretch, who seemed to me fairly well educated, told me that he wished to assassinate me to deliver Austria from the presence of the French. I could distinguish in him neither religious nor political fanaticism. He did not appear to know exactly who or what Brutus was. The fever of excitement he was in prevented our knowing more. He will be examined when he has cooled down and fasted. It is possible that it will come to nothing. He will be arraigned before a military commission. I wished to inform you of this circumstance in order that it may not be made more important than it appears to be. I hope it will not

leak out; if it does we shall have to represent the fellow as a madman. If it is not spoken of at all, keep it to yourself. The whole affair made no disturbance at the parade; I myself saw nothing of it. P.S.—I repeat once more, and you understand clearly, that there is to be no discussion of this occurrence." Some authorities have asserted that this affair unnerved N. and caused him to conclude peace sooner than he would otherwise have done. That this is quite incorrect is proved by the fact that on 10 Oct.—two days before the incident—N. had written to the Tsar practically intimating that peace was already settled, only awaiting signature. One effect on N., though, must be admitted, and that was it helped to determine him on the matter of divorce and the necessity of having an heir to succeed him. On 16 Dec. of this year (1809) the French Senate pronounced the divorce of N. and the Empress Josephine.

**Stokoe, John (1775 - 1852).**—Naval surgeon; entered the English service at the age of nineteen, was present at the battles of Copenhagen and Trafalgar, and in 1817 was in the *Conquerant* on the St. Helena station. He was presented to N. by O'Meara, became concerned in a matter of clandestine correspondence with Longwood, and in Jan. 1819 paid several professional visits to N. Later in the same year he went to England on leave, and was received with apparent friendliness by Sir Pulteney Malcolm and others, but on returning to the station he was court-martialled for dereliction of duty and dismissed the service. Stokoe, though undoubtedly indiscreet, seems to have been harshly treated.

His memoirs were found in the possession of one of his great-grand-nieces, Miss Edith Stokoe, by M. Paul Frémeaux, and edited by him. Miss Stokoe translated his notes thereon under the title *With Napoleon at St. Helena* (London, 1902). The original narrative abounds in fresh details, but by reason of its diffuseness, long digressions and many repetitions Frémeaux found it necessary to tell the story in his own words, though faithfully following the memoirist.



**Stoutness, Napoleon's.**—It is a curious fact that exercise tended to increase N.'s girth, despite the doctor's contention that his devotion to hot baths was the real cause. In his letters to Josephine he remarks this in several instances, as in one dated 13 Oct. 1806 (the day before Jena and Auerstadt), where he says: "I have already put on flesh since my departure, yet I am doing in person twenty and twenty-five leagues a day, on horseback, in my carriage, in all sorts of ways. I lie down at eight and get up at midnight." Again, writing on 16 Oct., three days later, he says: "... fatigues, bivouacs and night-watches have made me fat." The Austerlitz campaign had the same effect on N., who was amused at the tendency. In a letter to Count Miot de Melito he makes a remarkable prophecy. It is dated 30 Jan. 1806, and N. says: "The campaign I have just terminated, the movement, the excitement, have made me fat. I believe that if all the kings of Europe were to coalesce against me I should have a ridiculous paunch." And his stoutness at the time of Elba and St. Helena was a favourite theme in the hands of the heavy and coarse caricaturists of that period.

**Strategy.** It is from the correspondence of N., as well as from the original orders published by the section of Military History of the French General Staff, that we glean most of our impressions or notions regarding his stand as a strategist. We say "notions" advisedly, for despite the numerous works that have appeared on the subject, the lack of complete documentary evidence regarding it leaves the student somewhat short of verifiable material on which to base serious conclusions. But the aforesaid data throws some considerable light on the military genius of N. His powers of organization and determination can, of course, be studied and analysed from an examination of other sources, but his strategic and tactical abilities are more obscure.

Although in youth greatly engrossed in political studies, N. by no means neglected his military education, for if he was not busied whilst at Brienne in

abstruse mathematical studies with a bearing on military science, he was perusing the works of those ancient authors whose writings are full of the glamour of battle. In them he read largely concerning the greatest combats of antiquity, of great defences, great retreats, forlorn hopes, and the occupancy of the enemy's country in the antique style. He had also come under the influence of men of real ability, such as Bois Roget and the Baron du Teil, from whom he received a sound training in artillery and fortifications. Up to the date of Marengo, however, it is difficult to trace anything new-fangled, so to speak, in N.'s methods, or, to put it differently, he had so thoroughly mastered the method of his time that it held no secrets for him. His energy and activity, too, assisted him powerfully. He was everywhere during a campaign. At Toulon, for example, though merely *sous-officier*, he was practically in command by virtue of superior ability and personal force.

But his military mental equipment was rapidly unfolding, and, like all great officers who are also practical masters of their subject, he began to search for new expedients. Thus in 1805 he instituted the practice of throwing out a screen of cavalry with the object of securing reliable information concerning the enemy's country; but this did not solve his difficulty—the cavalry he used were efficient from the point of view of observation, but they could not remain in the positions in which they found themselves as scouts. Again, although horsemen who are far in front of an army can provide reliable information concerning what happened at a certain hour, they cannot be expected to give details of what may come to pass a couple of days later, when they have fallen back upon the main force. The difficulty was a considerable, nay, even a great one, but a great remedy was at hand. If your cavalry find it necessary to fall back two days' march to report it will take you four days to get your main body in touch with the enemy, whose movements they have reported upon. Therefore the best you can do is to have your cavalry closely followed

by a general advance-guard of all arms. By doing so you will hold and fix the enemy in the position in which they were first found by the cavalry. That is, you send on a sufficiency of troops on the heels of your cavalry to make it imperative for the enemy to remain where they are for the purpose of observing your advance-guard. Of course, N. did not stumble upon this military axiom (for his day) all at once. Indeed, on several occasions he departed from it shortly after he had first devised it, and it is noticeable that on each of these occasions the enemy succeeded in avoiding him. We find the complete form of the manœuvre at Friedland, and after that on practically every battlefield of the Napoleonic era. If it ever fails it is because of the hesitation of the Emperor to utilize it, as, for example, at Borodino. All the same, N. never seems to have laid it down as an axiom either to his commanders or to anyone else. It seems, indeed, as if luck, the goddess which led him so high, had placed this manœuvre in his way. Dresden was one of the last battlefields on which he employed it, and after that he appears to have returned to the type of strategy which he had himself destroyed. The condition of his health had, of course, a simply enormous influence upon his military fortunes. Whenever he was in ill health he seems to have reverted to the textbook strategy of his youthful days. His effervescent brilliancy appears to have suddenly and entirely quitted him, and until his bodily condition improves he is merely an ordinary general. We must also not discount the wonderful abilities and courage of the great men by whom he was surrounded. With such officers and such men it would have been wonderful indeed had he been anything but successful in the majority of his campaigns. We are astonished sometimes to observe the poverty of his logic when he attempts, as he did at St. Helena, to give us reasons for his many victories. From a military point of view these reasons are laughable, many of them, and one can scarcely credit that N. was serious when he uttered them. It would seem, indeed,

as if N.'s strategic faculty emanated from the supernormal mind. In great moments of strain he seems to have been possessed of that mental exaltation which only true genius can know and which leads to rapid and superhuman comprehension of the conditions to which it must apply itself. It is not calculation, it is not strategy—it is inspiration!

Another great source of N.'s power was his marvellous and inexorable will. Lesser reasons were his knowledge and mastery of the tactical potentialities of the weapons of his day, his intimate comprehension of the men who followed him, and the wonderful psychological power he wielded over them. In these gifts all the great captains of his own day, and incidentally of other days, were greatly inferior to him—Hannibal, perhaps, alone excepted.

The most noteworthy characteristic of the wars against Austria is the series of baffling attacks by which N. threw the soldiers of that monarchy back into the Alps, defeating all their attempts to break out again. This manœuvre was chiefly successful because of the mobility he managed to impart to his forces, thus bewildering and obfuscating his enemy. We often, however, find him advancing to meet his foes on a widely extended front, without even taking the trouble to explore the country before him or to discover what the strength of his adversary was. This was certainly the case with his first war with Prussia. Then, as above mentioned, he adopted the cavalry screen, and later, as has been said, the advance-guard behind it. Later the whole command was so disposed that no matter in what direction the enemy might appear it could concentrate in forty-eight hours to meet them. But this manœuvre was subject to the enemy remaining at one point to receive the shock of battle. This it was the special object of the advance-guard to secure, and such strategy, of course, involved a strong offensive. The advance-guard was, in fact, fighting against time. A great error was the lack of studiousness in matters of commissariat. To neglect the commissariat was perhaps possible

where a square mile of invaded territory would maintain 1,000 men for a couple of days, but when the imperial army marched into the hinterland of roadless and desolate Poland and East Prussia discipline was on the wane. Want of food meant loss of condition, and therefore loss of time on the march. The *personnel* of the supply columns was untrained. In short, want of proper provision in this respect threw the entire army as a weapon out of gear. The advance-guard system was found under these conditions to be hopelessly at fault. It is passing strange that N. should not have turned his mind to the solution of the commissariat problem before entering, for example, on the Russian campaign.

N. commenced his military career with a wonderful infantry, which, however, through decimation and other causes, steadily deteriorated. On the other hand, the quality of the troops of his enemies had been improving under the fostering sentiment of nationality. They had, furthermore, attained to a complete understanding of French tactics, so that they knew exactly upon what system they would be attacked. Their endurance also was greater than before, because of the inculcation of more perfect discipline. With these conditions to face, N. realized that he must fall back upon the artillery army and on the old idea of his teacher, du Teil, of concentration of a destructive element on a decisive point. That is, that as artillery was often concentrated upon a fortress with the object of making a breach, so might it be concentrated upon the weak spot in an army for the same purpose. Through this breach the assaulting columns can penetrate to the heart of the enemy's position. Years of experience had taught him how to increase the mobility of his field artillery, and it was now possible to bring up masses of guns to close range and to pour in a concentrated fire upon the enemy's columns. Through the gap thus created infantry or cavalry, or both, poured to destroy the reserves in the rear of the defence. Thus the advance-guard fixed the enemy's attention, the artillery delivered the great

blow, and the infantry completed its work. This method necessitated careful judgment regarding the endurance of the troops first engaged—that is, of the *personnel* of the advance-guard—and it was this in which N. shone particularly, for he was able to estimate their endurance so positively that he was rarely at fault regarding this manœuvre, and, indeed, it may be said to have rendered him supreme upon the battlefield. At the same time, the repetition of this plan ended in his ruin, for in 1813 he wore out his troops with the demands he made upon them in this connexion. In the campaign of 1813 N. showed himself a strategist pure and simple. The diplomatic idea appears to have been far from his mind, and throughout he acted more as a general in command of an army than as a monarch with a crown and kingdom to lose. In the defensive campaign of 1811 again he was purely the diplomat, his primary object being the breaking off of relations between his allied enemies.

N.'s attempts to justify his strategy are perhaps as luminous as those of Edgar Allan Poe to explain to us how he wrote his poetry. That a system of poetics exists as truly as does a system of strategy is undoubted, but when a genius appears in either sphere he can well afford to ignore "rules and regulations." Thus N.'s explanations of how he fought his battles have about as great a verisimilitude as have those of Poe when he penned his famous essay on the manner in which he wrote *The Raven*. The feats of intuitional genius cannot be explained away. Under the stress of excitement and inspiration men achieve things in what manner they know not, and this well applies to N.'s victories. He well knew that in Europe there existed several strategical schools with a knowledge of tactical science, and erudition and an appreciation of those political factors which sway all strategical theory, compared to the students of which he was no more than an equal, and in some cases even an inferior. But to none of these men, erudite as they might be in their science, was it given to reach the white heat of mental

activity which captures inspiration as it was with N. Of these pedants N. stood greatly in awe, and therefore once leisure was vouchsafed him he addressed himself to the task of explaining his exploits in terms which they could comprehend. What he seemed to be most in fear of was that his military reputation would stand or fall by their utterances. Of that he did not need to be afraid, for posterity does not judge generals so much by their adherence to text-book rules as by the results they have achieved, and the more dramatic the results the more glorious the memory of the captain who has achieved them. He was also in no little dread that he was criticized for his frequent departure from established practice, such as a neglect of communications and the acceptance of too great risks. To defeat such criticism in advance he described the care he had devoted to his communications in the Marengo campaign at Austerlitz, Wagram, and Dresden. But for communications he cared little, and recked not of risk. The spirit which appears to have inspired him throughout his career was that which he voiced ere setting out on his Italian campaign. "Do experienced generals oppose me?" he said. "So much the better. Then will I make them burn their books and know not what to do."

But it would be unjust to assert that his campaigns were unprepared—and as absurd as it would be unjust, for they were organized with a meticulous carefulness that left no loop-hole to chance; only, the ideas framed in this organization were by no means adhered to in all cases: that is, whenever by a lightning-like stroke of intuition N. discerned that he could better his position, his early plans were instantly changed for the better. Moreover, he admitted military rules based on common sense and the experience of centuries, but when he saw fit he was not afraid to break those fundamentals. In his converse with his marshals and his leaders he seems to have recognized these rules as having been understood by all and therefore unnecessary of explanation. So steeped was he in strategy, both scholastic and practical, that just

as men of business use abbreviated terms in their conversation with one another, or otherwise ignore the obvious, so did he and those immediately beneath him ignore it; it was the outstanding that occupied his attention, not the usual. It is also noteworthy that, although many of his greatest leaders wrote at length on the subject of his campaigns, that none of them betrayed a knowledge of what was really the secret of his successes.

One of N.'s greatest military assets was undoubtedly his sense of mobility. In the end it was this which contributed to his ruin—the men were worn out, and on certain campaigns where marching was the order of the day, they were wont to say: "Our Emperor has decreed that on this campaign we shall fight with our legs rather than with our arms." This mobility his enemies constantly failed to understand. At the end of a twenty-five miles' march, executed in a day, his entire army would hurl itself upon the enemy, which vainly thought it was at least seven to ten leagues away. Again, he would send a detachment against one column to purchase time by the sacrifice of its men's lives, and would then strike at the other with the bulk of his forces. Most of his earlier successes were won by this method, and it became so well known at last that when in 1813, around Dresden, he tried to put it into force the Allied column which he thus threatened retreated before him, whilst another continued its advance. This compelled him to return to assist his detaining detachment, which could not struggle on against much greater numbers.

As has been said, his health had an immense bearing on N.'s strategic powers, and indisposition was usually a prelude to disaster and defeat. Had his strategic genius, therefore, been purely theoretical in origin, bodily infirmity could scarcely have caused its complete failure, and this almost amounts to proof that N.'s victories were won solely by dint of intuitional genius.

**Submarine.**—See FULTON, ROBERT.

**Suchet, Louis Gabriel, Duc d'Albufera da Valencia (1770-1826).**—

Marshal of France. Was the son of a Lyonnais silk manufacturer. During the Revolutionary period he enlisted as a volunteer in the cavalry of the national guard in his native city, and his ability soon secured him a commission. At the siege of Toulon he distinguished himself by taking General O'Hara prisoner. Severely wounded at the battle of Cerea (Oct. 11 1796), during the Italian campaign, he was appointed to the command of a demi-brigade about a year later, and served under Joubert in the Tyrol in that year, and under Brune in Switzerland in the campaign of 1797-8, with such acceptance that he was promoted to the rank of chief of brigade. He then assisted in the reorganization of the army in Italy. In 1799 he was made general of division, and became Joubert's chief of staff in Italy, and in the following year Masséna nominated him his second in command. As leader of the left wing of Masséna's army, he opposed the superior Austrian forces, with which he had to contend at a time when the bulk of his chief's army was shut up in Genoa, and with such marked skill that he unquestionably saved France from invasion and helped to make possible N.'s passage across the Alps. He also figured prominently in the Italian campaign until the armistice of Treviso. During the campaigns of 1805 and 1806 against Prussia, Austria, and Russia, he distinguished himself at Austerlitz, Saalfeld, Jena, and Pultusk, was created count in March 1808, and married Mlle. de Saint-Joseph, a niece of Joseph Bonaparte's wife. Shortly afterwards he was dispatched to Spain, where after taking part in the siege of Saragossa, he was placed in charge of the army of Aragon, becoming governor of that province. Through his administrative ability and just dealing he succeeded in bringing the province under his care into complete submission in the short space of two years. Meeting the army of Blake at Maria on 14 June 1809, he inflicted upon it a disastrous reverse, destroying it almost completely, and in April of the following year he defeated O'Donnell at Lerida. In 1811 he was created a marshal of France, and in 1812 con-

quered the province of Valencia, from which he received the title of Duc d'Albufera da Valencia. When disaster threatened the French arms in Spain he made a most effective resistance, but eventually he was compelled to retire into France, and assisted Soult in his defensive campaign. Louis XVIII. made him a peer of France, but during the Waterloo campaign he commanded one of N.'s armies on the Alpine frontier, and was deprived of his titles. He lived till 3 Jan. 1826, when he died near Marseilles. He wrote an unfinished volume of memoirs on the subject of the Peninsular War, which was edited by his former chief of staff, Baron St. Cyr-Naquès.

**Suicide, N.'s Attempt at.** -- On the night of 11 April 1814, the night of his renunciation of the throne, N. attempted suicide at Fontainebleau. The details concerning this circumstance are obscure, and the best description of it is that of Constant, who was present in the palace at the time. He says: "I hope that there is no need for me to make a protest of my truthfulness. I have too deep a sense of the importance of such a revelation to allow myself to cut away or to add the slightest detail bearing on the actual facts. These I intend to recount just as they happened, just as I witnessed them, just as in all their dire significance they are graven on my memory.

"On the evening of 11 April I undressed the Emperor as usual. He had retired to rest rather earlier that night, for, if I remember rightly, it was not quite half-past ten. On going to bed he seemed in rather better spirits. I slept in a small room above that of the Emperor, with which it was connected by a private staircase. For some time past I had been careful to sleep in my clothes so as to answer His Majesty's summons with greater promptitude. At midnight, when sleeping soundly, I was awakened by M. Pelard, who was on duty. He told me that the Emperor had asked for me, and, on opening my eyes, I saw how horror-struck he looked. I leapt out of bed, and as we hurried down the staircase M. Pelard added, 'The Em-

peror has dissolved something in a glass and has drunk it.'

"I entered His Majesty's room a prey to the most agonizing fears. He had gone back to bed, but on the floor near the chimney-piece I noticed the fragments of a *sachet* of leather and black silk. . . . It was, in fact, the talisman which, ever since the Egyptian campaign, he wore round his neck, and which I used to keep so carefully for him during the interval between one campaign and another. Ah! could I only have known what it contained! In this fatal instant the whole dreadful truth became plain to me!

"As I stood by the Emperor's bedside he gasped out, 'Constant, I am dying! I could not bear the torture any longer, and, above all, the humiliation of seeing myself surrounded by foreign agents. They have trailed my eagles through the mire! They have misjudged me! But, my good Constant, they will be sorry when I am gone. Marmont has given me my final blow. Unhappy man! I was fond of him! That Berthier should have forsaken me cuts me to the core! My old friends! My comrades in arms!' . . . The Emperor said several other things to me, which I hesitate to repeat, since it is impossible for me to give his actual words. In such an awful moment of suspense, however, I could not rightly engrave these upon my memory. As I watched his face intently I noticed convulsive twitchings, the symptoms of a crisis, which terrified me. Slight vomiting, however, gave me grounds for hope. The Emperor, despite his physical and mental suffering, never lost his nerve. After the first vomiting bout, he said to me, 'Constant, send for Caulaincourt and Yvan.'

"I half opened the door in order to tell M. Pelard without quitting the Emperor's room. On going back to his bedside I begged him to take a soothing potion, but all my efforts were vain; he refused to do so, such was his firm resolve to die, which never wavered now, when death was so near.

"Despite his obstinate refusal I continued my entreaties, when M. de

Caulaincourt and Dr. Yvan entered. His Majesty made a sign to the former to approach the bed, and said:

"'Caulaincourt, I confide my wife and my child to your care; serve them as you have served me. I have not long to live!'

"Then His Majesty had another attack of vomiting, though less severe than the first. Meanwhile I tried to tell M. de Caulaincourt that the Emperor had taken poison. He seemed to catch my meaning, half-expressed though it was, for sobs choked my utterance. Dr. Yvan approached, and the Emperor said to him:

"'Do you think the dose was strong enough?'

"Such words were an enigma to M. Yvan, as, so far as I can gather, he had never known of the existence of the *sachet*, so he replied:

"'I do not understand what your Majesty means.'

"The Emperor made no answer.

"All three of us, after much persuasion, induced His Majesty to take some tea. Yet even when I brought him some, made in a great hurry, he pushed the cup aside, and said: 'Leave me alone, Constant, do I' After drinking this tea the vomitings ceased, and he soon seemed easier. He dropped off into a doze, when the two gentlemen went softly out of the room, while I sat there waiting for him to wake.

"After a sleep of some hours the Emperor woke, and seemed almost in his usual health, although his face bore traces of all that he had suffered. While I helped him to dress he never made the slightest allusion, directly or indirectly, to the fearful night we had just spent. He breakfasted in the ordinary way, only somewhat later than usual. He had completely regained his composure, and he seemed in better spirits than for long past. Was this due to his contentment at having escaped the death for which, in a moment of dejection, he longed? Or was it not rather because he now felt certain that death would not reach him when in bed, but only when on the battlefield? However that may be, I attribute the Emperor's providential escape to the fact that the poison

contained in the *sachet* had lost its efficacy.

"When things had resumed their normal course without anyone in the palace, except those named, getting to know that anything had occurred, I heard that Dr. Yvan had quitted Fontainebleau. Distressed at the question which the Emperor, in the presence of M. de Caulaincourt, had asked him, and fearing that he might be suspected of having supplied N. with the means of taking his own life, this able physician, who had for so long faithfully served the Emperor, lost his head, as it were, when contemplating the responsibility which, as he thought, weighed upon him. Hastening from the Emperor's room, he found a horse ready saddled and bridled in one of the palace court-yards. He leapt on to it and galloped off to Paris. On the morning of the same day Rostan left Fontainebleau."

**Sweden.**—The eastern portion of the Scandinavian Peninsula, joined to the Russian Empire at the north-east by a frontier of over 300 miles. Until the middle of the eighteenth century Sweden had been one of the great powers of Europe, but by the time of the death of Gustavus III. her importance was on the wane. During the Napoleonic era two sovereigns ruled her people: Gustavus IV. (1792-1809), with Reuterholm as virtual ruler; and Charles XIII. (1809-19), with Bernadotte (*q.v.*) as Crown Prince and true head.

French revolutionary policy found many sympathizers amongst the Swedes, and the new French Republic was recognized; but Sweden's secret negotiations for an alliance were discountenanced and overruled by the other European powers. She did not take part in the early stages of the Napoleonic struggle, but she was a member of the Second Armed Neutrality (*q.v.*), formed in 1800 against Great Britain. Her monarch, Gustavus IV., however, was a bitter opponent of the Republic and Empire, and his feelings of hatred against N. were greatly increased by the arrest and execution of the Duc d'Enghien (*q.v.*). He hoped and worked for the restoration of the Bourbons, and was

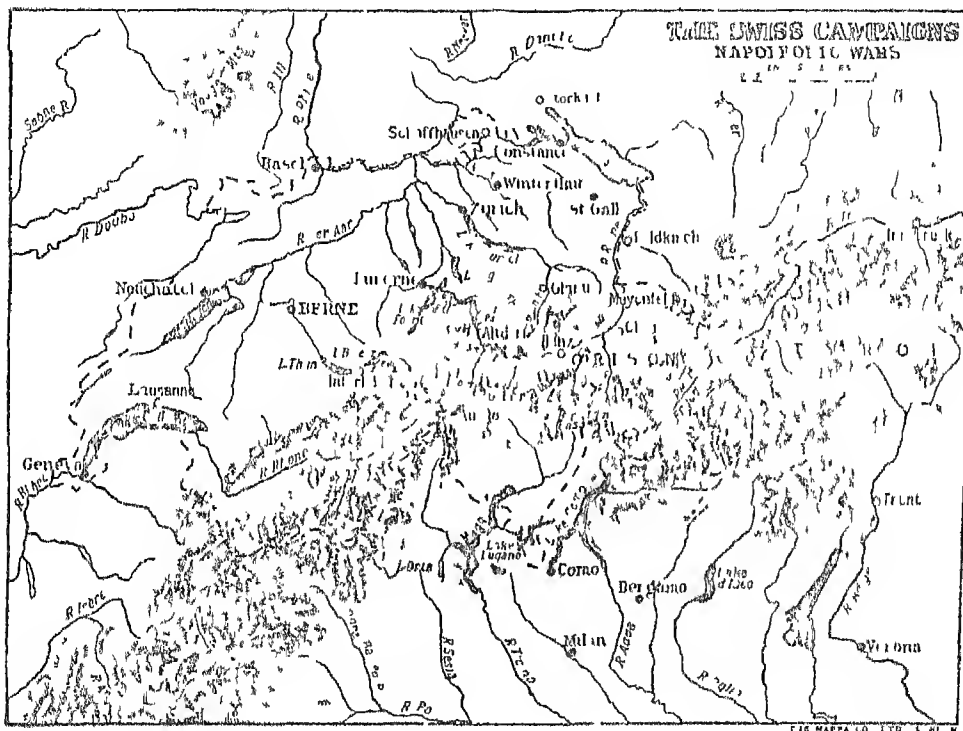
one of the first to join the European Coalition against N. in 1801, pledging Sweden to join Russia and England in ridding Holland and Hanover of their French invaders.

N., on his part, reciprocated Gustavus's feelings, and his dislike of the despotic Swedish royal house was intensified by its action in joining the Coalition. After the battle of Jena, however, attempts were made by N. to conciliate Sweden, but without success, and Prussia was incited to make war on her, which resulted in the loss of Pomerania. In Feb. 1808 N. wrote to the Tsar quietly suggesting the invasion of Sweden, and a few months later Russia sent a force across the border, which met with little success, N. failing to send his promised aid. Finland offered a strong resistance, but in November they gave in, upon certain conditions, and obtained their first charter of freedom from the Tsar.

As a result of the loss of Finland Gustavus was deposed, and the duke regent was proclaimed king as Charles XIII. under N.'s protection. A treaty was entered into whereby N. gave Pomerania to Sweden, while in return she promised to adopt the Continental System and import nothing but salt—an aid to N.'s schemes to crush British commerce. In May 1810, the King being old and childless, the French marshal, Bernadotte, was elected heir apparent to the Swedish throne. This step aroused some alarm amongst the antagonists of N., but needlessly, as Bernadotte was not on good terms with N., and the latter's consent to his election had been given unwillingly—events proving his distrust to be justified. Owing to the infirmity of Charles, Bernadotte, who was now known as the Crown Prince Charles John, gathered practically all the reins of government into his hands. He abandoned the idea of recovering Finland, and directed his attention to the acquisition of Norway. He first tried to gain this end through N., but later he met with more success in Russia. Meanwhile the Swedish people were feeling uneasy under the yoke of N., and on the occupation of Pomerania in 1812 by French troops Sweden

entered into a secret treaty with Russia, whereby she promised to send 30,000 troops against N in Germany in return for Norway. Too late N realized his mistake, and offered Sweden not only Pomerania but Mecklenburg, but Bernadotte refused his overtures and joined the Coalition, promising to send men and in effect rendering several important services to the Allies. After the battle of Leipzig Bernadotte moved his troops north in order to carry out his designs on Nor-

under Championnet easily accounted for this failure, but on the opening of the war proper the Directory found itself in bad case as regards men and munitions. Twenty-four thousand of its troops under Brune entered Holland; Jourdan with 46,000 marched on the Upper Rhine, Massena in Switzerland had 30,000 men to his credit; and Schärer in the north of Italy had 60,000 troops. The command of Championnet's army in southern Italy had been taken over by MacDonald



way, and finally succeeded in bringing about the union with Norway (14 Nov. 1814). Sweden was represented at the Congress of Vienna.

**Swiss Campaign (1799).**—While N. was in Egypt in 1798 the powers of Europe (Russia, Austria, Great Britain, Turkey, Portugal, Naples, and the Papal States) formed what was known as the Second Coalition against France. They had been irritated by the Treaty of Campo Formio, and the launching of a Neapolitan army into the Roman states precipitated hostilities. The French troops

The general plan of campaign was to take the offensive. About Constance and Schaffhausen, Jourdan with his comparatively small force had to face the Archduke Charles with about 80,000 men. Concentrating his army, the archduke drove him back to Stockach, but rather unwisely extending his force while Jourdan concentrated his, the French general was thus enabled to commence the battle of Stockach on 25 March 1799 with a superior force, and it was only late in the afternoon that the archduke succeeded in bringing up sufficient men to crush him.



He failed, however, to follow up his victory by a cavalry pursuit, which in view of his great preponderance in horsemen he might well have done.

The rôle of Masséna in Switzerland was to act in the manner of a flank-guard to the main army on the Rhine. In the Grison district the Austrians under Hotze and Auffenberg had about 20,000 men, with other 6,000 scattered throughout the country. Concentrating against Auffenberg 7,000 men, Masséna crossed the Rhine and within three days cut up Auffenberg's division, whilst Oudinot held off Hotze at Feldkirch. Masséna attacked Feldkirch about a fortnight later with 15,000 men, but was repulsed. The Austrian general, Bellegarde, was stationed in the Tyrol with about 47,000 men. He was acting there as a kind of reserve to the Archduke Charles. Masséna, detaching Lecourbe and Dessolles from the Army of Italy, himself followed the first-mentioned general, who marched by way of the San Bernadino pass into the Splügen valley, and thence into the Upper Engadine. He was met by Loudon with a small Austrian force, but the Tyrolese came to Loudon's assistance, and Lecourbe found himself attacked on both sides. He was able to hold his position, however, until Dessolles came up on the other side of Loudon, who if he had cared could have taken the two forces in detail; but they were too quick for him, attacked him on both flanks, and defeated him with the loss of 6,000 men and sixteen guns captured. There was a lull in the operations after this, and an illness of the archduke did not assist Austrian affairs.

The defeated French under Jourdan were now in the northern part of Switzerland, the centre between Chur and Mayenfeld and the right in the Tyrol. Suvarov's work in Italy had so assisted the Austrian dispositions that Dessolles' column, now under the command of Loison, was forced back, as was Lecourbe retreating before Bellegarde. He was also menaced by Hotze, and it was with difficulty that he succeeded in eluding capture. The French had now been forced into the interior of Switzerland,

after which feat Bellegarde and Hotze saw fit to break up their coalition, Bellegarde marching to join Suvarov, and Hotze to assist the archduke, who now recommenced operations. About the middle of May the archduke and Hotze, with forces numbering about 90,000 men, occupied the two ends of Lake Constance. They had so generously reinforced their flanks at the expense of their main bodies that both had under immediate command only about 55,000 men. Crossing the Rhine, they began to attempt to get into contact with each other. Masséna retired before Hotze, and when the latter and the archduke had effected a junction they succeeded in dislodging the French general from a position on the Töss, driving him back until he prepared himself at Zurich, where he entrenched the 25,000 men immediately under his command in a position five miles in length. The Austrians precipitated a frontal attack with far too few men, having squandered the balance of their preponderating force upon their flanks. Their attack on Masséna's position failed, but Masséna, distrusting local conditions, retired of his own accord. The archduke did not press him, as he was awaiting a Russian army of 30,000 men under Korsakov. Another lull followed until Masséna resumed active operations. Lecourbe had been reinforced considerably, and attacked the enemy's left wing. On 14 Aug. he attacked and drove back the Austrian line from the St. Gotthard to the Linth, with the loss of 8,000 men and many guns. The Austrians simultaneously attempted to force the passage of the Aar, but completely failed to do so. At this juncture the archduke was instructed by the Aulic Council to proceed with the bulk of his forces to the Upper Rhine, and matters in Switzerland were now left to Hotze and Korsakov. It was also arranged that Suvarov should operate in Switzerland. At this time Masséna's command was distributed from the Simplon to Basel along a tortuous front to the lower part of which Suvarov was likely to advance. But encountering Korsakov on 25 Sept. at Zurich, Masséna completely defeated

him, with the loss of 8,000 men, many prisoners and 100 guns, so that at the moment of Suvarov's approach the Allies had begun to fall back. On the 24th Suvarov took Airolo and prepared to storm St. Gothard, much to the dismay of his troops, who only reached the summit after twelve hours' hard fighting. Pushing on, he threatened Lecourbe's rear, who, also pressed in front, threw his guns into the river, and, marching across swamps, furiously attacked those troops who cut off his line of retreat. His rear-guard held the Devil's Bridge, which had been broken to prevent the Russian advance, and this the Muscovites attempted to force, suffering terrible losses in the operations. They managed, however, to effect a turning movement, repaired the bridge, and joined the Austrians near Lecourbe's point of attack. Reaching Aldorf, Suvarov found Lecourbe strongly posted. He could not cross the Lake of the Four Cantons for want of boats, and the condition of the eastern shore entirely prohibited the passage of troops. There was nothing for it in view of Lecourbe's position but to follow the precipitous bridle path leading over the Kinzig pass into Muotta Thal. For three days did the Russian Army in single file skirt this dangerous road, many of them falling into the precipice underneath, and harassed by the fire of the enemy, who were now in pursuit. When he arrived at Muotta Thal, Suvarov heard that Korsakov's army had been roughly handled. The French were now gathering around him on all sides. He had now only 15,000 men to his credit, and, struggling on over one pass after another, at last reached Hanz on 8 Oct. The Archduke Charles, hearing of Suvarov's condition, brought over a corps from the Neckar, and an effort was made to so combine the forces that further operations could be made against Masséna. But the archduke and the Russian veteran did not see eye to eye with one another. This practically closed the campaign, as it did the military career of the great Russian leader.

**Switzerland.**—Switzerland, though

small and politically insignificant, was a country whose strategical importance was early recognized both by France and by her enemies. The principles of the Revolution had already penetrated Switzerland and swept away the old feudal conditions when the attentions of the First Consul were directed thitherwards. The ancient federation of thirteen cantons had given place to the Helvetic Republic, wherein civil equality and religious toleration were the order of the day, while an Helvetician club in France incited rebellion in the tributary states and sowed broadcast the doctrines of the Revolution. Nevertheless, the bulk of the population remained strongly anti-Jacobin, offering hospitality to many fugitives from France. N., who had satisfied himself that he might expect some support, saw in this an opportunity for his intervention. French troops were sent to Vaud and the Bernese Jura, and ere long (in March 1798) Switzerland was completely dominated by French military leaders, who, notwithstanding that they had bound themselves to protect the Swiss, treated the country shamefully, looting arsenal and treasure-house, and imposing huge levies of men and money. A constitution drawn up by General Brune, partitioning the country into three republics, lasted only seven days, and was succeeded by another, drawn up by a leader of the Swiss revolutionary party, Peter Ochs of Basel. This latter comprised a legislative body, composed of a Senate and Grand Council, and an Executive Committee of five members chosen by the legislature, and divided the country into twenty-three cantons, with a prefect at the head of each. The new Government was not accepted without a good deal of bloodshed, especially in the mountain cantons, and not until the triumphs of Masséna at Zurich did Switzerland give up the struggle for her freedom. Meanwhile France continued to drain the country of men and money, and works of public enterprise were impossible in the circumstances. Such a state of things could not last; the Government contemplated a *coup d'état*, while the Federalists were busy with a scheme

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of their own. Bonaparte, waiting his chance to intervene, sided with neither party (though each had counted on his support), but favoured the Republicans, whose policy lay midway between these extremes. The Directory, called upon by its two moderate members to dissolve, and refusing, was dissolved by the two Councils, who provisionally appointed an Executive Committee. N. thereupon provided another constitution comprising a legislative body of thirty-five members and an Executive Council of seven members, which was accepted by Senate and Grand Council. The new Government, largely Republican, desired to reconstitute itself after the French model, but N., who had no wish for a united Switzerland, thrust upon the country the Constitution of Malmaison (May 1801). At the head of this constitution was the chief *Landammann*, or First Magistrate; next to him came an executive Council of Four, a Diet of seventy-seven members, and a Senate of twenty-five; while the country was divided into seventeen cantons, to some extent autonomous. This Government was pleasing to no party, not even to N. himself. A proposal made by the First Consul to use parts of Switzerland for strategic purposes was met by a declaration that the integrity of Helvetic territory must be preserved. N., highly incensed, secretly planned a *coup d'état*, whereby the Diet was dissolved, and the Constitution of Malmaison re-established with Aloys Reding, a Federalist, as *Landammann*. The latter, seeing that N. had withdrawn his support from the Federalists (it was ever the policy of the First Consul to spread confusion in the country), appealed secretly to the other European Powers, whereupon N. pretended sympathy with the Republican Party, who forcibly imposed on the country a revised version of the Constitution of Malmaison. A rising among the peasants of Vaud ensued, and this N. met with a crafty stroke of policy—he withdrew all French troops from Switzerland. Then, when the trouble was at its height—when a federal state had been formed which threatened the overthrow of the Government—he appeared on

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the scene again as mediator, at the same time sending into Swiss territory a force of 30,000 men under General Ney. Switzerland promptly protested against this violation of her neutrality, guaranteed to her by the Treaty of Lunéville, and sent missions to Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia. Britain alone interfered on behalf of Swiss neutrality, and this among other things led to serious rupture with France. N., with the prospect of a European war before him, tightened his grasp on Switzerland because of its great strategic importance. His Act of Mediation (1803), by which the Helvetic Republic became the Swiss Confederation, was a veritable *coup de maître*, designed to satisfy both Federalists and Unionists, without giving too much power to either, to give peace and contentment to Switzerland, and yet leave her wholly dependent upon France. The Confederation divided the country into nineteen cantons, grouped as urban cantons, rural cantons, and those which had been tributary states. Each canton was given sovereign powers and equal rights; each of the rural cantons had its *landammann*, Executive Council, Grand Council, and popular assembly; the urban cantons had their chief magistrates, who governed with the aid of Senate, Council and Representative Body; while the third group had also its councils and popular assemblies. The seat of government was in six different cantons in successive years, the chief magistrate of each in turn being *landammann* of Switzerland. There was also a Federal Diet, comprising nineteen deputies (one from each canton), which met for one month every year. The powers of the State were exceedingly restricted. It possessed no regular army, no funds wherewith to carry out public works, and was debarred from entering into diplomatic relations with any foreign power. Yet because it afforded some measure of peace after years of strife and confusion the people accepted the new order willingly enough, and hailed N. as their deliverer. At the first meeting of the Diet (July 1803) France proposed a defensive alliance and military convention, which the Diet

had no choice but to accept. Swiss troops were then called upon to fight in the French service, but any attempt at military organization in Switzerland was discouraged by the Emperor. During the years that followed the Act of Mediation, the country, famed for its manufactures of cotton, linen, silk, machinery, watches and other goods, suffered acute industrial distress on account of the Continental blockade; and N., far from relieving the misery of the working classes, aggravated it by heavy tariffs. It has been said that at various times the Emperor contemplated the conversion of the Confederation into a kingdom for one or other of his relatives, but this plan was never carried into execution.

The conditions fixed by the Act of Mediation obtained till the dismemberment of the Empire. Thereafter disturbances arose within the Swiss Confederation, and there was difficulty in maintaining her neutrality inviolate. In Dec. 1813 the *Landsammann* of Switzerland, Hans von Reinhard, summoned an extraordinary Diet, which abolished the Act of Mediation, but at the same time prepared the way for a new Federation. There was some friction, however, between this Diet of Zurich, which recognized the new cantons and excluded subject states from the union, and a Diet convoked at Bern, which desired to re-establish the *ancien régime*. These matters fell to be dealt with by the Congress of Vienna, and presented a problem by no means easy of solution. Various changes were made in the map of Switzerland. Valais (French) and Neuchâtel (Prussian) were formed into cantons. Bern was not permitted to thrust Vaud and Aargau into a condition of dependency, as she sought to do; but by way of compensation a part of the Bernese Jura was given to her. The result of the Congress of Vienna, so far as Switzerland was concerned, was that the country was divided into twenty-two cantons, each possessed of sovereign rights and powers and but loosely joined under a Directory. In May 1815 the Declaration recognizing the twenty-two cantons, having previously passed the Committee of the Eight, was accepted by the Diet of

Zurich, and two months later it became law. On 20 Nov. 1815 the five Great Powers guaranteed the neutrality of the Swiss Confederation.

**Swords.**—Regarding the swords usually worn by N., Constant says: "The Emperor's swords were of very plain make, gold-mounted, with an owl on the hilt. He had two swords made like that, which he wore at the battle of Austerlitz. One of these was given to the Emperor Alexander, the other to Prince Eugène, in 1814. That which the Emperor actually wore at Austerlitz, on which the name and date of this memorable battle were engraved, must be shut up in the column on the Place Vendôme. I believe that His Majesty still had it when at St. Helena."

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**Talavera, Battle of (Peninsular War).**—This battle took place on 28 July 1809. Sir Arthur Wellesley, relying on help promised by Cuesta, with about 17,000 British troops was on his way to attempt the seizure of Madrid. He was attacked by 30,000 French, under Jourdan and Victor, with King Joseph at their head. Much heavy fighting ensued, but the French were defeated and had to retreat with losses of 7,000 men and 17 guns. The British lost about 5,000. Unfortunately this success could not be followed up owing to the Spaniards' inefficiency.

**Talleyrand - Périgord, Charles Maurice de (1754-1838).**—Perhaps the most able and brilliant statesman of his time, was the son of Lieutenant-General Charles de Talleyrand-Périgord, and was born at Paris on 13 Feb. 1754. He was descended on both sides from ancient and illustrious stock, and his parents resided chiefly at court. When climbing on a chest of drawers as a child he had the misfortune to injure his foot permanently, and, as in the case of Byron and Scott the resulting deformity had a powerful influence upon his career. He received the elementary part of his education at the Collège d'Harcourt at Paris. But his youth is a sad record of callous neglect on the part of his

parents, who, because of his lameness, took from him his right of primogeniture, and destined him for holy orders. From the first he set his face against such a career, and although he eventually took orders he became imbued with the spirit of those doctrinaires who were at that time undermining the authority of the church and the kingdom in France.

His ability as a man of affairs was speedily recognized, and in 1780, when only twenty-six years of age, he was appointed agent-general to the clergy of France, a post to which he brought administrative qualities of a high order. But as one who was known to be biased towards free-thinking, he had little chance of ecclesiastical promotion, although his services to the church were marked on several occasions by large sums of money being voted to him. In 1789 he was appointed Bishop of Autun. One of his first acts in this office was the promulgation of a manifesto proclaiming the necessity for political reorganization on the part of the States-General, and advocating local self-government on democratic lines, together with other far-reaching legal and criminal reforms, and the abolition of class privilege. In July 1789 he was appointed to the committee to prepare a draft of a constitution. He proposed the confiscation of the church lands to the nation, a measure which Mirabeau later carried into effect. In short, he gradually dropped the rôle of priest, never very much to his taste, and became a man of the Revolution. On 21 Jan. 1791 he resigned the see of Autun and came under the papal ban. Along with Mirabeau and Sieyès he was elected a member of the department of Paris. But he did not possess the confidence of the people who, however lax themselves, were scandalized by his private life. Others, too, were more enthusiastic than he. His cool, supple and calculating caste of mind little fitted him for the leadership of a people frenzied by vengeance and democratic hallucinations. He turned from the turmoil of national re-making to the more congenial task of diplomacy, for which his peculiar talents well fitted him. A notorious lover of

everything characteristic as well as constitutional in English life, he was entrusted with an unofficial mission to London, where he arrived in Jan. 1792, and had a good reception, Pitt extending to him a warm welcome. An exchange of ideas between Grenville and himself found expression on his part of the desire that Great Britain and France should guarantee each other in their present possessions. But to this very reasonable suggestion the British Government did not respond. Returning to France he advised the immediate settlement of a French envoy at the court of St. James. To this post the Marquis Chauvelin was appointed, with Talleyrand as his adviser. Meanwhile France declared war upon Austria and prepared to invade Austria's possessions in the Low Countries, and so acute did anti-Gallic feeling in England become that Talleyrand and his principal were compelled to return to France. The overthrow of Louis XVI. and the massacres of Sept. followed, and Talleyrand finding the situation intolerable, as many other moderates had done, betook himself once more to England, from which he was summarily expelled. Thence he sailed to the United States, where he remained in exile for two and a half years.

The conclusion of the Terror permitted his return in 1795. Mme. de Staël interceded with Barras on his behalf and certain disquisitions on colonization which he propounded before the Institute exhibited such a wealth of practical statesmanship as to gain him universal applause. In 1797, chiefly as the result of these essays, he was appointed foreign minister. But at first he exercised but scanty power. He succeeded, however, in conveying to N., then reaping the reward of his Italian victories, the assurance of his political sympathy and his satisfaction at the rigorous terms of the Treaty of Campo Formio (*q.v.*). Late in 1797 envoys of the United States visited France to arrange a settlement of certain outstanding international questions, and there is little doubt that Talleyrand was guilty of the charge of simony then brought against him. This militated against his inclusion in the Directory in the

following year. In 1799 he resigned his post, probably because he foresaw that upon the return of N. from Egypt a new régime would be instituted, and that all of those connected with the existing one would be in disfavour. On the return of N. he joined the general's hands with those of Sieyès, and by bringing about this alliance made the *coup d'état* of Brumaire possible. On the day of that surprising event he presented himself before Barras with a written request from Roederer for the Director's resignation. What passed at the interview is not known; but later in the day Barras quitted Paris under military escort. For his services on the day of Brumaire Talleyrand received the portfolio for foreign affairs, and from the first addressed himself to the task of the reconstruction of France. His policy was marked by a strongly pacific tendency. In fact, the old watchword of "Peace, retrenchment and reform" might well be applied to it. He perceived clearly that only by virtue of peace and internal reform could France really hope to heal the gaping wounds of the Revolution. He strove hard to keep the peace with England in 1800. In the following year he assisted the negotiations which led to the signing of the Concordat with the Pope. The cloud of excommunication was lifted from him in 1802, and in 1803, at the express desire of N., he married Mme. Grand, his mistress. In 1802, also, he successfully negotiated affairs with the Italian notables met at Lyons to debate on matters of import to Italy. N. was also indebted to him for the skilful conduct of matters pertaining to French interests in Germany and Switzerland, about this time. In 1803 he placed all his influence in the balance against the breaking of the Peace of Amiens, but without success. He strove to curb N.'s ambitious projects and to confine his interests to French affairs. Many charges of political immorality brought against him during this time were absolutely baseless. He cordially disapproved of much of the Napoleonic policy, and against the execution of the Duc d'Enghien he sternly set his face. In 1804 he became grand chamberlain of

the Empire with a salary equal to £20,000 sterling.

It may be said that Talleyrand was a mere looker-on as the European policy of N. unfolded, and that such events as the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and the erection of the Confederation of the Rhine were not upheld by him. In 1806 he was created Prince of Benevento in Naples by N. During the negotiations with Great Britain in 1806 and in connexion with the Treaty of Tilsit (*q.v.*) in the following year he had not a free hand. That he betrayed the secret provisions of that treaty to Great Britain is exceedingly improbable. Where he perceived no danger to himself or to France, he was perhaps not above accepting substantial recognition for his services from the representatives of those powers with whom his master's policy brought him into contact, but when the interests of his country were at stake there is every reason to believe that he was incapable of betraying them. He drew farther and farther away from the Napoleonic line of policy and gave up office upon his return from Tilsit. He was, however, still a member of the Council, and at Erfurt privately advised the Tsar Alexander I. to be lenient in his dealings with Austria, in this divining Alexander's own line of action. He strongly discountenanced N.'s Spanish policy and was dismayed at having to entertain the kidnapped Crown Prince of Spain at his château of Valençay in Touraine. During N.'s absence in Spain in 1808 he effected a rapprochement with his old enemy Fouché, a circumstance which so alarmed the Emperor that he hastened his return to Paris. A scene ensued—of violence and vulgar abuse on the part of N. and satirical silence on the part of the intriguing minister.

Talleyrand strongly supported the choice of an Austrian princess as consort to N. after the divorce of Josephine. During the events of 1812 and 1813 he was powerless to intervene, but deprecated the Russian campaign from the first. Soon after came the final rupture with N., who on the occasion of their last meeting addressed him in the most violent terms,

stigmatizing him as a coward, a robber, a traitor and an atheist. According to N. he was an arch-deceiver who would "sell his father." Talleyrand sent in his resignation as a councillor, which was not accepted. On the downfall of N. Talleyrand convinced the Tsar Alexander that the Bourbons should be recalled in the true interests of France, and it was he who convoked the Senate which decreed that N. had forfeited the crown. He had to labour most strenuously to prevent the partition of France by the German princes, a course in which he was countenanced by England and Russia. At the Congress of Vienna (q.v.) Talleyrand, as representing France, succeeded in breaking up the league of the powers agreed upon at Chaumont, and negotiated a secret alliance between France, Austria, and Great Britain as a balance against the power of Russia and Prussia. During the Hundred Days he remained at Vienna, nor did he take any part in the events of that time. Once more he brought in the Bourbons and succeeded in sparing France from many of the rigours of defeat. His political life really ends with the final abdication of N., and although he occupied the post of ambassador to London for a time it was a period of comparative quiet.

In estimating the character of Talleyrand we must not forget that we are dealing with a man of the *vieille noblesse* who was a revolutionist more by reason of philosophy and conviction than enthusiasm. Never actuated by violence and always pacific, his *modus politicus* recalls that of the diplomats and statesmen of the old régime, from whom he was in direct intellectual descent. Indeed, Talleyrand may be said to be the old French court diplomat remoulded in the fires of the new thought and the Revolution. The material was the same if the outlook differed, and the ease with which Talleyrand returned to the methods of the House of Bourbon, his support of the designs of the House of Austria, and his dislike of those of N., are eloquent of his real character. Much as he chafed at Napoleonic methods, it was impossible for him not to engage

in such diplomatic activities as fell to his hands, and, a true lover of France, he felt that he must serve her no matter under what sway she should chance to come. It is not impossible that his recall of the Bourbons was in some measure dictated by a desire for revenge against N., whom he probably disliked and despised as a man, however he may have admired him as a ruler. In private life Talleyrand exercised the utmost personal charm. He was possessed of a wonderful fund of humour and sarcasm, and his courtly bearing and polish are constantly remarked upon by the most critical contemporary judges. He was a great statesman, a great gentleman, and a great man.

**Tallien, Jean Lambert (1767-1820).**—Reached the height of his notoriety during the Revolutionary period, yet he had a certain influence upon the events of the Napoleonic era—indeed, for some time he was a friend of N. Tallien was of inferior birth, but received a good education from the Marquis de Bercy, in whose service his father held the post of *maitre d'hôtel*. When the Revolution came to a head, Tallien was on the staff of the *Moniteur*, and the widespread circulation of his Jacobin broadsheet *L'Ami des Citoyens* brought him under the notice of the Revolutionary leaders. He was elected a member of the Convention, and became one of the most feared pro-consuls who at that time terrorized France. Owing to the deep infatuation which he conceived for one of his victims, whom he afterwards married (see MME. TALLIEN), his sanguinary deeds somewhat abated, but he was then accused of moderation and recalled to Paris. In March 1794 he was appointed president of the Convention. Robespierre and he, however, were deadly enemies, and realizing that one must fall, Tallien organized a movement against Robespierre which culminated on 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) and ended the latter's life. Tallien's political career closed with the Convention, although he was duly elected a member of the Five Hundred, in which council he remained until May 1798. He favoured N.'s appointment

as general of Convention, and accompanied him in 1798 to Egypt, where he edited the *Décade Egyptienne*, the official journal. On his return voyage to France he was captured by a British warship and taken to London, where he was lionized by the Whigs. He went back to France in 1802, and in 1805 was made consul at Alicante, remaining there for some years, during which he lost the sight of one eye through yellow fever. He then returned to Paris, where he died in great poverty on 4 Nov. 1820. He wrote several books, among them *Discours sur les causes qui ont produit la Révolution française* (Paris 1791), and a *Mémoire sur l'administration de l'Égypte à l'arrivée des Français*.

**Tallien, Madame Thérèse, née Cabarrus (1773-1835).**—Comtesse de Caramon, Princesse de Chimay, daughter of Count Cabarrus, Spanish minister of finance and banker; was born at Saragossa in 1773. At the age of sixteen she married M. Devin de Fontenai, son of a distinguished family and counsellor to the parliament of Bordeaux. Her married life was unhappy. One version of the affair would lay the blame on Thérèse, inferring that thus early in her life were developed those traits destined to make her notorious; whilst another relates with circumstantial detail the manner in which M. de Fontenai shocked and affronted his young wife by his flagrant libertinism, so much so that in this lay the cause of that later perversion of her nature. Whichever be true, the fact remains that when the Republic instituted divorce, Mme. de Fontenai obtained one from her husband. After this she led a life of freedom, and is said to have joined the Revolutionary party, becoming a well-known figure at the meetings in Bordeaux. This, however, did not save her from arrest as an aristocrat, the daughter and wife of noblemen. Her singular and extreme beauty and powers of fascination were the talk of all, so that Tallien, then on his mission to Bordeaux as Commissioner of the Republic, heard beforehand of this beautiful woman, and his curiosity was fully aroused by the time she was brought before him as a prisoner.

The story runs that Tallien fell madly in love with the aristocratic beauty, visiting her in her cell, and finally carrying her back with him to Paris. By this act he incurred the suspicion of the Committee of Public Safety, whilst Mme. de Fontenai was re-arrested and again imprisoned. The fall of Robespierre is said to have been hastened by her lover in order to save his mistress's life, her name being on the list of those destined to die the next day. It is related that she sent Tallien a dagger, or again a scrap of paper on which was written, "Coward, I die to-morrow." From this sprang those dramatic events which ended in the ghastly death of Robespierre, and Mme. de Fontenai became "Notre Dame de Thermidor" and the wife of her deliverer. Modern research has shattered this picturesque legend and attributes it on good evidence to Arsène Houssaye, who fathered and gave currency to the tale and himself christened Thérèse with the famous title. And by the same evidence love on either side is proved a myth. The true facts seem to be that Tallien, perceiving that such a woman would further his interests by her beauty, fascination and wit, also by her fortune, had exerted his powers of protection, and Thérèse, on her side, as the price of her life, first tolerated him as a lover and on her release married him. Tallien's character is in itself an argument against the legend for he was obviously not one to risk his life for a grand passion. That such was practically non-existent is shown by his early acquiescence in her varied *amours*. The fall of Robespierre was brought about by the political ambition of Tallien and others, the enemies and also the suspects of the triumvirate. In reality it was a struggle for life—the guillotine waited for the vanquished. In such a pass mistresses were forgotten; besides, such were plentiful in those days. Thérèse, it would seem, owed her life to nothing more than a lucky chance.

As Mme. Tallien she, together with Josephine Beauharnais—another fortunate prisoner released by the same event—ruled that strange and ill-assorted crowd known as society under



the Directory. These two were the originators of those fantastic fashions of the period. Their respective followers waged wars bitter and furious over the frills and furbelows, or rather lack of them, whilst the leaders themselves from the same cause were sometimes friends but also sometimes enemies. A publication of the period thus describes these fashions: "The fair sex in France, naturally coquettes, vain, dashing and bold were now much more inclined towards the naked than the clothed system. Nakedness, absolute nakedness, and nothing but nakedness was therefore seen at the play-houses, at the opera, at the concerts, at the routs and in public walks as well as in private assemblies. When one lady left off a fichu, another laid aside a petticoat. When one uncovered her arms, another exposed her nether limbs. Had the progress of stripping continued a little longer in the same proportion, it is very probable that most French ladies would in some months have reduced themselves to be admired, envied or blamed as the Eves of the eighteenth century." A further description from the same work is of interest in reference to the rivalry between "Mme. Beauharnais, the gay widow of the guillotined viscount of the same name," and Mme. Tallien. Speaking of the dress of the former, it says: "Under a clear muslin gown she put on flesh-coloured satin pantaloons, leaving off all petticoats, but at the same time lowering the sleeves of her gown to her elbows, whose long elastic gloves of grenoble combined to conceal even her clumsy fingers. Mme. Tallien, who prided herself on the beauty of her arms, in her turn wore gowns without sleeves, and to distract the notice of amateurs from the flesh-coloured pantaloons of her rival, affixed borders of large and open Brussels lace to her undergarments. These fashionable contrarieties entertained many and scandalized few of the republican beaux and belles; though the partisans of long gloves lampooned those of short sleeves, and the cabal of under-petticoats wrote epigrams on the motives of the wearers of pantaloons." The writer of this description was a royalist partisan which may ac-

count for the savage flavour; but the complaint of a republican writer may also be quoted. Writing of Mme. Tallien, he says: "Possessed of an ample income, the whole of which is at her own command, she indulges in all the extravagance of dress and decoration. One day her shoulders, chest and lower limbs are bare; on the next they are adorned with festoons of gold chains, while her head sparkles with diamonds; and instead of the simplicity of a Roman matron, she constantly exhibits all the ostentatious luxury of a Persian sultana. France may be termed a commonwealth, but these surely are not republican manners befitting the wife of one of the most eminent of her citizens."

During the absence of her husband in Egypt the conduct of Mme. Tallien made her notorious even in that time of general laxity. Barras, it is said, she refused as a lover, but many others were named as the favoured ones, amongst them the Swedish Count Ribbing, and she gave birth to two children whom Tallien repudiated. When Bonaparte, now the husband of Josephine, became First Consul it was evident that Mme. Tallien's social star was on the wane; for he absolutely forbade any further intimacy between his wife and her former friend and rival in the realm of fashion. Orders were given by him for her exclusion; the consular court had no knowledge of "Notre Dame de Thermidor," and Duroc, prefect of the court, was commissioned to convey the command. He was dismissed with a witty gibe at Mme. Bonaparte's expense, and further scandalous *bons mots* reflecting on the same exalted lady were much quoted and appreciated by Parisian society. In 1802 Tallien divorced his wife, but did not despise her princely hospitality as the mistress of the banker Ouvrard, for there is an account, taken from contemporary letters, of a dinner given by Mme. and her "cher ami," where Tallien sits by the side of his *ci-devant* spouse, and during the banquet engages her in "an animated and almost affectionate conversation." In 1805 she married the Comte de Caramon, afterwards Prince de Chimay, by whom she had a family of two sons and two

daughters. Her life was now said to be as exemplary as hitherto it had been the reverse. But during the Restoration she never broke down the social ostracism caused by her doings in the days of the Directory, when she ruled a sorry queen of a motley court. To one of her character social banishment was a dire calamity, and she became a bitter and disappointed woman. Self, power and display seem to have been the chief objects of her worship; there does not seem to have been even the excuse of a passionate temperament for her many *amours*; they were wholly of a commercial nature. She was, nevertheless, one of the most fascinating women of her time. She died at Chimay in Belgium in the year 1835.

**Tarragona.**—During the Peninsular War in 1811, this great seaport was besieged in May and June by Suchet, who had collected as many troops as possible for the purpose. The siege commenced on 4 May, and on the 29th the formidable Fort Olivo was carried by storm. The upper town was heroically defended by the brave Spanish governor, Contreras, but on 28 June the French made a desperate assault and the whole town was finally taken, the lower part, including Fort Royal and the harbour, having been reduced seven days previously.

**Tauroggen, Convention of.**—At Tauroggen on 30 Dec. 1812 General York von Wartenburg, commander of the Prussian corps attached to N.'s army, concluded with the Russians a secret convention whereby the Prussian corps was temporarily neutralized. See KALISCH, TREATY OF.

**Tea.**—N.'s fondness for this beverage is commented upon by Constant, who relates an amusing anecdote regarding the Emperor's partiality for tea: "On one occasion, at midday, the Emperor asked for some tea. M. Sénéchal was in attendance, so he made some and brought it to His Majesty, who declared that it was detestable. I was sent for, and the Emperor complained to me that they 'wanted to poison him.' (Whenever he did not like anything that is what he always said.) Going back to the

kitchen, I poured out another cup of tea *from the same tea-pot*, placed it on a salver, and took it to the Emperor, together with two enamelled teaspoons, one for me to taste the beverage in his presence, and the other for himself. This time he said the tea was excellent and complimented me upon it, with that easy, good-natured familiarity with which he sometimes treated his servants. On handing me back the cup, he pulled my ear and said, 'For heaven's sake, do teach them how to make tea; they know absolutely nothing about it.'"

**Theatre.**—The military achievements of N. were so extraordinary, and savour so essentially of the heroic, antique world, that many of us are a little inclined to forget, perhaps, that after all it is not very long since these great campaigns were fought. And, as a result of our feeling in this respect, we are slightly prone to think of Bonaparte's Paris as having been almost mediæval, whereas, in reality, the life of that town then differed but little from its life to-day. Then, as surely as now, the Parisians were constantly eager for entertainment; and certainly, where theatres were concerned, they were abundantly provided. In addition to the Odéon, the Louvois and the Gaieté, they had the Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin and the Théâtre des Delassements Comiques; while the year of the Emperor's coronation saw the founding of the Théâtre du Boudoir des Muses; and no less famous than any of these houses was the Comédie Française, which a French historian of the actor's art styles enthusiastically, "asile de toute nos gloires, soit littéraires, soit dramatiques." There were, moreover, the Favart and the Feydeau, known as the Opéra Comique after their union in 1801; and the themes dealt with by these theatres during the Consulate and the Empire hold for us a dual significance, a two-fold importance. For, when pondering on this subject, we do not think only of the plays acted in those days, the authors who composed them, the actors and actresses who won fame in them, but rather of the lively

patronage which the stage elicited from Bonaparte himself.

The Emperor's fondness therein began when he was still very young. Soon after he first came to Paris, he chanced to meet François Joseph Talma (1763-1826), afterwards to become the most renowned tragedian of his generation, but as yet virtually destitute of fame and nearly as poor as his newly found acquaintance. The two youths must have had much in common, for the actor shared the Corsican's sympathies with the Revolutionary party; while Bonaparte was already an avowed devotee of Voltaire, and it happened that Talma had recently been playing in that author's *Mahomet*. An intimacy, accordingly, soon sprang up between the pair, and, if tradition may be trusted, Talma used to offer his friend passes to the theatre, which were only too gladly accepted. Be that story true or not, and there is no reason to disbelieve it, it is a fact that N., on coming to power, did not forget his old friend; and we find that in 1808, when the Emperor went to Erfurt to interview the Tsar, he took Talma along with him, the latter being called upon to declaim certain passages for the delectation of the Russian sovereign. More important still, the tragedian became the recipient of a handsome annuity from the French treasury; and long after this he said to the dramatist, Nepomucène Lemercier, "Napoléon m'a toujours témoigné une grande bienveillance."

If Bonaparte was fond of Voltaire's plays, he was equally fond of Corneille's, while he loved making suggestions to the dramatists of his own time. Sklower, in his *Entrevue de Napoléon avec Goethe*, relates that the Emperor told this author he ought "to write a play upon the death of Cæsar, but in a much worthier and grander manner than Voltaire's. In such a tragedy, you should show how Cæsar would have made the happiness of humanity had time been allowed him to execute his vast schemes." Nor did the imperial hints of this sort always fall upon deaf ears, for St. Beuve, in his *Causeries du Lundi*, assures us that Arnault derived

a whole act of his play *Les Vénitiens* from ideas given him by Bonaparte; while how constantly the latter's thoughts dwelt upon the drama, and especially upon tragedy, is illustrated by many passages in his letters.

It would seem that the theatrical world early realized the chance their profession gave them of paying court to Bonaparte, and that it was not long before they began to trim their sails to the wind, so to speak. Fabulous as it may sound, it is the case that, within three days of the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire which put the helm of France into N.'s hands, the Théâtre Favart contrived to get on to its boards a play dealing with this incident, *Les Marins de St. Cloud*, in which the First Consul was lauded to the skies, while the ousted government was held up to scorn. This play was written by one Seurin, and, assuming that he usually wrote as precipitately as on this occasion, we do not marvel that his name is otherwise forgotten! Yet his haste was scarcely greater than that of a trio of hacks, Léger, Chazet and Gouffé, who now compiled two topical dramas, *Une Journée à St. Cloud* and *Le Pêche aux Jacobins*, these being no sooner finished than they were staged at the Théâtre des Troubadours. The example thus shown was soon followed far and near, and the Théâtre du Vaudeville, calling to its assistance no fewer than six scribblers from the Quartier Latin, set them to work at breakneck speed on a drama on the matter of the moment. The result of their labours was entitled *La Girouette de St. Cloud*, and it outdid all analogous pieces in the scurrility of its attacks on the departed government, while N. was deified with an amusing extravagance.

However, it would be wrong to suppose that the Bonapartists had it all their own way and that the other political parties of the time did not show some sort of fight on the stage. A play which made a great stir before the close of the Consulate was one by Alexandre Duval, *Edouard en Ecosse*, concerned with the Jacobite rising in 1745; and in this piece the exiled Bourbon sovereign, known to his adherents

as Louis XVIII., was indirectly exalted by means of comparing him to the gallant Stuart prince, Charles Edward. This naturally gave some umbrage to N., the result being that the dramatist found it advisable to wander away into Russia; yet he was soon back in his native France, and it does not appear that any strong measures were taken against him. Indeed, we find him making another success, only a little later, with a drama called *Guillaume le Conquerant*.

While theatrical managers were so sorely hurried to get together pieces celebrating Bonaparte's initial step to power, this step being to some extent unexpected by the French people in general, it is probable that, long before the establishment of the Empire was a *fait accompli*, both playwrights and their employers guessed that that event was likely to happen, and accordingly made the requisite preparations. The very day after N. became Emperor the Théâtre Français gave a drama dealing incidentally with the affair, *Pierre le Grand*, the work of Nisas, a cavalry officer turned author, who long years before had been a comrade of Bonaparte at the Ecole Militaire at Brienne. And exactly six days after the coronation the same theatre staged a semi-topical play, *Cyrus*, from the pen of Marie Joseph Chénier, formerly a staunch upholder of Republican principles. The victory at Jena in 1806 was loudly celebrated in many dramas, perhaps the most successful of these being *Le Rêve*, written by Barré, Desfontaines and Radet. In many pieces, moreover, devotion to the Napoleonic régime was fostered by the expression of bitter anti-English sentiments, an element especially noticeable in the *Sénateur* of Béranger; while the coming of Marie Louise from Austria to Paris proved a great stimulus to dramatists, and among the best plays acclaiming the new Empress was Rougemont's *Mariage de Charlemagne*. Even when Bonaparte's star was fast growing dim in the heavens a few dramatic authors continued to stand firm for him; and one whom we must mention in this relation was the Ossianic enthusiast, Baour-Lormian, who, on the eve of the débâcle of the

Empire, had the satisfaction of voicing his staunch imperialist sympathies in a piece called *L'Oriflamme*.

As observed at the outset, the Parisians of the Consulate and the Empire were good supporters of the theatre; and it must not be thought that the only fare offered them consisted in plays dealing wholly, or partly, with contemporaneous events. The more important tragedies of Shakespeare were staged from time to time, and, if it must be owned that these usually saw the light in sadly garbled versions, liberties of that sort were seldom or never taken with the works of the great French dramatists of *le grand siècle*, which seem to have been vouchsafed a just quota of prominence and applause in the Napoleonic era. Furthermore, although this period begot so few novelists, historians or lyrical poets whose works have lived, it was curiously rich in fecund playwrights, mirroring in their works all sorts of phases of life; and in this connexion we should mention Raynouard, Lemercier, Aignan, Ducis and Brifaut, Legouvé, Andrieux and Collin d'Harleville, while still more prolific than any of these was Louis François Picard.

How unfamiliar the names of all these once popular dramatists sound now, these men who erstwhile made Paris laugh and cry by turns, and how faint a recollection is preserved to-day of those who played their works! The very name of Mme. de Lamballe, in her own time a theatrical star of the first magnitude, is virtually forgotten; while Mme. Molé-Raymond is remembered not so much because she acted well as on account of her portrait by Vigée le Brun; and as to Talma and the equally famous Mlle. Georges, these evoke our interest mainly because the former was N.'s intimate friend, the latter his mistress. It is maintained by her biographers that she, to the end of her long and stormy life, entertained a lingering affection for her bygone lover, always refusing to listen to disparaging remarks about him; while Talma, as we have seen, acknowledged freely and amply his obligations to the Emperor. Whenever the Emperor saw fit to express

personal approval for a drama, an actor or an actress, how quick were the populace to espouse and echo the opinion of their great mentor! The immediate result often being that, in theatres far and near, keen attempts were made to emulate what had gratified the imperial taste. Thus, then, the "world-demanding Tamburlaine" moulded the stage of his day, moulded it for his own ends.

**Thibaudeau, Antoine Claire.**—Was *deputy-syndic* of the commune of Poitiers, when in Sept. 1792 he was appointed deputy from Vienne to the National Convention, where he soon distinguished himself and gained a foremost position. After the fall of Robespierre he became one of the chiefs of the Conventional party, which declared equally against the Montagnards and the Royalists, and later was named secretary of the Convention. In April 1795 he was chosen member of the Committee of Public Safety, and did much to place affairs on a firm basis when the fires of the Revolution had finally burnt themselves out. The steadiness of his principles secured him the name of "Bar of Iron," and in 1796 he was chosen president of the Council of Five Hundred. Moderate and reasonable, his logical and equable mind is well reflected in his *memoirs*, an account of which follows.

*Memoirs.*—In the pages of this memoirist we have perhaps the best portrait of N. in his civil capacity. He provides us with the most exact and fullest reports extant of the words used by N. as First Consul during the debates in the council of state and in intimate conversation. Beginning with a sketch of N. and his court, his *Bonaparte and the Consulate* outlines, as its title implies, the entire epoch of N.'s life between his election to the highest office in the republican state and his seizure of the imperial power. To begin with, says Thibaudeau, even the more aristocratic of the republicans did not take well with the ceremony of the court, for it was in reality almost a royal ménage that the First Consul kept at the Tuileries. The official nature of the entertainments came almost as a shock even to the

Directors themselves, and we are told that N. became very particular regarding the status and personality of his guests. Etiquette ruled everything. The court at first was "small, select and strictly decent and respectable." The title of citizen was entirely abrogated and courtesy was observed by the cards of individuals having printed upon them the usual "mon-sieur" or "madame." N. took great pains to become familiarly acquainted with his troops, both officers and men. He felt that his power rested on the army, and he cultivated its affection for him in every possible manner. Enthusiasm was high in both court and camp in these days. It was felt that a firm ruler with noble aspirations was at the head of affairs.

Military uniform now gave way to civil costume, court swords and silk stockings took the place of the sabre and riding boots. Had the First Consul once appeared in powder, the Revolutionary fashion of wearing the hair powderless would have been abandoned. As it was powder was worn by many, but the younger ladies absolutely refused to return to that fashion—they dreaded, it is said, the panniers and hoops of the time of Louis XV. as the next step towards stiffness in costume. N. himself preferred the society of scientific men, such as Laplace, Monge, Berthollet and Chap-tal. If he ever condescended to dance, he invariably mixed up the figures in such a manner as to spoil the whole set: he always asked for the Monaco, a dance in which the figures were few and simple. He showed best at a review or an audience in full uniform, when, says the memoirist, "he seemed to have a special art of bringing tall men down to his own height or of raising himself to theirs." The Tri-bunat and Corps Législatif are the subjects of a separate chapter in the *memoirs*. The procedure of these bodies is reviewed and the principal measures which they passed during the Consulate are also touched upon.

N.'s treatment of the *émigrés* is justified by Thibaudeau. N. stated that until he came into power he knew nothing of the laws against the *émigrés*, and strenuously objected that

the soldiers of liberty should be turned into executioners. One of his first public acts as First Consul was to release the Duc de Choiseul and some other *émigrés* who had been shipwrecked on the coast near Calais and retained as prisoners. Shortly afterwards, in 1800, he caused a law to be passed closing the list of *émigrés*, while in April 1802 a general amnesty was proclaimed to all except those who had taken office abroad or had led insurrections against the Republic. With Chapter vii. of the *memoirs* we arrive at the period of war. In fact it covers the space between the battle of Hohenlinden in Dec. 1800 and the renewal of the war with Great Britain in May 1803. The diplomatic astuteness of N. is shown by the dialogue which took place between him and his council regarding the nature of a treaty. Portalis had spoken at great length to prove that a treaty is not a law. Truguet recommended that the authors of the constitution should be asked whether they intended to submit the treaties to the Corps Législatif for ratification. N. stated that he was one of the authors referred to and that such was not their intention. Truguet bluntly asked N. for his opinion all the same, but the First Consul replied: "I am of no party myself. I have no opinions here. I am here to profit by the wisdom of the Council."

About the beginning of 1803 the insults of the London newspapers had made the First Consul so angry that he was constantly thinking and speaking of England. He criticized the British administration and the costliness of their army and navy. "People," he said, "are infatuated about England without knowing anything about her. It is the same with her literature. Shakespeare was almost forgotten even by the English for two hundred years, until Voltaire at Geneva, much mixed up with English people, took it into his head to write him up, to please his English friends; ever since people have gone about repeating that Shakespeare was the greatest author that ever lived. I have read him, and there is nothing in him which approaches Corneille or Racine. His plays are not worth read-

ing: they are below contempt." The irritation continued. "Sir," said N. to the English ambassador, "you may kill Frenchmen, but you cannot intimidate them." There is very little doubt that N. had conceived an ill-will, for reasons good or bad, against Great Britain. The Concordat (*q.v.*) is then described, as are the wonderful discussions on the Civil Code (*see CODE NAPOLEON*), in which the First Consul displayed such vivacity and natural ability as to surprise all who heard him. The workings of the council of state are also described and the institution of the consulate for life. Plot and counterplot are represented in these latter pages. A councillor of state writes to Josephine: "You cannot suppose that a few councillors and those in the minority could hope to weigh down the scales against Bonaparte's natural inclinations and the advice which assails him on all sides to seize the supreme power and seat himself on the throne. You know how he has behaved to Truguet whenever he had tried to tell him the truth and how contemptuously he labels everyone who speaks of liberty as either an 'ideologue' or a 'terrorist.' He is assured of the majority of the senate and the corps législatif, while the nation seems to be either indifferent or inclined to give him a free hand to do what he pleases. Moreover, all these schemes are ripening in the dark, and most of us will be permitted to know nothing about them until it is too late to interfere. The council will only be consulted as the merest form. You know what my principles are and also what a sincere regard I have for the First Consul. The more power he grasps, the wider does the breach become between him and his best supporters, the men of the Revolution. They will submit, no doubt, but they will no longer be attached to him."

The reform of the constitution is well reviewed in these *memoirs*. N. is quoted as saying: "The English constitution has been proposed as the best pattern for our own. I wish to explain the reasons why I do not agree with this view. In the English constitution there is a House of Lords.

. . . In France the materials out of which such a house could be formed are non-existent. Do you think it desirable to create them? If we made such a chamber out of the men of the Revolution we should have to place in their hands a large proportion of the landed property of France, which is, of course, quite impracticable." The changes in the ministry which prefaced N.'s seizure of the imperial power are lastly drawn, and the *coup d'état* itself is briefly sketched.

The historian who would walk through the dark and devious paths of the times of the Consulate must to a great extent pin his faith to Thibaut-deau, who had such magnificent opportunities for obtaining the most intimate information regarding the politics of that interesting time. The unknown "N." who appears again and again in these pages is undoubtedly none but the memoirist himself, and from the definite manner in which his conversations with the First Consul are set forth we may be sure that here we have the very words of N. himself preserved in this record for the benefit of future statesmen and theorists.

**Tilsit, Treaty of.**—This very important treaty, signed on 9 July 1807, brought to a close the Franco-Prussian campaign begun in the previous year. The rout of Friedland (13 and 14 June) had given N. the opportunity, which he had hitherto sought in vain, of allying himself with Russia. Ever alert to the possibilities of scenic effect, he met the Emperor Alexander on a raft moored in the River Niemen (25 June), while the King of Prussia, too utterly crushed to have any voice in the fate of his country, waited on the bank to learn the result of their deliberations. The interview lasted for three hours; N. exerted all his powers to impress Alexander, drew vivid pictures of a world-empire ruled over by themselves alone, and to such good purpose that the youthful and enthusiastic emperor was completely won. A draft of their plans was drawn up, which resulted in the treaty of peace between France and Prussia, and the no less important treaty of alliance between France and Russia, the subsequent negotiations being carried out by less

exalted representatives of the countries concerned.

The terms of the treaty were exceedingly disadvantageous to the King of Prussia, who was thereby deprived of half his territory. Indeed N. conceived the project of sweeping Prussia out of existence, but the Russian monarch would certainly have objected to so drastic a step, even though his newly roused ambition led him to betray his British and Prussian alliance. The principal provisions of Tilsit were: (1) Prussia was to be deprived of all her territory west of the Elbe, of the southern portion of West Prussia, and of the territories she had acquired at the second and third partitions of Poland; (2) a huge war indemnity was to be required of Prussia, and her fortresses were to be occupied by French troops till it was paid; (3) Danzig, with a radius of twelve miles round, was made a free city under the protectorship of Prussia and Saxony, but pending the conclusion of a general peace it was to be garrisoned by French troops; (4) Prussia was to join in the coalition against Great Britain.

In the treaty between France and Russia was set forth N.'s plan for the disposal of the Prussian cessions: the provinces west of the Elbe, with Hesse, were to be erected into the kingdom of Westphalia for Jerome Bonaparte; the Polish acquisitions were to form the duchy of Warsaw, under the elector of Saxony; Bialystok fell to Russia. In addition to recognizing these changes, Alexander agreed to France's acquisition of Cattaro and the Ionian Isles. The treaty also provided that Alexander should mediate between France and Britain, and N. between Russia and Turkey. If Britain did not come to terms before 1 Nov. 1807 neutral countries must be forced to close their ports to her; while if the Turks refused N.'s mediation they were to be driven from Europe, thus leaving Alexander and N. (the "Emperors of the East and West") free to conquer India.

In the Treaty of Tilsit N.'s principal object was certainly not the dominion of Prussia or the acquisition of her territory. His desire was to begin a great commercial war against Britain,

## TOILET

which he fondly hoped would bring her to his feet. Then, having broken down the last European barrier in his way, he would have a chance to realize those lifelong dreams of a vast eastern empire, which were nearer to his heart than even his western ambitions.

**Toilet.**—Constant says regarding N.'s customary daily toilet: "Before completing his toilet the Emperor used to wear white duck pants and a dressing-gown of the same material. In winter he wore a similar costume, only of thick cotton. He wore a handkerchief twisted round his head, the two ends hanging down behind. Every night the Emperor himself put on this most becoming head-dress. Another handkerchief was given to him on leaving the bath, his always being soaked through with his ablutions, as he splashed about in the bath the whole time. When this was over, and he had read his dispatches, he began to dress. I used to shave him before he knew how to shave himself. When the Emperor had learnt how to do this, he first used a mirror fixed to the window; but he got so close to it, and lathered himself so roughly, that the mirror, window panes, curtains, toilet-table, and the Emperor himself were smothered in soap-suds. To remedy this, all his servants took counsel together, when it was decided that Roustan should hold up the mirror for His Majesty. When the Emperor had shaved one side of his face he turned the other side to the light, making Roustan move from left to right, or *vice versa*. The toilet-table also had to be moved away. When he had done shaving the Emperor washed his face and hands and carefully trimmed his nails. Then I took off his flannel waistcoat and shirt and rubbed his body all over with a soft brush. Then I gave him a friction of eau-de-Cologne, of which he used a great quantity, as every day he was rubbed like this. This health-giving practice he learnt in the East. It used to do him a great deal of good, being, in fact, excellent. I then put on his thin list slippers, white silk stockings (he never wore others), very thin drawers, and kerseymere breeches and tops, or else tight-fitting trousers of

## TOLENTINO

the same stuff, and little boots, worn halfway up the calf in English fashion. On these were small silver spurs; indeed, he wore spurs on all his boots. Then I put on his flannel jersey and shirt, a very thin muslin tie over a black silk stock, a waistcoat of white piqué, and then either a hunting-coat or a grenadier's uniform—generally the former. When his toilet was completed, I gave him his handkerchief, snuff-box, and another little tortoiseshell box containing small pieces of liquorice. From the foregoing it will be seen that the Emperor had to be dressed from head to foot; he never touched a thing, but let himself be dressed like a child, attending all the while to his business matters. I forgot to say that he used a boxwood toothpick, and a tooth-brush dipped in opiate dentifrice.

"The Emperor, so to speak, was born to have a valet. When only a general he had as many as three, and required as much waiting on as when at the height of his fortune. From that time onward he always needed all the attentions I have just named, and it was almost impossible for him to do without them. Etiquette made no change in this respect; it increased the number of his attendants, and gave these new titles, but it could not augment the care and attention which he received. He rarely submitted to the full royal etiquette—for instance, the Grand Chamberlain never handed him his shirt; once only—at the coronation ceremony—he presented him with basin and towel."

**Tolentino, Battle of.**—On the return of N. from Elba in 1815 Murat, King of Naples, returned to his allegiance to the Emperor, but at the very outset of an offensive campaign in Italy he was utterly defeated at Tolentino by the Austrians on 2 May and forced to fly the country.

**Tolentino, Peace of.**—Bonaparte, in his Italian campaign of the French Revolutionary Wars, met with but little resistance from the mercenaries of the Papal army, and on 19 Feb. 1797 he forced the Pope to sign the peace of Tolentino, whereby Avignon, the Venaissin, Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna were ceded to France, while



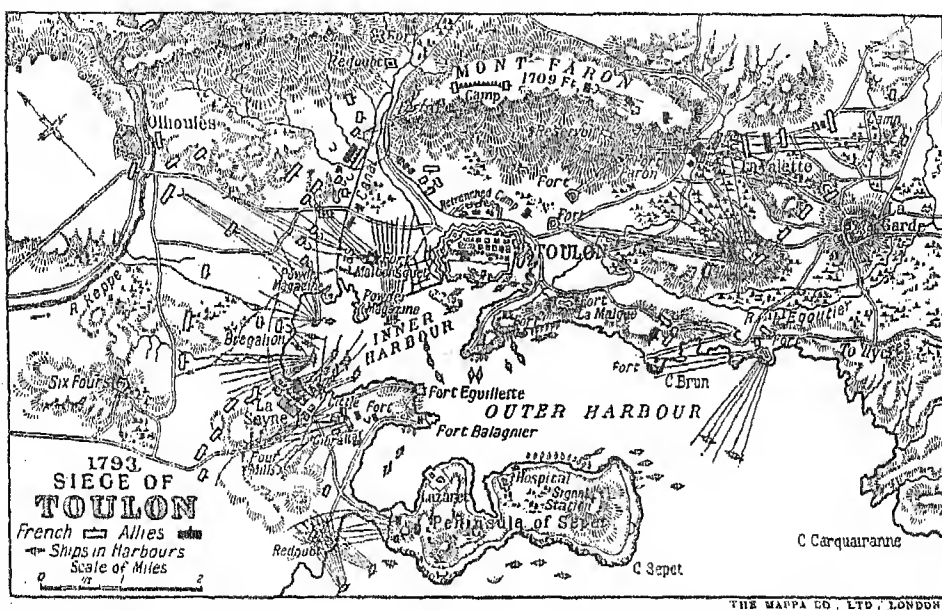
## TORBETT

the Pope engaged to disband his army, to pay an indemnity, and to give up certain art treasures.

**Torbett, Richard.**—A merchant and shopkeeper in St. Helena during N.'s captivity there. He had a property called Geranium Valley, which was close to Longwood, and in this ground N. was buried. The council of St. Helena granted Torbett an indemnity of £650, and an annual subsidy of £50 so long as the body of the Emperor should remain in the tomb. Eventually this arrangement was commuted for a capital sum of £1,200.

## TOURNON

under Dugommier. On the advice of Bonaparte Fort Eguillette was stormed and captured by the Republicans on 17 Dec., while on the same day the heights of Mount Faron were carried. The capture of these two important positions made the harbour untenable for the British squadron, and on the 18th the town and harbour were evacuated by the Allies; before leaving, however, the arsenal and a large part of the French fleet were blown up and burned, only seven out of thirty-one ships-of-the-line being saved to the Republic.



His widow, it is said, made a small charge for showing the tomb to visitors.

**Toulon, Siege of.**—This siege, which commenced at the end of Aug. 1793, is of special interest owing to the circumstance that its successful termination was due almost entirely to the skill and resource of Napoleon Bonaparte, who was in command of the artillery, and it was upon this occasion that he first came into prominence. The city was held by a garrison composed of 5,000 English troops and about 8,000 Spanish, Piedmontese and Neapolitans, under the command of Lord Mulgrave, while the investing army consisted of 40,000 French troops

**Toulouse, Battle of (Peninsular War.)**—The French (40,000) under Soult, strongly entrenched to the north and east of the town of Toulouse, on 10 April 1814 were attacked by 52,000 British and Spanish under Wellington. Soult was driven back into Toulouse, but when Wellington advanced on the 12th to invest the city, he found it already evacuated and the allied army took possession. The French lost 3,000 killed and wounded, and the Allies about 5,000.

**Tournon-Simiane, Camille de (1778-1833).**—Chamberlain to N., prefect of Rome and later of Bordeaux. He published some statistical works on Rome (two volumes, Paris 1831).

**Toussaint l'Ouverture, Pierre Dominique (1746-1803).**—The negro "liberator" of Hayti and St. Domingo (*q.v.*) is said to have been descended from an African chief, his father a slave in Hayti being the chief's second son. The name l'Ouverture was given him because of his prowess in battle in making gaps in the ranks of the enemy—Breda his first surname being discarded. From childhood he was remarkable, not only by reason of his undoubted abilities, but because of the determination with which he seized every opportunity to gain a good education, the best indeed obtainable in the island. In him his master placed all confidence, and l'Ouverture, or Breda as he was then called, became overseer of the negroes of the plantation.

In the insurrection of 1791 he joined the insurgents, and was appointed physician to the forces because of his knowledge of medicine and surgery. Rapidly rising in influence and power by sheer force of his superior intellect and will-power, he, of course, incurred the hatred and jealousy of the leader, Jean François, who at last caused his arrest on the charge of displaying an undue leniency to the whites. A rival of Jean François, Baisson by name, thereupon liberated l'Ouverture, but on Baisson being killed l'Ouverture again served under Jean François. He next joined forces with the Spaniards, but when the French government ratified their decree of equality he returned to them. In 1796 the French Directory recognized his services, and he was named commander-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo, but though willing to have the advantage of French protection, he desired complete independence. Following this idea with success in 1801, he declared himself governor of St. Domingo for life, calling himself the "Bonaparte of the Antilles," with power to appoint his successor. It was this state of affairs that determined N. on the St. Domingo Expedition (*q.v.*). l'Ouverture surrendered to the French forces, and some time afterwards was treacherously sent to France, where he died the following year (27 April 1803), at the fort of Joux, near Besançon among

the Juras, from the hardships to which he had been exposed. There is much to admire in this remarkable man, his sagacity, his power of leadership, his patriotism and passionate devotion to the cause of liberty, and he stands out in the greatest contrast to the bloody and lustful Dessalines.

**Trafalgar, Battle of.**—Fought between the British under Nelson and the French under Villeneuve off Cape Trafalgar on 21 Oct. 1805. Villeneuve, unable to enter the Channel, steered for Cadiz, where he anchored on 20 Aug.; there he found Collingwood with three ships and tried to draw him into the Mediterranean, but unsuccessfully. Collingwood was later joined by Sir Richard Dickerton with four ships-of-the-line, and subsequently by Sir Robert Calder with eighteen. On 14 Sept. N. gave orders that the French and Spanish ships at Cadiz should put to sea at the first favourable opportunity, effect a junction with seven Spanish ships-of-the-line at Carthage, sail to Naples where they were to disembark a force of troops, and if they met a British fleet of inferior numbers on the way, they should fight a decisive action. On the 15th he issued an order replacing Villeneuve by Rosily, who shortly afterwards left for Cadiz. The British government dispatched Nelson to take over command of the fleet, and he left Portsmouth on the 15th and reached Cadiz on 28 Sept., bringing three additional ships with him. Nelson had now thirty-four ships-of-the-line under his command, which by necessary withdrawals for refitting and so forth was afterwards reduced to twenty-seven. Villeneuve learned that Rosily was going to supersede him, and resolved to attack and put to sea, leaving Cadiz Bay on the 19th. He had under his command thirty-three sail-of-the-line, sailing in five squadrons. He headed for the straits of Gibraltar under a light westerly breeze. Villeneuve knew that Nelson would try to concentrate on a part of his line rather than come to the attack in the old way in a parallel line, but the officers under his command were too inexperienced to admit of nicety in tactics; in fact, the years of training of the British

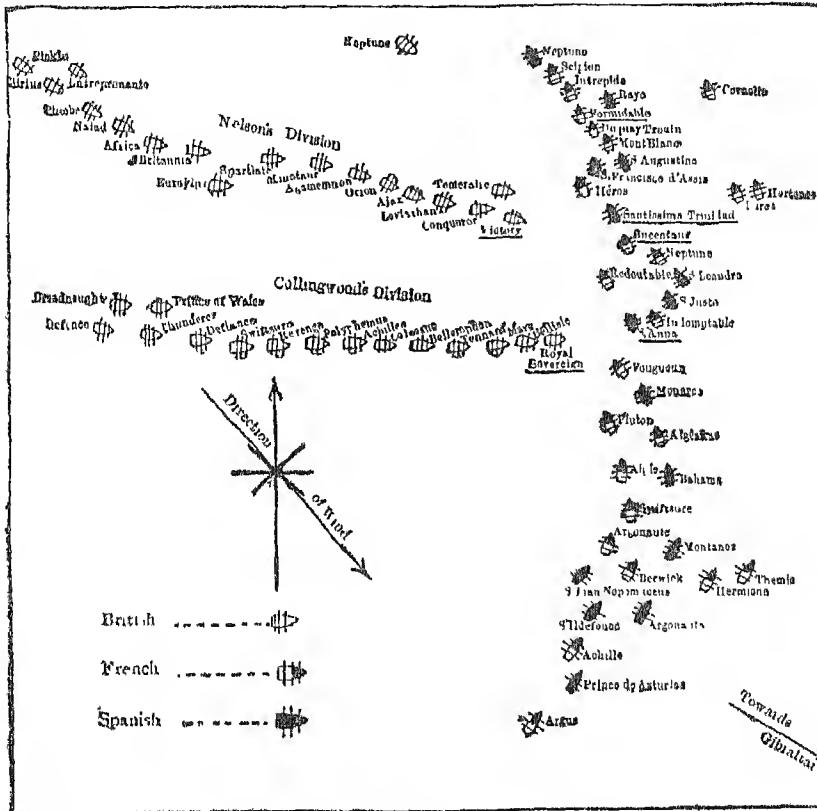
## TRAFALGAR

sailors began to tell. Drifting into a curve which stretched from north to south the Allies advanced. At 6.40 a.m. the signal was made to form the order of sailing and prepare for battle. Collingwood headed for the Franco-Spanish centre. The *Royal Sovereign* was the first British ship to meet the enemies' line. This occurred about twelve o'clock. The ships of Collingwood's division then came up. Nelson's

## TREBBIA

the most furious description. The engagement ended in the capture of eighteen of the Franco-Spanish vessels, the van had practically deserted. In the British fleet the loss in killed and wounded was 1,690. The loss amongst the Allies cannot be stated precisely, only eleven of their ships escaped.

The battle of Trafalgar finally broke the naval power of France and thus put an end to N.'s visions of colonial



Plan of the Battle of Trafalgar

division headed by himself attempted to cut through the enemy between his van and centre and to bar his road to Cadiz. The Allies have put it on record that the British fleet assailed them in two lines converging on their centre, and that it then carried out a concentration on this part of their line, but in reality the Allied formation was broken in two and its rear part was engaged by Collingwood's division, the centre receiving the severest blows. At one time the hand-to-hand fighting was of

conquest. It was undoubtedly a great triumph for British naval organization. Try as he might N. never seemed able to organize a navy, probably because he was so occupied in organizing an army.

**Trebbia, Battle of the.**—On 17 June 1799 large French (35,000) and Russian (30,000) armies under Macdonald and Suvarov concentrated near the Trebbia. Both sides assumed the offensive, and very hard fighting took place, ending in Macdonald's retreat.

## TRUGUET

The battle was resumed on the following day, which resulted in the French being again forced back. On the 19th both generals once more advanced to the attack, and after a desperate conflict which lasted until nightfall the victory remained with the Russians, who had been reinforced and were accordingly better able to afford their losses, which were about the same on both sides—12,000 killed and wounded in the three days.

**Truguet, Admiral Laurent Jean François (1752-1839).**—Had already before the Revolution given promise of naval ability. In 1791 he visited England for the purpose of studying the British system of naval organization. He was hostile to the revolutionary spirit of insubordination in the government, was regarded as a suspect and imprisoned. He escaped death, however, and after the fall of Robespierre was made rear-admiral and minister of marine, but after the unsuccessful expedition to Ireland in 1797 was dismissed from the ministry and sent to Madrid as ambassador. He delayed his return and was placed on the list of *émigrés*, but through the influence of Talleyrand was permitted to return and was appointed to the Council of State in 1801. In the following year he commanded the combined squadron of French and Spanish ships at Cadiz, but as he disobeyed N.'s orders to keep his vessels constantly in commission, he was dismissed from that post. He wrote a letter to N. strongly advising him to keep the title of First Consul, "a title to which you have given a fame vastly superior to that of either king or emperor." In 1804 he refused the grand cross of the Legion of Honour, and for this was dismissed from the council of state. But in 1809 he was appointed maritime prefect at Rochefort, afterwards going on the same footing to Holland, where he was taken prisoner by a party of Cossacks. He was created a count by Louis XVIII. in 1815, and a peer in 1819. He was a plain, outspoken sailor, courageous but tactless, and appears to have greatly irritated N. who conceived a strong dislike to him. He died at the age of eighty-seven.

## TUSCANY

**Tudela, Battle of (Peninsular War, 23 Nov. 1808).**—The opposing armies consisted of 35,000 French under Lannes and 43,000 Spaniards under Castaños and Palafox. The Spanish generals had barely taken up their position along a range of low hills when the French were upon them, concentrating their attack on the Spanish right and at the same time piercing their centre. The effect of this plan was soon felt; the Spaniards were thrown into confusion and were totally defeated, losing 5,000 in killed and wounded, besides hundreds of prisoners and twenty guns.

**Tuscany.**—An Italian province comprising the west central portion of the country and one of the most prosperous and enlightened districts of Italy. At the time of the French Revolution it was a grand duchy under Ferdinand III., son of the Austrian Emperor. Despite his efforts to maintain a strict neutrality, Tuscany was invaded by the French in 1799 and he himself forced to quit his capital. After this a French provisional government was installed; but the Pope, the clergy, and the grand ducal party incited the people to rebellion, and the French were driven from the country, while a government was established at Florence in the name of Ferdinand. However, in 1800, after the battle of Marengo, the French re-entered Florence in triumph, and were accorded a warmer welcome than on their previous entry. A provisional government on the French model was again set up by Murat.

In 1801, by the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville, Tuscany was created a kingdom under the name of Etruria for the benefit of Louis, Duke of Parma, son-in-law to the King of Spain, with a view to France obtaining concessions from that country. Louis made but a poor king, ill as he was in mind and body, and entirely controlled by his imperious and superstitious consort, Marie Louise. In 1803 he died, leaving an infant son, Charles Louis. Thereafter Marie Louise ruled as regent until 1807.

Meanwhile N. was the virtual ruler of the kingdom, imposing his codes, draining the country of conscripts,

quartering his French troops everywhere. The Queen was not clever enough either to support or successfully to oppose his policy, and with blind perversity she allowed herself to be dominated by priests and monks, and to increase the privileges of the Church, while N. was trying hard to suppress them. At length in 1807 the Emperor signed a secret treaty with Spain at Fontainebleau, in which he compelled Charles IV. to cede Tuscany. By way of compensation Charles Louis was to have a principality in Portugal. Marie Louise was informed (but only when all had been arranged) that she was no longer queen. On 30 May of the following year Tuscany was formally annexed by France, and had three places in the Senate and twelve in the Legislative Body allotted to her. The grand duchy (as it was once more called) was given to Elisa Bacciochi, the sister of N.; but the only powers vested in the grand duchess were merely nominal, and consisted in passing on N.'s orders to the French officials in Tuscany. The country was divided into three departments, Arno, Ombrone and Méditerranée, and a "General Government of the Departments of Tuscany" was formed. The French rule in Tuscany was by no means well received by the people. This was chiefly on account of the conscription. The Tuscan population, unlike the Piedmontese, were more skilled in the arts of peace than in those of warfare, and consequently the pressing of their young men into N.'s service was very distasteful to them and weighed against many of the advantages accruing from the imperial régime.

When Bonaparte was defeated in 1814, Prince Joachim Murat occupied the province for a time, afterwards ceding it to Austria. In September of the same year the Grand Duke Ferdinand III. returned, and was received with joy by the people. His rights, which rested on the Treaty of Vienna, (1735) had now been recognized by the Allied Powers. Thus matters stood when the Congress of Vienna turned its attention to Tuscany. A committee of five (comprising Wessenberg, Labrador, Noailles, Nesselrode and

Clancarty) was deputed to consider the affairs of Tuscany, Parma and other adjacent duchies. The claims of Ferdinand III. were opposed by Don Pedro Gomez Labrador, representative of Spain and champion of the Bourbon family, on behalf of Charles Louis, son of Louis, Prince of Parma and the Bourbon Marie Louise, who from 1801 to 1807 had ruled the kingdom of Etruria (the grand duchy of Tuscany). The claims of Charles Louis, however, had been renounced by the House of Bourbon in the secret treaty signed at Fontainebleau in 1807. Thus Labrador, who based his claims on the Treaty of Madrid (1801), annulled by this later treaty, held an unfortunate position, which he soon abandoned on the advice of Talleyrand. Changing his ground, Labrador then claimed for the Infante Charles Louis the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, to which, as the son of the Prince of Parma, he had a better title. However, the three duchies had already been assigned to the Empress Marie Louise, with remainder to her son, by the Treaty of Fontainebleau (11 April 1814), when the claims of the relatives of the dethroned Emperor were settled. Talleyrand, representing France at the Congress, sought to effect a compromise whereby the son of N. and of Marie Louise might be excluded from Italy without the number of independent states in that country being increased. He planned, therefore, to give the three duchies to the Infante Charles Louis, the Empress Marie Louise to be compensated by a pension drawn from the revenues of the grand duchy of Tuscany; while Lucca and part of Elba were assigned to the Grand Duke.

By the Final Act, however, the three duchies were given to the Empress Marie Louise, but only for her own lifetime; by this means her son, the son of N., was excluded from the succession. Marie Louise, ex-queen of Etruria, was given the duchy of Lucca, which was to revert to the Grand Duke of Tuscany on her death and that of her son. Ferdinand III., who on the return of N. from Elba had temporarily absented himself from his province, was now reinstated, part of Elba being

added to his domains. He continued to reign until his death in 1824.

**Two Cent Revolt, The.**—In Aug. 1786 a rebellion known as the Two Cent Revolt broke out in Lyons among the silk weavers, who desired two cents an ell more pay for their work. At the same time the tavern keepers revolted against the enforcement of the Banvin, a feudal right imposing a heavy tax on the sale of wine. N.'s company was dispatched among others to the scene of the uprising, but by the time he arrived the disturbance was practically quelled. He spent a very agreeable time at Lyons, which city he appears to have quitted with regret "to follow," as he wrote his uncle Fesch, "his destiny."

## U

**Ulm.**—See AUSTERLITZ CAMPAIGN.

**United States of America.**—The relations of N. with the United States of America were for the most part of a cordial nature. During the Revolutionary era in France the United States were in high national favour there, and much has been written to prove that the casting off of English rule by the Americans, and the democratic republic they founded, was not without its significance to the republicans of France. In 1793 Jenat, a French agent, appeared in America to claim the assistance of the United States for the French Republic. He attempted to commission privateers and raise recruits with the object of wresting Louisiana from Spain; but Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality. In the course of the British war with France, neutral American vessels fared rather badly, and a treaty was signed in 1794 which settled this difficulty between Great Britain and the United States, but it engaged the United States against any intervention in the war on behalf of France. The national policy during the election of 1796 was stated as being one which would keep the country out of entangling alliances with any of the European belligerents. When Washington's administration had come to an end, the French Directory broke off political relations with

the United States, demanded the abrogation of the treaty with Great Britain and a closer sympathy with France. President Adams sent Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry as delegates to the French Republic to re-establish the former relations with it. The French government made clamant demands for funds which the Americans refused. Their letters to friends at home were published and war with France became a popular cry. In 1798 the treaties with France were declared at an end, an American army was formed commanded by Washington, and American vessels were given letters of mark to capture French vessels. A few sea-fights took place in which the new American navy appeared to advantage. In the following year N. came into power and renewed the peace with the United States. The mission of the three envoys above mentioned was afterwards known as the "X Y Z" mission, as in their published letters, the letters "X" "Y" "Z" were substituted for the names of the French agents with whom the American envoys dealt. One faction existed, that of Alexander Hamilton, which considered that the only way to consolidate the newly acquired powers of the federal government was by increasing the warfare against France, but President Adams, desirous of peace, accepted the overtures of the new Napoleonic government and sent the envoys to France. In 1803 came the incident of the Louisiana Purchase (see LOUISIANA, SALE OF), the most significant of the relations between N. and the young American Republic. In 1806 the British government forbade American trade with any country from which the British flag was excluded, with the object, of course, of striking at the Napoleonic system in Europe—allowing direct trade with the United States to Sweden only. The American non-intercourse law of 1 March 1809 prohibited commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France and their dependencies, the importation of British and French goods and the entrance of British and French vessels into any port of the United States. This law was to be rescinded in the case of either belligerent which should aban-

## VALUTINA

don its attack on neutral commerce, and maintained against the other. In 1810 the American government concluded that France had abandoned its system but N. continued to enforce it in effect, although he benefited by the removal of the embargo on French goods. It will be recalled that subsequent to his second abdication N. desired and even attempted to escape to the United States. Had he done so it is unlikely, as he hoped, that he would have in any way succeeded in seizing the reins of government or in influencing the Republic to take up arms on his behalf. See LOUISIANA, SALE OF.

## V

**Valutina-Gora, Battle of (Russian Campaign).**—On 19 Aug. 1812 during the French advance on Moscow, a fierce engagement, said to be the most obstinate in that campaign, took place at Valutina-Gora, between the French advance-guard under Ney and the rear-guard of the Russian army under Touczkoff. The latter were forced to continue their retreat, after a loss of 6,000 men, the Russian general being taken prisoner. The French lost 8,000 men.

**Vandamme, Dominique René, Count (1770-1830).**—French general, was born at Cassel in Nord on 5 Nov. 1770. In 1786 he entered the army, served in the campaign of 1793, and in those of 1794, 1795, and 1796, and so distinguished himself by his remarkable fighting qualities that in 1799 he was made a general of division. At Austerlitz he led a division of Soult's corps, which stormed the plateau whereon the Russians were esconced, and performed brilliant feats of arms despite the fact that both N. and Soult withheld their support. For this Vandamme received the grand eagle of the Legion of Honour. In 1806-7 he further distinguished himself by reducing Silesia, and in 1808 he was made Count of Unebourg. For a time his arms were singularly successful, but he met with a serious reverse at Kulm in 1813. When N. was taking up a strategic position before the battle of Dresden, he charged Van-

## VENDÔME

damme with the task of cutting off the enemy's retreat by way of the Pirna road. While making his way to the rear of the Allied Army Vandamme encountered a Russian force under Prince Eugène of Württemberg. The Russians, though beaten back, took up a strong position in the vicinity of Kulm, where soon afterwards they received unexpected aid from a Prussian corps under Kleist. The French fought bravely, and none more bravely than Vandamme himself, who was nevertheless defeated and taken captive. This disaster completely annulled N.'s victory at Dresden. Harshly treated on his release, by the Bourbons now restored, Vandamme betook himself to Cassel. Always faithful to N., he rejoined the Emperor during the Hundred Days, fighting with his wonted skill and courage at Waterloo. He was exiled by the second Restoration, but returned in 1824, and died in his native Cassel on 5 July 1830.

**Vendôme Column, The.**—Was erected by N. in the Place Vendôme, Paris, to commemorate the achievements of the *grande armée* in Germany 1805. It is 132 ft. 2 in. high, and is made of the cannon taken from the enemy. The huge block which supports the column is of Corsican granite. In form it is a model of Trajan's column, and on its sides are bas-reliefs by Launay, whilst surmounting it was a statue of N. On the restoration of the Bourbons this statue was removed from the top of the column and melted down for the figure of Henri IV. on the Pont Neuf, whilst in its place floated a flag bearing the lilies of France until the return of the Emperor from Elba. On 28 July 1833 N.'s statue was again placed on the summit, this time in more modern military costume. A short telescope is in the right hand, and the left is thrust into the front of the coat in the famous and characteristic attitude. It was unveiled amid great enthusiasm, and Louis Philippe had himself, in accordance with public demand, to uncover before N. On 16 May 1871 it was pulled down by the Communists "in the name of international fraternity," but was restored

by the National Assembly 31 Aug. 1874, the bronze plates being recast from the old moulds and the statue of N. again replaced 28 Dec. 1875.

**Viazma, Battle of.**—Was fought during the French retreat from Moscow on 3 Nov. 1812, between the Russian vanguard under Kutusov and the French rear-guard under Davout. The latter's flank and rear were exposed, but the Russian attack was half-hearted, and although Davout was temporarily cut off from the main French army, Eugène Beauharnais and Poniatowski came to the rescue and enabled Davout to rejoin the main body. The French lost about 4,000 men, besides 2,000 prisoners, and the Russians 2,000.

**Victor-Perrin, Claude (1764-1841).**—Sometimes called Victor, Duc de Belluno, and marshal of France; was born at La Marche, in the Vosges, in 1764 of humble parents. He entered the army as a private in the artillery at the age of fifteen, and first distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon; he led the attack on Fort Aiguillette, the reduction of which caused the town to be evacuated by the Allied Army. He rose to be general of brigade in the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees, and was at the siege of St. Elmo and all the battles previous to the Treaty of Bâle. He later displayed great bravery in the Italian campaign, and was given a sabre of honour for his services at Marengo.

Victor-Perrin was governor of Louisiana for a short period in 1802, and was sent as ambassador to Denmark after the peace of Amiens, where he remained until war broke out with Prussia. He was wounded at Jena, and in the following year his bravery at the battle of Friedland procured him a marshal's baton. On the peace of Tilsit he became governor of Berlin. In 1808 he joined the army in Spain, and distinguished himself in many actions. He also took part in the campaign in Portugal, where at first he met with defeat and had to retreat, but having effected a junction with another portion of the French Army, he ere long retraced his steps and took possession of Talavera.

In 1812 Victor, who had now been

made Duc de Belluno, was ordered to Russia, receiving the position of corps commander, and fought nobly in several battles. His corps held the honourable position of protecting the army during the crossing of the Beresina. After taking part in many of the earlier battles of the 1813-14 campaign, he unfortunately arrived too late at Montereau, and for this the Emperor formally dismissed him from the service. Victor, however, replied that, rather than leave the army, he would once more serve as a private in the ranks, which so touched N. that he gave him the command of two brigades of his guard. A few days later he was wounded at Craonne.

On the restoration of the Bourbons Victor joined their party, and was given command of the second military division, and did his best to keep his troops faithful to the King when N. returned from Elba. In this he was unsuccessful, so he went to Ghent with Louis and remained with him until the second Restoration. He was then made a peer of France and major-general of the royal household; and in 1821 he was appointed minister of war. On retiring from the ministry in 1823 he was appointed ambassador at the court of Vienna, but never proceeded there. In Aug. 1830 Victor gave in his adhesion to the government of Louis Philippe, and after the revolution of that year retired into private life. He died in Paris on 1 March 1841.

**Vienna, Congress of.**—The first step towards the settlement of European affairs after the Napoleonic wars was taken on 1 March 1814, when the Treaty of Chaumont, signed by Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, provided for the holding of periodic conferences between the representatives of these countries in the interests of general peace. In pursuance of this design the Congress of Vienna was arranged for by the terms of the First Peace of Paris (30 May 1814); signed by Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain, and France. Representatives of all the powers engaged in the Napoleonic wars were to be admitted, but a secret article of the peace stipulated



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that France was to be excluded from a share in the partition of territories conquered by her deposed Emperor. Many of the hopes aroused by the prospect of the congress were destined to remain unfulfilled. Not only did Europe look for a redistribution of territory and a readjustment of political power, for the abolition of the slave trade and the piracy then rampant in the Mediterranean; the establishment of an international tribunal was confidently expected, and hopes were even cherished of universal disarmament, with the consequent inauguration of a perpetual peace. What the congress actually accomplished, though of a much less ambitious character, was nevertheless of considerable practical value. The opening conference had been fixed for the beginning of Aug., but for the convenience of certain sovereigns and plenipotentiaries it was deferred until the end of September.

A number of sovereigns appeared in person at the congress to safeguard the interests of their respective kingdoms. Among these may be mentioned the Emperor Francis I. of Austria, who acted as host to the assemblage, the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia, and his less capable ally King Frederick William III. of Prussia. Other sovereigns attending the congress were King Frederick VI. of Denmark, King Maximilian I., Joseph of Bavaria, and King Frederick I. of Württemberg, besides numerous German princes seeking to gain or regain sovereignty. Of the plenipotentiaries, Prince Metternich, by virtue of his office as Austrian minister of state and of foreign affairs, was elected president of the congress—in his case a position of real as well as nominal authority and responsibility. He was assisted in the representation of Austria by Baron von Wessenberg and Friedrich von Gentz, the latter secretary of the congress. France was ably represented by the brilliant Prince de Talleyrand, who was accompanied by the Duc de Dalberg, the Comte de la Tour du Pin, Alexis de Noailles, and La Bessardière, secretary of the embassy. Great Britain sent Lord Castlereagh,

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with Cathcart, Clancarty and Stewart to support him. On 15 Feb. 1815 Castlereagh's duties as secretary of state for foreign affairs necessitated his return to England, when he was replaced by Wellington. Spain's one plenipotentiary was Don Pedro Gomez Labrador, and Portugal also sent representatives. Prince von Hardenberg, as first plenipotentiary for Prussia, had the assistance of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt and other Prussian diplomats. The principal guardian of the Russian interests was the Tsar himself, but he was surrounded by a brilliant group, including Nesselrode and Capodistrias. It would be impossible to enumerate within a limited space the representatives of smaller states, spiritual bodies, towns and private individuals assembled at the Congress of Vienna. Suffice it to say that, besides those powers already mentioned, Sweden, Switzerland, the Italian states, the German states, the Church of Rome and the Catholic Church of Germany were represented.

The mutual attitude of the great powers at the beginning of the congress requires some definition. With regard to the main portions of the territory to be dealt with (Italy, the Netherlands and part of Germany), it had already been agreed upon in the First Peace of Paris that the four allied powers should see to the redistribution of these, while France was to accept their ruling in the matter. The partition of Poland and Saxony presented greater difficulties. By the terms of the Convention of Kalisch (28 Feb. 1813) between Russia and Prussia, the latter country had surrendered her Polish claims in return for the Russian guarantee of adequate compensation in Germany. The Treaty of Reichenbach (27 June 1813) arranged for the partition of the grand duchy of Warsaw between Austria, Russia and Prussia. But Prussia evidently had designs on Saxony, then controlled by the "central administration of reconquered territories," approved by the allied powers and presided over by Stein.

The first concern of the congress was to deal with matters of general

European interest. For this purpose a committee was formed comprising representatives of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, France and Spain, while German affairs were to be settled by a committee of German plenipotentiaries. At the same time the four allied powers declared their intention of dealing with Germany, Italy and Poland without the intervention of France and Spain. But the arrival of Talleyrand and his refusal to allow France to be ignored put an end to this arrangement. The French statesman suggested a committee of plenipotentiaries from France, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal and Sweden, and his suggestion was finally adopted, the committee being designated the "Committee of Eight."

The first serious business before the congress was the Polish-Saxon question. At first it seemed as though an amicable settlement of this matter might be reached. The partition of the grand duchy of Warsaw (Poland) between Austria, Russia and Prussia according to the terms of the Treaty of Reichenbach might have been carried out without opposition from any of the powers, while nothing seemed to stand in the way of Prussia's annexation of Saxony. Indeed, the administration of Saxony was transferred to Prussia on 8 Nov. However, this settlement was prevented by the policy of France at the congress. Talleyrand, champion of the French Bourbons, had set himself up as protector of the interests of the smaller states and their legitimate sovereigns; he therefore protested on behalf of the imprisoned King Frederick Augustus against Prussian annexation of Saxony, and public opinion in that and other German states was strongly in his favour. A determined struggle ensued, during which Europe was for a time on the brink of war. Russia desired to see a kingdom of Poland established under her protection, while Austria was determined to prevent this; the annexation of Saxony was aimed at by Prussia, who had the support of her ally Russia. And the solutions of these problems were, as has been shown, mutually dependent

on one another. Metternich's proposal that part only of Saxony should be annexed by Prussia was rejected scornfully by that country. Meanwhile a Polish army had been mobilised with the approval of the Tsar, and gradually Great Britain and Austria came round to the side of France. This resulted in a defensive triple alliance (3 Jan. 1815) between these countries for the purpose of resisting attack on their joint proposals for the settlement of European affairs. This alliance was strictly secret, and meanwhile the plenipotentiaries of the five great powers continued to meet. The situation grew very strained and war seemed imminent, but the very nearness of the calamity gave pause to the statesmen engaged in the struggle and made them more ready for compromise. Metternich was the first to take a step in this direction. He suggested that Austria would accept a less satisfactory frontier in Poland than she had hoped for, and would agree to the Prussian annexation of a part of Saxony on condition that the remainder was restored to the legitimate monarch. On 11 Feb. the five powers finally sanctioned this arrangement. Poland was partitioned between Austria, Russia and Prussia in such wise that Austria and Prussia recovered most of their former Polish territories, while the rest of the country was established as a semi-independent state under Russian control. Prussia received about two-fifths of Saxony, though it was only on 18 May that the King of Saxony, now reinstated, could be brought definitely to surrender even so much of his territory.

Meanwhile various other settlements were made by special committees. In Nov. 1815 Genoa was incorporated with the kingdom of Sardinia. Switzerland presented a question of some difficulty at the beginning of the congress. The numerous conflicting claims of old and new cantons, the binding and loosing of federal ties, riotous disturbances throughout the country, and a bitter struggle between the old *régime* and the new—these rendered the Swiss settlement no easy task. Yet because the powers were largely disinterested in the matter

something like a solution was soon arrived at. Finally a confederation of twenty-two cantons was formed, including Geneva, which the house of Savoy was induced to relinquish, the French department of Valais, and Neuchâtel. On 29 March the Committee of Eight agreed to this settlement, which some two months later was accepted by the Diet of Zurich. On 20 Nov. 1815, after the congress was over, Swiss neutrality was guaranteed by the five great powers.

An important settlement was that of the Netherlands. The main design of the congress in this respect being the interposition of a stout barrier between France and Germany, the entire Netherlands were to be united into one kingdom under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, irrespective of racial and religious differences. The new kingdom was to include, besides Holland and Belgium, the duchy of Limburg, the see of Liège and the grand duchy of Luxemburg. The affairs of Norway, Sweden and Denmark occupied the congress but little. In 1813 Sweden had surrendered Finland to Russia in order to receive Norway from Denmark, who had joined the Allies. The latter country, in return for the cession of Norway, was to have Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen, together with an indemnity. The powers were satisfied with this arrangement, which lessened the political significance of Sweden while increasing that of Russia. However, Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, for a time refused to hand over Swedish Pomerania, urging the reluctance of Norway to the union with Sweden as his reason for the delay.

Spain was another country which played but a small part in the congress. Her sole representative, Labrador, was chiefly concerned with the interests of the Etruscan Bourbons, Marie Louise and her son Charles Louis. Portugal pressed for the surrender of Olivença, ceded by her to Spain in 1801, but the Spanish representative refused the demand. Malta remained in the hands of Great Britain, while the Order of Malta,

driven from the island in 1788, now asked to be compensated elsewhere. The powers were disposed to assign Corfu to the Order, but the scheme was frustrated by the return of N. from Elba.

It was in Italy that Austria expected to satisfy her chief claims, and therefore Metternich took a considerable part in the settlement of Italian matters. He refused to consider Labrador's proposal that a committee should be chosen to deal with the affairs of the peninsula as a whole. Separate committees were thus appointed for the various states—for the Legations, for the Two Sicilies, for Tuscany, Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, and so on. Tuscany, despite the opposition of the Bourbon champion, Labrador, was assigned to the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., who was at the same time an archduke in Austria. The duchies of Modena, Reggio and Mirandola were given to his son, Duke Francis IV., who had a better claim than anyone else. Austria would seem to have had designs on the Legations as well, having, indeed, sent troops to occupy them, while France, who had received them by the Treaty of Tolentino (1797), was prepared to give them up. For a time the fate of these provinces hung in the balance, but at length the papal representative, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi, succeeded in securing them for the Holy See. The conflict between Murat's claims to the throne of Naples and those of the Bourbon King Ferdinand was raised for discussion at the congress. France, Spain and Russia favoured the Bourbon interest, but Austria had made a treaty with Murat early in 1814 whereby Murat was to retain Naples on condition that Sicily remained to Ferdinand. The powers therefore agreed to defer the settlement of this question, and ere it was dealt with again Murat had swept away Austria's obligations to him by siding with N. on the latter's return from Elba. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla were assigned to the Empress Marie Louise, with a provision to exclude her son from the succession; and Lucca was given to Marie Louise, ex-Queen of Etruria.

The task which confronted the powers at Vienna of constructing a German federal union and providing it with a constitution was long and arduous and full of complications. The first stage of the proceedings was entrusted to a German committee, comprising representatives from Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Bavaria and Württemberg. On 16 Oct. 1814 Metternich submitted a draft, comprised in twelve articles, of a proposed Germanic constitution. It was suggested that both Prussia and Austria should enter the confederation, and that the last-named country should preside over the diet, to consist of (1) a Directory, (2) a council of the heads of circles, and (3) a council of the princes and estates. Bavaria and Württemberg protested against the twelve articles as placing undue power in the hands of Austria and Prussia; and although the opposition of Bavaria weakened as time went on, Württemberg's obstinacy did much to hinder a settlement. The sittings of the committee, so far fruitless, were suspended on 24 Nov. for five months, but its members continued to do some useful work. On 10 Feb. 1815 two drafts were submitted to Metternich by the Prussian representatives. These proposed that the confederation should be governed by an executive representing the five principal Germanic states, and a legislature representing all the governments. But it was only with the Final Act that a settlement was arranged.

A matter which occupied the congress largely was the abolition of the slave trade, the prime mover being Castlereagh. With the exception of Spain and Portugal, all the powers were united in the desire to abolish this traffic. Spain, however, objected that eight years, at least, must elapse before she could finally extinguish the slave trade. A committee composed of representatives of the eight powers was appointed to deal with the matter. On 8 Feb. a declaration was issued which involved the final abolition of the slave trade, while leaving the actual date to be fixed by each country for the traffic in its own dominions.

Good work was also done by the committee on the navigation of rivers, which dealt expeditiously with the question of free navigation of the Rhine and the Scheldt, the Main, Neckar, Meuse and Moselle, as well as with that of river navigation generally. Other committees were the statistical committee, to assist territorial redistribution by determining the population, or statistical value, of the various territories, and a committee to decide the question of precedence among the plenipotentiaries at the congress.

The return of N. from Elba resulted in a new alliance between the European powers. The imminence of renewed hostilities curtailed the deliberations of the Vienna Congress and hastened its settlements. Austria united the Italian states under her control into the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. On 3 May the Polish question was finally arranged between Austria, Russia and Prussia, and the neutrality of Cracow guaranteed. A few weeks later the Saxon king agreed to the incorporation with Prussia of a part of his kingdom. On 27 May the Swiss Confederation was confirmed by the Diet of Zurich. Murat's ill-advised stand for N. had meanwhile deprived him of the support of the powers, and the Neapolitan throne was restored to Ferdinand IV. A series of conferences on German affairs led to the adoption of the Federal Act (8 June 1815), signed by thirty-six German governments, to which were afterwards added Württemberg and Baden (26 July and 1 Sept. respectively). The Federal Act provided for a loose confederation of German states under the presidency of Austria. Each member of the confederation was to have a constitution of its own, and all were to be possessed of equal rights. It was obvious to those concerned that the Germanic federal union must be accomplished speedily or indefinitely postponed; they chose the former alternative, with results that were admittedly unsatisfactory and inadequate.

The Final Act of the Congress, setting forth the various treaties and settlements, was formally adopted on

9 June. Of the Eight Powers, Spain alone refused to sign, partly, no doubt, from a spirit of sullen obstinacy and aloofness which she had shown from the beginning of the congress, and partly from a jealous resentment of the interference of the powers in Bourbon matters. The principal provisions of the Final Act may be briefly outlined as follows: France had been reduced to her boundaries of 1792, according to the terms of the First Peace of Paris, yet to preserve the balance of power in Europe (one of the chief aims of the congress), it was judged well not to weaken her unduly. Her constitution was left untouched, and the throne remained in possession of the Bourbons. Belgium and Luxemburg, Limburg and Liège were incorporated with Holland, under the designation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the crown of the united kingdom falling to the house of Orange. The partition of Poland (the duchy of Warsaw) gave Russia control over the major portion of the territory, to be known as the Kingdom of Poland. Austria retained her former possessions in Eastern Galicia, with the salt mines of Wiliczka. The gains of Prussia were considerable. In addition to her share of Poland and Saxony she had secured Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen, the grand-duchy of Berg and the duchy of Westphalia, and numerous other territories on both banks of the Rhine. On the other hand, Prussia had no sea-front on the North Sea, and her scattered territory compared unfavourably with the compact kingdom of France. Important additions were also acquired by Hanover, while Würzburg and Aschaffenburg were assigned to Bavaria. Frankfort was made an Imperial Free City. The Federal Act, which immediately on its adoption was incorporated with the Final Act, provided, as has been shown, for a loose confederation of thirty-eight German states, of which Austria, Prussia, Denmark and the Netherlands joined only for such of their territories as were purely German. Austria gained largely, especially in Italy and the south. The Final Act confirmed her authority over the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as pro-

claimed by her on 7 April; it included the Valtelline, with Chiavenna and Bormio. The kingdoms of Dalmatia and Illyria were also erected for Austria, the latter comprising Carinthia, Carniola and Trieste (Istria). Other Italian settlements were those of Tuscany, which was guaranteed to the Grand Duke Ferdinand; the Two Sicilies, the possession of whose throne was confirmed to King Ferdinand IV.; Sardinia, to whose extended boundaries the congress set its seal in the Final Act; the duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla, allotted to the Empress Marie Louise; and the duchy of Lucca, assigned to the Infanta Marie Louise, ex-queen of Etruria. The Legations (with the exception of certain territories on the left bank of the Po which fell to Austria) were restored to the Holy See. The results of the deliberations of the River Navigation Committee were also embodied in the Final Act. By deciding that free navigation must obtain in connection with all rivers passing through several countries, or forming their boundaries, the committee had done great service to European commerce; provision was made for the appointment of another commission to consider the matter in more detail. Among the annexes to the Final Act was the Declaration (8 Feb. 1815), which was to abolish the slave trade.

Despite the fact that very many claims were left unsettled and very many questions not considered at all, there is no doubt that the congress successfully accomplished the task that lay nearest to its hand—the difficult and delicate task of redistributing territory and political power in such wise that the balance of power might be restored in Europe. It is true that its settlements were many of them destined to speedy overthrow, and that the revolutions and disturbances of the next three or four decades left but little trace of its decisions; yet we must remember how thorny were some of its paths, how full of snares and pitfalls. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that its rulings were at the best but hasty and patched-up settlements, designed to give Europe a breathing space after the long and

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bitter struggle in which she had been engaged.

**Villaret de Joyeuse, Louis Thomas (1750 - 1812).**—French admiral; was born in Gascony of a noble house. It was intended that he should enter the church, but he joined the army, which, however, he had to leave very soon owing to an *affaire d'honneur* in which his opponent was killed. He then entered the navy, served under Suffren in Indian waters, and was promoted to the command of a frigate. In 1781 he was taken prisoner, and was not released until 1783. He supported the Revolution in 1789, two years later commanded the *Prudente* at San Domingo, and in 1794 was appointed rear-admiral. He was at the head of the French fleet in the battle of 1 June (1794), which was defeated by a British squadron under Lord Howe. Villaret de Joyeuse became a member of the Five Hundred in 1796. He was accused of royalist inclinations, and in 1797 was condemned to transportation, which sentence, however, he evaded, and lived quietly at Oleron until recalled by the Consulate, who appointed him to the command of the fleet which conveyed the French Army to San Domingo in 1801. In April 1802 he was made captain-general of Martinique, but seven years later, after a gallant defence, he was forced to surrender it to Britain. He was given the command of a military division by N. in 1811, and was also appointed governor-general of Venice, where he died in 1812.

**Villeneuve, Pierre Charles Jean Baptiste Silvestre de (1763-1806).**—French admiral; was born at Valensoles, Basses-Alpes, on 31 Dec. 1763. At the age of fourteen he entered the navy as a *garde du Pavillon*, and on the outbreak of the Revolution sympathized with the popular cause, thus escaping death or exile. In 1793 he became a captain and in 1796 a rear-admiral. He took part in the unsuccessful expedition to Ireland which reached Bantry Bay. Later he accompanied the expedition to Egypt, his flagship being the *Guillaume Tell*. At the battle of the Nile he was in command of the rear division, and suc-

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ceeded in escaping to Malta with four ships. For this action he was severely censured, and he defended himself on his return to Paris by a plausible letter to Blanquet-Duchayla. In 1804 N. chose him to succeed Latouche-Tréville in the command of the Toulon squadron, with orders to divert the attention of Nelson from the coasts of Europe and thus leave the Channel free for the attempt on England. With this end in view he sailed for the West Indies (17 Jan. 1805), though already he had manifested distaste for his task and fears of the result, and was only driven to it by N.'s repeated and vigorous orders. When at Antigua he heard of Nelson's proximity. Villeneuve, however, disembarked his troops, and captured a fleet of fourteen British merchantmen, after which he sailed for Ferrol, according to his orders from N. These orders bade him assemble fifteen French and Spanish ships at Ferrol, whence he was to make for Brest to relieve Ganteaume, and with this powerful fleet make for the Channel. At the Azores, however, he fell in with a British squadron under Sir Robert Calder; the engagement lasted till dark, and two of the Spanish ships surrendered to the British. The second day after the fight Calder retreated northwards, a proceeding for which he was censured, and Villeneuve, assembling the Ferrol squadron, put into Corunna. Here he decided to make for Cadiz, in spite of the most urgent orders from N. to proceed to Boulogne. Certainly, according to N.'s habit, he had given Villeneuve an alternative scheme which included Cadiz, but only to be resorted to in face of an overwhelming calamity, a description which the engagement with Calder cannot be said to fill. A fixed idea possessed Villeneuve's mind of preserving his fleet quite regardless of the Emperor's plans or how they might be affected. This idea he only relinquished when his pride was stung by the intimation from the Minister of Marine that he was to be superseded by Admiral Rosily. Villeneuve thought to retrieve his fortunes by a brilliant victory, though the chances of such were practically nil, as he must have known.

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Accordingly he left Cadiz, and on 21 Oct. 1805 offered battle at Cape Trafalgar. The fate he thus sought was far more disastrous than could have overtaken him in obeying N.'s orders. Out of thirty-three sail-of-the-line he lost eighteen, and though Villeneuve showed personal courage of the highest order, it was useless in face of his lack of strategic skill. His flagship, the *Bucentaure*, was captured and he himself was taken prisoner to England. In April 1806 he was permitted to return to France, but learning that he could hope for nothing from N., he committed suicide at an inn at Rennes on 22 April 1806.

**Vimiera, Battle of (Peninsular War 1808).**—On 20 Aug. the Allies, consisting of 18,000 British and Portuguese troops with 18 guns, under Wellesley were encamped on a plateau to the north-east of the village of Vimiera. On the following day 14,000 French with 20 guns under Junot advanced to the attack, but after a gallant fight they were defeated at all points and driven off with a loss of about 2,000 men and 13 guns, while the Allies lost about 800. Shortly after this battle the French evacuated Portugal under the Convention of Cintra.

**Vinkovo, or Tarutino, Battle of (Russian Campaign).**—Kutusov with a Russian Army had taken up a position at Tarutino, which commanded the French left flank under Murat at Vinkovo. On the morning of 18 Oct. 1812 Kutusov attacked and severely handled the French Army, and N. then gave orders for the retreat, which ended so disastrously, to begin.

**Vittoria.**—The battle of Vittoria, fought on 21 June 1813, was the last battle of the Peninsular War of 1813, and finally broke French rule in Spain. The French Army, numbering 55,000, under Joseph Bonaparte, lay on the hills to the south-west of the town of Vittoria, while the Allied troops, consisting of British and Spanish (80,000), under Wellington confronted them to the north. After heavy fighting the French were defeated at all points and driven through the town—their retreat rapidly developing into a rout. They lost 7,000 men and practically all their

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guns and baggage, while the Allied losses amounted to 5,000. Wellington gave much credit to the Spanish troops for their part in this affair.

## W

**Wagram.**—The battle of Wagram, one of the greatest of the Napoleonic campaigns if the numbers of the combatants be taken into account, was fought on 6 July 1809 between the French under N. and the Austrians under the Archduke Charles. The French numbers are given as 181,700 men, including 20,000 cavalry, and 450 guns; and the Austrians 128,600, including 14,600 cavalry, and 410 guns. The latter made a stubborn stand, but finally had to retreat, which they accomplished in good order, being outnumbered and outgeneralled. The losses were colossal: French, 23,000 killed and wounded, 7,000 missing, 11 guns and 12 eagles and colours; Austrians, 19,110 killed and wounded, 6,740 missing, 9 guns and one colour.

**Walcheren Expedition.**—Walcheren is an island at the mouth of the River Scheldt, Holland, and was the scene of an unfortunate expedition in 1809, which brought nothing but ridicule and loss to the British. Austria was then preparing to fight N., and her chief hopes of support lay in the Peninsular War and a possible British descent upon Hanover, where unrest was simmering. Yet Britain and Austria were still technically at war with each other, for the conclusion of peace was delayed for an interminable period considering the interests at stake. The preparations for the expedition were ludicrously unguarded, and at the end of July (28 July 1809), when the ratification of peace at last arrived in London from Vienna and the ships set sail, the French journals could announce that Walcheren was the point of attack. Official favouritism gave the command of 40,000 troops to the Earl of Chatham, the fleet being under Sir Richard Strachan, and consisting of 35 ships of the line and 200 smaller vessels, principally transports. Instead of making straight for Antwerp, the vital

point, the Earl of Chatham spent valuable time bombarding Flushing, taking it on 15 Aug. But by this time it was useless to proceed to Antwerp, for that fortress, being now fully prepared, beat him off, and he was forced to retire to the Island of Walcheren and its fever-laden swamps, where N. had formerly refused to send his soldiers. No suggestion on the part of the naval commanders nor urging on the part of the officers had been able to arouse the Earl to decisive action, and at last he was obliged to return with a poor remnant of his force, the few whom disease and climate had spared. The place was evacuated 23 Dec. 1809. The climax of the farce was reached when the commanders were acquitted after a court-martial. The House of Commons instituted an inquiry, and Lord Chatham resigned his post of master-general of the ordnance to avoid greater disgrace; but the policy of the ministers in planning the expedition was approved, though it had led to such terrible loss of men and treasure. An epigram of the time put the episode as follows:

"Lord Chatham with his sabre drawn  
 Stood waiting for Sir Richard  
 Strachan;  
 Sir Richard longing to be at 'em,  
 Stood waiting for the Earl of  
 Chatham."

The failure of this expedition was one of the causes of the recriminations between Canning and Castlereagh, who at last resigned office and fought a duel (1809) in which Canning was wounded.

**Walewski, Alexander Florian Joseph Colonna, Comte (1810-68).—**

The son of N. and Marie, Comtesse Walewski; was born at Walewice near Warsaw on 4 May 1810. In 1814 he was taken by his mother to visit N. at Elba. He was educated in Poland, but at the age of fourteen ran away to London on refusing to enter the Russian Army, and finally made his way to Paris, where the French Government denied the right of the Russian authorities in their claim for his extradition. Under Louis Philippe he was sent to Poland in 1830, and

there became identified with the national movement. The leaders of the revolution made him the bearer of their mission to London, but on the failure of the Polish rising he returned to France and took out letters of naturalisation. He then entered the French Army and served for some time in Algiers. Having for long been attracted to literature, he determined to devote himself to writing, and therefore resigned his commission in 1837. He wrote both for the stage and press, and is said to have collaborated with Dumas the elder in *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*. In 1840 *L'Ecole du Monde*, a comedy by him, was produced at the Théâtre Français. He had started a paper, *Le Messager des Chambres*, which Thiers took over in 1840, and sent him on an embassy to Egypt. Again, under the Guizot ministry, he proceeded to Buenos Aires in order to co-operate with the British representative, Lord Howden. Under Louis Napoleon his career was assured, and he was chosen to be envoy-extraordinary to Florence, Naples and London, where he announced the *coup d'état* to Lord Palmerston. In 1855 Walewski became a senator and also minister of foreign affairs, and the following year acted as French plenipotentiary at the Congress of Paris. In 1860 he left the Foreign Office and was made minister of state, holding this post till 1863. He entered the Corps Législatif in 1865, and owing to the Emperor's interest was made president of the Chamber, but two years later the members rose against his ruling and he went back to the Senate. In 1866 he was created a duke. He died at Strassburg on 27 Oct. 1868. He was a member of the grand cross of the Legion of Honour and of the Academy of Fine Arts.

**Wartenberg, Battle of.**—At the beginning of Oct. 1813 a French force of 18,000 men and 32 guns under Bertrand took up a very strong position at Wartenberg on the left bank of the Elbe. On the 3rd Blücher, who was in command of the Allied Army (65,000), succeeded with great difficulty in breaking through the French position at practically the only vulner-



## WATCHES

able point, and Bertrand was forced to retreat, thus leaving the passage of the Elbe free for the Allies. Both sides, more especially the Prussians, lost heavily.

**Watches.**—Says Constant: "The Emperor had several watches by Bréquet and Meunier, of very simple make, the face quite plain and the case of gold. M. Las Cases speaks of a gold watch in a double case and marked with 'B,' which the Emperor always had on his person. I never knew of such a watch, though I took charge of all his jewellery for some years, even of the Crown diamonds. The Emperor often broke his watch when he used to fling it down anywhere in his bedroom. He had two alarm-clocks, made by Meunier, one in his carriage and the other beside his bed."

**Waterloo, Battle of.**—This famous battle commenced at 11.30 on 18 June 1815. The Allied Army numbered 29,800 British and 37,800 Dutch, Belgians and Germans, with 156 guns, and was commanded by Wellington; while N. massed French troops to the amount of 74,000 with 246 guns. The opposing forces lay on either side of a slight depression in the ground. The actual fighting began with a series of heavy charges by the French infantry, supported by artillery fire, against the British positions. These were withstood, and later in the day the Allies also broke a long succession of furious cavalry charges led by Ney. Towards five o'clock the Prussians under Blücher arrived on the field to the rear of N.'s army, and by sunset the French front was pierced and their army was converted into a flying rabble. In ignominious flight, the French were pursued by the Prussian troops, who seven times drove them from attempted bivouacs. 25,000 of their number lay dead and wounded upon the field, some thousands were prisoners, and practically all the French artillery was lost. The Allies' losses amounted to about 16,000 killed and wounded. See WATERLOO CAMPAIGN.

**Waterloo Campaign (1815).**—On landing from Elba (1 March 1815) N. was speedily to realize that however

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peace his intentions the great powers of Europe could not be brought to countenance his occupation of the throne of France. Each power immediately bound itself to maintain an army of 150,000 in the field until such time as the universal enemy was finally crushed. To face this aggregation of 600,000 men the Emperor had merely the army which he had found maintained by Louis XVIII. on his return. But addressing himself to the task of the reorganization, or rather creation, of a new national force, and by utilizing every spare moment of the brief time at his disposal, he had by 1 June succeeded in mobilizing, training and equipping a force of 360,000 men, one half of which was immediately available for service in the field. It was by no means his policy to deliver the first blow of the war or in any manner to precipitate hostilities, or else he might have easily crushed such of the Allied forces as were then in occupation in Belgium. But he was desirous of showing that he did not wish for war, and that if it came it would not be through his instrumentality. He had but one ally—Murat, who, plunging into war with characteristic recklessness, was worsted at Tolentino (2-3 May) and forced to fly to France, where he was refused an audience by his imperial brother-in-law, who thus—short-sightedly enough—deprived himself of the most brilliant cavalry leader in a campaign in which cavalry was destined to play a part of very considerable importance.

N.'s task was the defence of the French frontier from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and along this frontier for the most part his forces were distributed. The first corps under D'Erlon were stationed between Lille and Valenciennes, the second under Reille between Valenciennes and Avesnes, Vandamme with the third corps was in the neighbourhood of Rocroi, the fourth under Gérard was at Metz, the sixth under Lobau at Laon, Mortier with the Imperial Guard was at Paris, and Rapp at Strassburg with the V. corps. The south-east frontier was guarded by Suchet, Brune and Lecourbe with 18,000 men.

Sensible of the danger they incurred

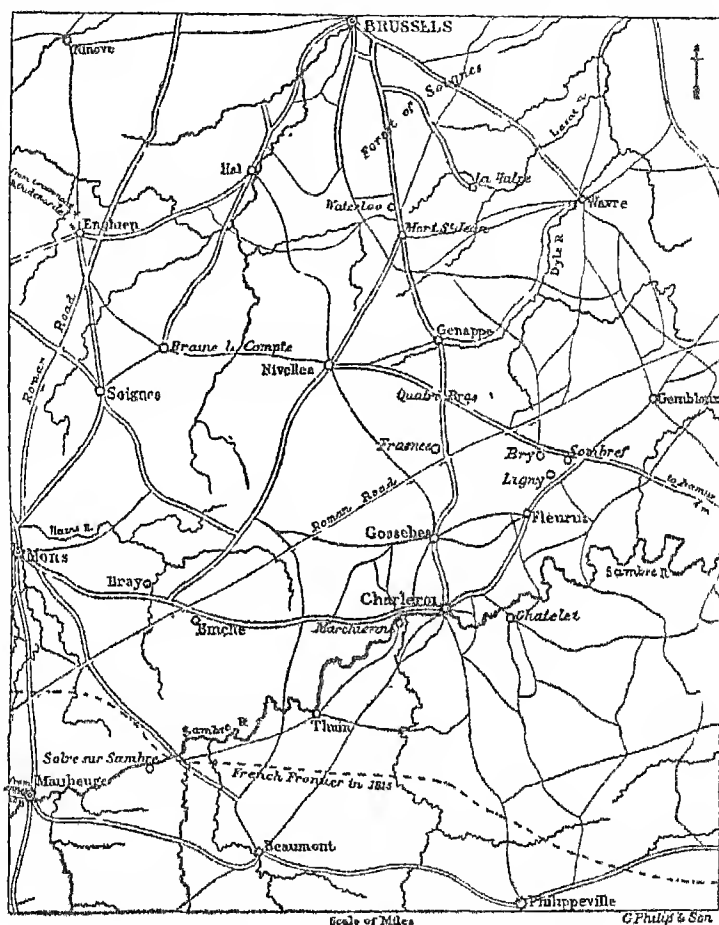
of sustaining defeat in detail, the Allies had resolved that no invasion of France should take place until their forces were capable of taking united action. Wellington and Blücher had already massed their forces in Belgium, the Rhine frontier was threatened by an Austrian Army of over 200,000 men under Schwartzenberg, and

150,000 Russians under Barclay de Tolly were pressing westwards at the traditional snail's-pace of the Muscovite. The Allies in Belgium were to await the onset of the Austro-Russian masses on the Rhine, this attack to be followed by steady pressure on Paris, where they hoped the last scene of the bloody world-drama which had not permitted Europe to unharness herself for twenty years would be enacted. This plan, simple, even crude, was speedily discovered by N., who at once resolved to strike before concerted

action on the part of the Allies became practicable. Relying, as ever, upon superior mobility, he planned to march against Wellington and Blücher, and these defeated, to turn on part of the Allied force engaged in the invasion of the Rhine.

Wellington and Blücher practically divided Belgium between them. The British leader held the western half

from the Scheldt to the road which links Charleroi with Brussels; he based his operations upon Ostend and had his headquarters at the capital. Blücher's base was at Coblenz, on the Rhine, and it commanded all eastern Belgium from Wellington's outposts to the Meuse, with headquarters at Namur. The junction



Sketch Map of the French-Belgian Frontier, 1815

between the armies thus seemed to N. the most promising *point d'appui*.

The characteristics of the two great Allied leaders in Belgium were indeed strangely diverse. Wellington was the typical English aristocrat of his day, stiff, unbending, narrow in outlook, sarcastic and not a little ungenerous, but shrewd, painstaking to a degree, resolute and contemptuous

of danger, through his very pride. Blücher was the Prussian hussar *par excellence*, clumsily dashing, dissolute, coarse, almost bestial, yet skilful in battle, with a skill that partook more of cunning than capability, relentless in method, ruthless to a fallen enemy. His military *abandon* and brute courage had won him the *sobriquet* of "Vörwaerts," which appears to have been a watchword with him. Such were the men who were opposed to the greatest natural commander the world has ever seen. Attempts have been made to draw a comparison between Wellington and N., almost invariably to the latter's discredit. If it is possible to compare insular narrowness with a comprehensive and cosmopolitan humanity, political shrewdness with true statesmanship, generalship with military genius, and "superiority" with true nobility of character, then compared the two men may be, but as the feat as presented is impossible of performance, and as the virtues and even the vices of the characters under consideration are on entirely different planes, the attempt must end in a *reductio ad absurdum*. As well attempt to compare the successful with the epical, the useful with the heroic, Scipio, the marshal of Romans, with Hannibal, the creator of men of Punic spirit out of barbarians who knew not Carthage.

N.'s point of attack, then, was the line between the Allies. The scheme, like all the military ideas which emanated from that master mind, was bold to excess. It would drive an iron wedge between the British and Prussian forces which, in any event, would require at least three days to concentrate. On the other hand, in the event of the Allies being able to concentrate, the French Army would have two hostile fronts to defend. The plan depended greatly on secrecy. The Army of the North was to mass about Charleroi in three sections, and the advance of these was carefully screened by accidents of ground in order that the Allies might not be alarmed.

N. left Paris on 11 June, and Gérard with the IV. corps left Metz

on 6 June. The Emperor had concentrated 124,000 men at Beaumont, Sabre and Philippeville in three days without arousing a single suspicion in the minds of the Allied commanders, whose troops were widely dispersed. But all was not well with the French. At least 50,000 men who should have been with the Emperor had been withdrawn to distant and unimportant positions. Such men as he commanded were veteran troops of the finest quality for the most part, but he was by no means fortunate in his leaders. Soult, as chief of staff, was unfitted for his position, and Grouchy and Ney possessed insufficient strategical ability to enable them to play important parts in such a campaign. Clausel, Suchet, Murat were either unemployed or in disgrace. But that faithful and acute leader, Davout, was in Paris organizing the army. The day of the paladins was past; but Vandamme, D'Erlon, Lobau, and Kellermann, if not possessed of marked military ability, were solid and dependable, though unimaginative, and comprehended the intricacies of the warfare of the *nouveau siècle*.

Moving towards the Sambre at Charleroi, it was understood that one wing was to be advanced against Wellington and another against Blücher, the reserve being held in readiness to strike on either side as opportunity dictated. But Vandamme, with the III. corps, was held back by an accident to a dispatch rider, and Gérard was delayed by faulty concentration. The outposts with whom the French came into contact fought with great obstinacy, with the object of keeping back the French on Charleroi, their aim being to give time to Blücher to concentrate. The passage of the Sambre at Charleroi and Marchienne required the personal attention of N. and the utmost efforts of the Young Guard ere they were stormed. The retreating Prussians were followed up on the roads leading to Quatre Bras and Fleurus. Ney, who had just taken over command of the left wing, was ordered to drive the Prussians out of Gosselies, some four miles north of Charleroi, which he duly effected,

only to find them rallying at Ligny. N. and Grouchy were meanwhile inspecting a Prussian position at Gilly, a couple of miles east of Charleroi. The reconnaissance completed, the Emperor ordered Grouchy to take the position with the right wing, the command of which he made over to him, returning himself to Charleroi with the intention of hurrying the forces under Vandamme and others over the Sambre, so that the gap between the Allies should be filled up as swiftly as possible. Once Vandamme was across, N. ordered him to proceed to the assistance of Grouchy at Gilly. But the Allied headquarters were not quite caught napping. Blücher, who was nearest the frontier, had vivid recollections of the Napoleonic method, and at once issued commands for concentration at Sombreffe, only a mile or two north and east of where his men had rallied at Ligny. Bülow, puzzling over Gneisenau's pedantic instructions, failed to comprehend the chief of staff's precise intentions, and remained with the IV. corps where he was until the 16th. Thielemann and Pirch, with the third and second corps, marched promptly towards the point of concentration, so that Blücher was fairly well supported, Bülow's absence notwithstanding.

Meanwhile the troops under Wellington's command were in a less enviable position. It was late on the afternoon of the 15th when Wellington received news at Brussels of the enemy's advance. His first order was to concentrate at the appointed rendezvous, and his opinion was that N. would try to turn his right flank and cut him off from communication with his base. Blücher had seen that N., instead of separating him from Wellington, might possibly succeed in pushing the British forces back upon the Prussian lines, and with this possibility in view he concentrated immediately upon his inner and left flank, a movement in which he was afterwards seen to be fully justified. Wellington failed to perceive the danger of neglecting such a course, and by so doing laid his ally open to the greatest peril. Absolutely no plan had been concerted between the Allied leaders

in view of the possibility of a sudden attack. Practically everything was left to chance, and if Blücher was tolerably careful of his own dispositions, Wellington was quite agreeable to "muddle through" in the time-honoured English fashion. This charge cannot, however, be levelled at Wellington's immediate Allies. Had Prince Bernhard not retained his position at Quatre Bras, Ney would have encountered no opposition whatever to his advance; as it was he was forced to call a halt and report to his master.

But there was muddling elsewhere than in the British headquarters. Vandamme and Grouchy were debating as to how best to attack the Prussian brigade at Gilly. They proceeded to debate the question until the Emperor arrived in person, and although it was late in the afternoon he ordered and pushed forward the attack. The artillery poured a heavy fire upon the Prussians, and then Vandamme's men charged home with the bayonet, sweeping the Prussians before them like chaff, further pursuit being left to the cavalry. Grouchy succeeded in pushing on to Fleurus, where he came into contact with Blücher's men, but night had fallen and a halt was called.

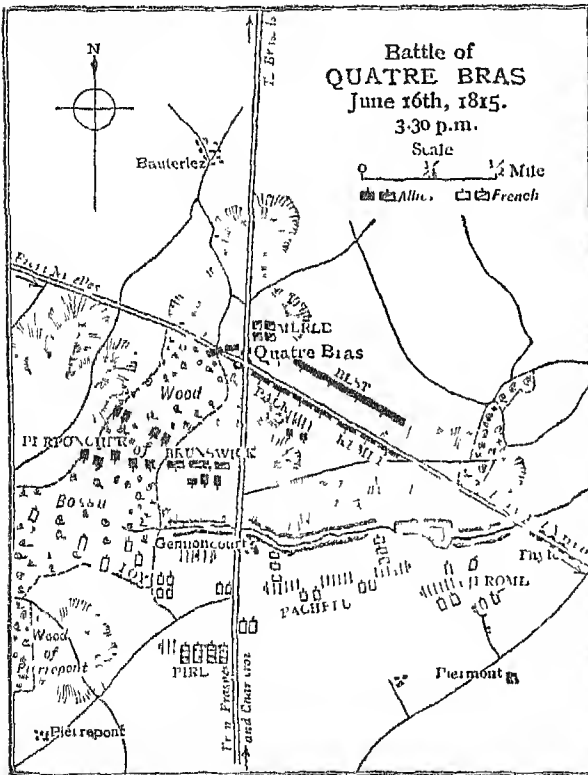
At this stage, although Wellington had only succeeded in retaining a hold on Quatre Bras, Blücher had managed to hold almost intact the territory in which he had arranged to concentrate. Col. Grant, Wellington's intelligence officer, had warned him of a French advance, but General Dörnberg, who had received the message at the outposts, sent it back with the comment that he was convinced of the contrary, so that the Duke was thus robbed of Grant's important information. The French Army was now definitely organized in two wings and a reserve, which latter could be brought into action on either wing as circumstances necessitated; each wing was to fasten upon one of the Allied armies and retain its hold until the reserve had time to come up and assist it to destroy the enemy upon which it had laid hold. N. hoped that the Allies would attempt a forward concentration, that they would, for example, mass at Quatre Bras and

Sombreffe, and he had thrown out tentacles which would fasten upon that Ally who first attacked. At nightfall on the 15th the French Army was in a square whose sides measured twelve miles each, so placed that it could with equal ease be directed against the English or the Prussians.

But Wellington's troops were now on the move. Prince Bernhard had been reinforced by Perponcher's division, and towards Quatre Bras the

the wing on which the reserve was brought into action was a decisive result to be aimed at. He sent an advance-guard as far as Gembloux for the purpose of getting into touch with Blücher, and he sent the reserve to Fleurus to reinforce Grouchy, who would probably first come into touch with Blücher's troops. If things went well in that quarter the reserve was to be sent westwards to assist Ney at Quatre Bras. Ney, who was to mass

at that point, was to attempt to link his forces with those of Grouchy, so that a united march could be made upon Brussels. A disjunction between the Allies would then have been totally effected, and they could have been destroyed in detail. Ney was rather dilatory at Quatre Bras, and made no attempt to capture the cross-roads there, which might quite easily have been done. Reports, too, came from Grouchy at Fleurus that the Prussians were moving from the direction of Namur. The Emperor ordered Ney, on hearing that he was in touch with certain hostile forces, to concentrate and to strike at the enemy in front of him. N. then betook himself to Fleurus, leaving Lobau with the VI. corps at Charleroi. From a wind-mill he could see the Prussians disposed in parallel line to the Namur road as if for the purpose of covering



Duke directed his reserve. As for Blücher, he was busily engaged in taking up a position to the south of the Namur-Nivelles road, so that he might be enabled to keep in touch with Wellington at Quatre Bras, and keep open the Namur road so that Bülow might effect a junction with him.

N. had written to Ney from Charleroi stating that his general principle in the campaign was to divide his army into two wings and a reserve, the latter to be formed of the guard. Only on

ing a forward concentration. Writing to Ney, he ordered him to seize the position at Quatre Bras, and said that he himself would attack the corps which he saw in front of him. The first wing to succeed would then come to the assistance of the other.

Meanwhile Wellington and Blücher had met at Brye, about two and a half miles west of Sombreffe. Reconnoitring the French positions in their front, they concluded that no serious opposition was to be met with at Quatre Bras, and it was arranged

that if Wellington was not attacked he was to bring his army to Blücher's assistance at Ligny. On returning to Quatre Bras, however, the English commander found matters in a rather critical condition there. The Prince of Orange, who was in command, with about 8,000 men, had disposed them so carefully that he had managed to a great extent to hold Ney in check until 2 P.M., when an advance in mass was made by the French. The Dutch-Belgians, who held a position to the east of the Brussels road, were driven in, and the whole defence would have collapsed had not Picton with the V. division from Brussels and Van Merlen's cavalry from Nivelles come up. Just then Wellington returned and took over the command. Picton succeeded in stopping the French advance. Jerome's division of Reille's corps was now thrown into the wood of Bossu in order to keep the French left flank free, and there they steadily made ground. Picton, however, retained his position. The Brunswickers now reached the scene of hostilities, when almost immediately the Duke of Brunswick, their commander, was mortally wounded whilst leading a charge, and their attack failed. Shortly after four o'clock Ney received the Emperor's order to attack the enemy in front of him, and in obedience to it once more pushed forward, but Wellington was again reinforced about five o'clock by Alten's division from Nivelles, and Ney saw clearly that if he was to capture Quatre Bras he must wait until d'Erlon came to his assistance.

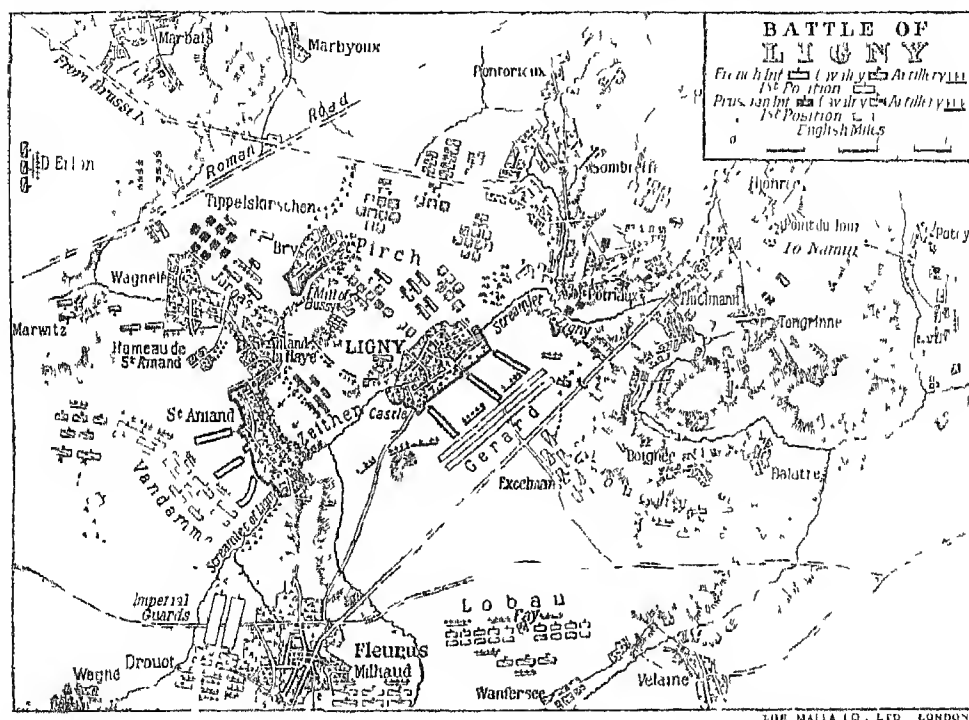
The battle of Ligny was raging some six miles to the south-east, and Ney now received the news that d'Erlon's corps had, without receiving any orders to do so, moved in that direction to help the French there. In the midst of this consternation he received an order from N. to seize Quatre Bras and then turn eastwards to finish the discomfiture of Blücher at Ligny. Furiously indignant at d'Erlon's action, and in great distress, Ney sent an imperative message to d'Erlon to return at once, immediately afterwards ordering Kellermann to charge with his brigade of cuirassiers against Wellington's

troops. Kellermann charged and overthrew the British regiment immediately opposed to him, but as he was in no way supported he was finally beaten back, and his attempt to gain the cross-roads ended in failure. Ney now received another message from the Emperor to the effect that d'Erlon must be permitted to carry out the movement in which he was at that time engaged. The officer who bore the message to Ney attempted to convince him of the vital necessity of the Emperor's order being acceded to, but Ney bluntly refused and, in a furious passion, quitted the messenger's side and plunged into the battle. Cooke's division of the guards now coming up, Wellington's forces were as 33,000 to Ney's 22,000. The British commander now attacked along the whole line, and at the end of the day he had driven the French back as far as Frasnes, whence they had started that morning. The British and their Allies had lost 4,700 men, and the French 4,300. D'Erlon arrived at the French position at nine o'clock at night, and, considering that he was still under Marshal Ney, left one division at Wagnelée and withdrew. Had he been present at Quatre Bras there could have been no doubt as to the result, for the British and their Allies would have been crushed. On the other hand, had d'Erlon been at Ligny, Blücher would undoubtedly have been annihilated.

While Wellington was engaged with Ney at Quatre Bras a bitter fight had been contested between Grouchy and Blücher around the village of Ligny, some six miles away. At first N. was not clear as to the nature of Blücher's dispositions, but as these became more obvious he realized that a decisive battle must be fought. With his I. corps Blücher was holding the villages of Ligny, Brye and St. Amand; the II. corps was massed directly behind his centre; and the III. on his left. The whole position was undoubtedly an exposed one, covered by wood and situated on a slope where the movements of every unit were distinctly visible. N. resolved to attack Blücher's centre and right with the corps of Vandamme and Gérard, the Prussian left to be held with Girard's

division and the cavalry of Exclmann's and Pajol. Milhaud and the guard were stationed at Fleurus, perhaps a mile and a half away. Lobau, too, was at hand. The attempt was to outflank the Prussians, which unluckily for the Emperor he decided to do with a corps (d'Erlon's) which he had placed under the orders of Ney, who was by no means a strategist, and who, as once before at Bautzen, might well fail to comprehend the exact nature of the imperial orders.

kept in reserve near Fleurus, behind the imperial quarters at the mill of Navaau. N. had written to Ney requesting him, after achieving a success at Quatre Bras, to move to his assistance at Ligny, and later directed him to send d'Erlon's corps to Ligny. Either those orders were not phrased with sufficient clarity or else Ney was incapable of comprehending them. In any case, General Labédoyère undertook the detachment of d'Erlon's corps himself, with the result that it did not



N. commenced to attack the Prussian positions about half-past two in the afternoon, deciding upon this course on hearing the sound of cannon from the direction of Quatre Bras. He had but 71,000 men to Blücher's 83,000, and this included the troops under Lobau, who only effected a junction with him towards the end of the fight. Girard and Vandamme were launched against the village of St. Amand and Gérard was thrown against Ligny itself. The duty of Grouchy, on the right, was to keep Thielemann busily employed, whilst the guard and Milhaud were

appear at Ligny at the correct place or time. What N. really intended that Ney should do was to retain a force capable of holding Wellington at Quatre Bras and dispatch every available man to the Emperor's assistance at Ligny. The fight for the villages was fierce and incessant, and the bitterness of race hatred was added to the desire for military prestige. The hamlets around which the combat surged were taken and retaken, but the French had the better of the fighting, as Blücher was compelled to send forward constant drafts from his reserves to the hard-pressed

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men in the front line. Neither could the Prussians escape, nor break through the French cordon. The battle later in the day can only be described as murderous. So fierce was the incessant fire and the hand-to-hand fighting that the troops engaged melted away rank by rank. At last the French themselves had to call upon their reserves. Vandamme reported that an enemy column over 30,000 strong was threatening his left. This was d'Erlon's corps, but so exhausted and excited were Vandamme's troops at the sight of what they believed to be a new enemy that they broke and fled and were only restrained from pell-mell panic by the menace of their companions of the artillery, who threatened to mow them down if they did not call a halt. Even N. did not believe the new column to be d'Erlon's, as its arrival did not coincide with the time at which he expected it. Moreover, it was marching in a different direction from that which it had been ordered to take. The Prussians, heartened by the temporary break-away of Vandamme's troops, had rallied furiously, but they were met by the Young Guard, who succeeded in keeping them in check. The Emperor did not learn that the new factor in the situation was commanded by d'Erlon until half-past six, and immediately after this he was informed that it had moved off in a westerly direction. Again and again orders were sent to the commander of the division left by d'Erlon in the neighbourhood of Ligny to engage his men decisively, but for one reason or another he failed to comply. At this juncture Blücher launched a grand attack against Vandamme, leading the advance in person, but not an inch of ground past the village of St. Amand could he make. The Prussians by this time were thoroughly exhausted, and when the cavalry of the Guard were let loose upon them they retired in considerable disorder. The Emperor then saw that if he could not entirely demolish and destroy the Prussian forces he could so damage them that they would be unfit for any further serious operation. Lobau now came in, and an artillery "preparation" was directed

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against Blücher's centre. Sixty guns blazed forth upon it, and Gérard and the Guard, with Milhaud on the right, charged down. The impact of these veteran troops proved too much for the Prussians; their centre was broken, and had it not been that Blücher had kept a few fresh cavalry squadrons in hand a *saute qui peut* would have resulted. Whilst leading his cavalry, Blücher had had a horse shot under him, and he was carried from the field badly stunned. By nine o'clock p.m. the battle had been lost and won, and N. was master of Blücher's position. The Prussians were streaming away to the north of the Namur-Nivelles road, but darkness was falling, and ignorance of what had occurred at Quatre Bras retarded the Emperor from ordering a pursuit. The Prussians, though severely handled, had not been so badly hit as N. intended they should be. Gneisenau, discarding his rôle of military pedant, ordered a retreat on Tilly and Wavre, but he failed to report this movement to Wellington, whose near flank was thus left quite exposed. Whatever the unwisdom of such a course, the Prussians were too badly shaken to reason on any other lines than those of self-preservation. The casualties at Ligny had been heavy, for the French had lost 8,500 men and the Prussians 12,000 with many guns. 20,000 men had been killed or disabled within two square miles.

Wellington's army, as has been said, was in a most precarious position, for the Napoleonic plan of campaign, if it had not realized all expectations, had so far succeeded. Ney, reinforced by d'Erlon, occupied Wellington's front, and was easily capable of holding him long enough to permit of N. striking a fatal blow on his left flank. Wellington was to be dealt with first ere the badly shaken Prussians could rally to his assistance. He was hazy as regards what had happened at Ligny; indeed, he had received no message from Blücher regarding his retreat, as the single officer entrusted with the dispatch had been shot *en route*. During the night Wellington had been reinforced, but



his position was manifestly untenable at Quatre Bras, and he was really ignorant of Blücher's whereabouts. It was 9 a.m. on the morning of 17 June ere he received any message from the Prussian commander. He told the officer who brought the dispatch that he intended to fall back on Mont St. Jean, where he would await the French onset to the south of the forest of Soignes, if he could count on support from Blücher. His main object, indeed, was so to dispose his forces as to keep in touch with the Prussians. On the morning of the same day the Prussians commenced their northward retreat. The French were aware of this movement, but did not exactly know in which direction they had withdrawn. Ney was ordered to take up a position at Quatre Bras and occupy it if possible, or at least hold Wellington's army in check, when the Emperor would come up with the reserve and crush him; but Ney remained inactive in the face of Wellington's withdrawal from Quatre Bras, which commenced about 10 o'clock. This was undoubtedly one of the gravest strategical errors committed in a campaign where errors were not few. At the same hour as Wellington effected his withdrawal in face of Ney's divisions, N. was cantering over the battlefield of Ligny, thinking out his future course of action. After an hour's consideration he decided to follow up the Prussians, earmarking for this purpose the corps of Vandamme and Gérard, with Teste's division of the VI. corps and the cavalry corps of Pajol and Excelmans. This force, numbering 33,000 men with 110 guns, was to keep at the heels of the Prussians and try to find out if it was their intention to join with Wellington before Brussels. The force was placed under the command of Marshal Grouchy, and his cavalry outposts had already located the III. Prussian corps at Gembloux. The Emperor directed Grouchy to proceed to that place: the order was obeyed in a literal sense. Grouchy marched to Gembloux, where he halted for the night. He made no serious effort to keep in contact with the Prussians, which he could easily have done had

he tried, and it does not seem as if he comprehended the serious nature of the situation with which he had to deal. Had he cared he could have frustrated any attempt on the part of the Prussians to effect a junction with Wellington, but as the Prussians had got clear away without any hindrance from him, they managed to re-form and achieve cohesion in a manner that N. had not thought possible after the bad shaking they had received at Ligny.

Ney remained almost entirely inactive, although troops had been placed at Marbais to assist his attack on Quatre Bras, but Wellington's retreat had been so skilful and rapid that when N. arrived at the position he had occupied he found only a handful of cavalry and horse artillery which Wellington had left to cover his retreat. In an outburst of passion he exclaimed that Ney had ruined France. Dissembling his mortification as best he could, he pushed forward in a hope to entangle Wellington's rear-guard to such an extent that the Prussian main body would perforce have to return to its assistance, but all to no purpose. Only at the hour of sunset did the Emperor reach the heights of Rossomme opposite to Wellington's position. By a reconnaissance in force he managed to discover the exact nature of the army with which he had to deal. Rain was falling heavily as the French troops bivouacked at Rossomme and Genappe, and all arms of both armies spent a dismal night in the rain-soaked fields. But Wellington's position had decidedly improved, and he had further received news to the effect that Blücher would bring at least two corps to his assistance on the morrow. N. still thought of driving a wedge between the Allies and defeating them in detail, so that it was on his left flank that Wellington had to fear attack. But this he did not seem to realize, positively assuring himself that N. would attempt to turn his right, and with this object in view he stationed 17,000 men eight miles from his right to repel such a movement. He had now close on 68,000 men in hand, and took up his position across the Nivelles-Brussels and Charleroi-Brussels roads at their

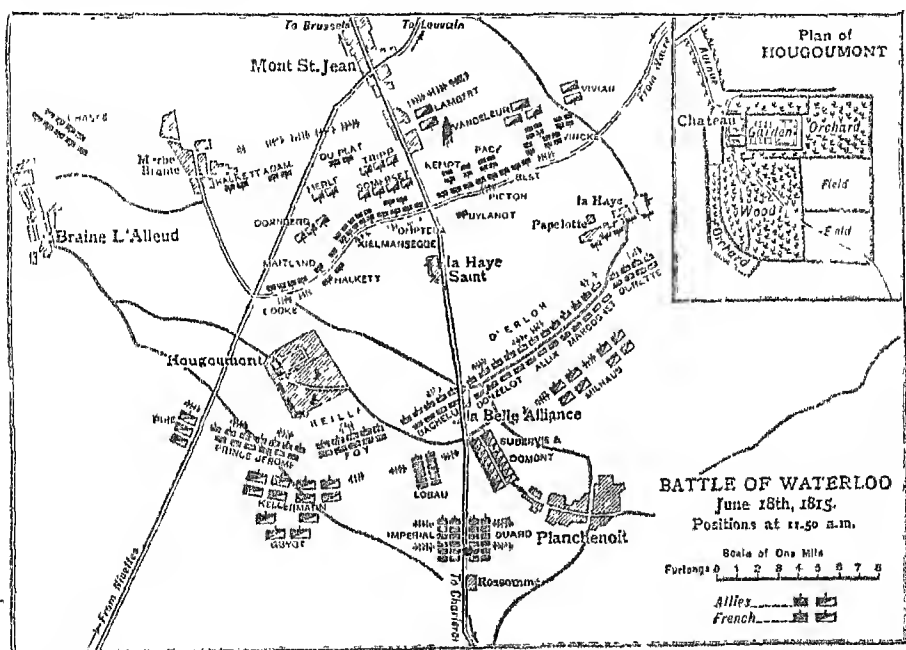
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junction at Mont St. Jean. His main position was screened by a low ridge of foothills, undoubtedly a strong situation. He had barely 30,000 British troops to depend upon, the rest of his army being composed of the King's German Legion, Brunswickers, Hanoverians, Dutch and Belgians—a composite force on which, truth to tell, he grounded no great faith. He occupied Hougoumont in strength, garrisoning it with the guards, and he placed a strong force of the King's German Legion in the farm of La Haye Sainte, the key of his whole position. It would

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unable to resist the Prussian counterstroke. But Blücher, although he quite realized Wellington's plan, did not send his corps to the British support until the morning of the 18th had dawned, and then many difficulties appeared to retard its progress.

The Emperor had determined to attack at six a.m., but the wet state of the ground would not have permitted the cavalry to manoeuvre, so the attempt was abandoned until nine a.m. Even then the fields were in such a state that N. saw it would be



probably have been more to his advantage had he massed his men around the latter farm than at Hougoumont, but his nervousness regarding his right undoubtedly dictated this course. The troops were so disposed that those better disciplined were enabled to stiffen and strengthen the rawer material. The Allied plan of campaign was based on Wellington's receiving the French attack, while the Prussians were to close round the exposed French right and support the British left, thus acting as a general reserve. Wellington's duty was thus to bear the brunt of the Emperor's attack, and so handle the enemy that he would be

hopeless to attack: he therefore once more postponed the assault until 11.30. He had heard from Grouchy to the effect that the Prussians were retiring towards Wavre and Perwez in two columns, and he stated that if he discovered that the larger body was moving on Wavre he would keep them from effecting a junction with Wellington. Grouchy had taken up a position outside the Prussian left flank, and, of course, was much more likely to drive them towards Wellington than prevent them from joining with him. N. replied to this report at ten o'clock in the morning, requesting Grouchy to march for Wavre, where he would be

within the circle of the French operations and therefore available. In short, Grouchy's duty was so to dispose his force that it should be placed on the inner Prussian flank, thus holding Blücher back from the position at Waterloo. N.'s dispatch does not state this in set terms, but understanding the manœuvre perfectly himself, like many men of great ability and swift comprehension, he evidently considered that everyone else should have understood it also. The whole idea of the operations, of course, hinged upon the practice of manœuvring in two wings and a reserve, and the Emperor was surely justified in concluding, whether hastily or otherwise, that a field-marshal was capable of understanding his allusion and the drift of his message. But Grouchy failed to construe it in its true sense, whether from want of care in reading it or mere stupidity it is bootless to question. Only three-quarters of a mile now separated the French from Wellington's composite army. The late hour at which N. had decided to attack made his chances of beating the British commander before the arrival of Blücher rather slender, but he drew up his army in three lines, presenting a bold front as if he had not the slightest doubt of the event. D'Erlon and Reille formed the first line, on which was to fall most of the initial fighting; the second was composed of Lobau's corps, Kellermann's cuirassiers, Milhaud's cuirassiers, and the squadrons of Subervie and Domon; the guard made up the third line. The French Army was chiefly composed of seasoned veterans who had followed the Emperor through many campaigns. The British Army, which formed the nucleus of the Duke's forces, was filled out with a good many militia battalions. N. never for a moment believed that it would last out his "preparation." The hypothesis may smack of levity, but it is our considered opinion that what enabled the British force to withstand the brilliant and repeated attacks of the French was the spirit of pugilism then rife in England. The "noble art" was then at its apogee: every man was a pugilist in spirit, if not in reality; and he who

showed the white feather became the butt of his fellows' contempt.

Five different phases mark the progress of the battle of Waterloo. The great combat began at 11.30 by an attack on Hougoumont made by one of Reille's divisions. The object was to keep Wellington employed on his right. About twelve o'clock a combination of eighty guns commenced the "preparation" of the British and Allied centre for the main attack, but the Duke's front was comparatively secure from the storm of shot proceeding from the guns by reason of the ridge which lay partially in front of it. N. was just about to give orders for Ney to lead the main attack when on his front and right he saw Bülow's corps marching to Wellington's aid from the woods covering the village of Chapelle Saint Lambert. He was in process of sending a letter to Grouchy, to which he added a postscript that Bülow had arrived on the field and asking Grouchy to come up with him and destroy him, but by the time Grouchy received it all was over. To hold Bülow in check the Emperor detached Lobau with the squadrons of Domon and Subervie. At this moment it might have occurred to a general with less faith in himself than N. to break off the combat until a more favourable opportunity of beating the Allies in detail presented itself. Ney then received the order for the attack with d'Erlon's corps. In those days the weight of a column told for much in such an onset, but the unwieldiness of d'Erlon's companies interfered with their mobility. As his men advanced, however, the Dutch-Belgians, who afterwards raised a monument to themselves on the field, retreated in hasty disorder! When they came into contact with Picton's corps, however, they received a shock. The brave Picton unfortunately fell at the head of his men. The fighting here was of a hand to hand description, and has been described as "murderous." The left division of d'Erlon's corps had attempted to storm La Haye Sainte: he failed to do so. Lord Uxbridge charged with two cavalry brigades, and the "Union brigade," taking the enemy at a disadvantage, hurled them backwards and drove them

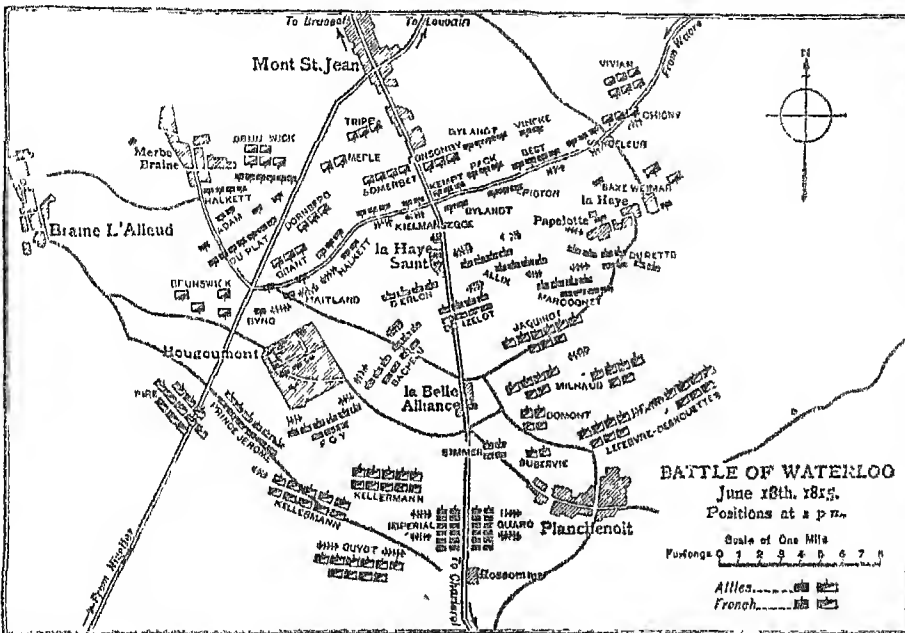
## WATERLOO

down the hill, capturing two eagles, but the British cavalry were in turn met by a cloud of cuirassiers, who drove them back with great loss. Once more Ney was ordered to attack La Haye Sainte, and once more the attack failed. All this time a fierce artillery duel was in progress, in which the French had rather the better of the argument; so heavy was the iron hail that the Allied line was forced to retreat a little farther behind the ridge which sheltered it. Ney, taking this partial retirement for a movement of panic or retreat, about four o'clock

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It is astounding to realize now that the French horse were not supported by infantry. It is supremely easy to criticize, but that such an omission should have been made by one of the greatest military leaders who ever took the field is little short of marvellous. The aberrations of great genius are often as surprising as its successes.

Loban had by this time got into contact with Bülow, but his forces were gradually outnumbered and driven back into the village of Planchenois, which the Prussians succeeded in taking by storm. This, of course,



in the afternoon charged with a large body of horsemen, but the British infantry formed square and succeeded in keeping them off, their ultimate confusion being finally caused by the Allied cavalry. The retreat was covered by Kellermann's cuirassiers and the heavy cavalry of the guard. Reinforced by those and now numbering eighty squadrons, the French cavalry once more launched a furious attack against the British squares, among which they became hopelessly entangled. At last they were driven down the face of the slope, and the greatest cavalry attack of all history was broken and defeated.

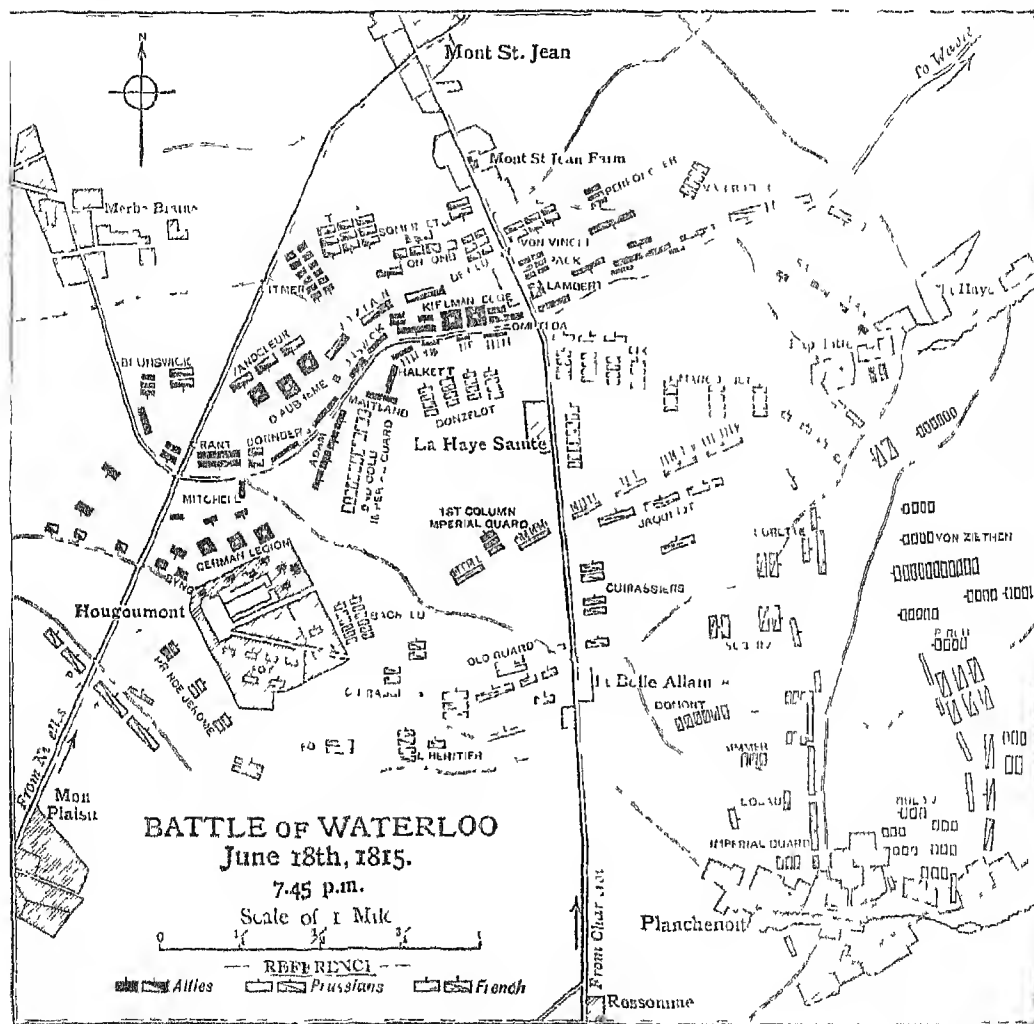
menaced the French right and rear. The Emperor, calling up his reserve, dispatched Duhesme with the Young Guard to assist Loban. By their concerted attack Bülow was driven out of Planchenois and forced back towards the wood of Paris. At this juncture the Emperor once more ordered Ney to carry La Haye Sainte at any cost. Getting together the remainder of d'Erlon's corps about six o'clock in the evening, he once more attacked with the utmost élan and ferocity, and succeeded in capturing the place, his success being due to the circumstance that the King's German Legion, who garrisoned it, had run out of rifle am-

## WATERLOO

munition. This meant, of course, that the key of Wellington's position was now in N.'s hands. The Duke's centre had received many heavy blows, his men were greatly fatigued and his reserves few in number. He had marshalled his line and received the further support of some Prussian corps which

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Vandeleure could now be spared to reinforce the centre. This strengthening of the centre, perhaps, contributed more towards the final success than is generally supposed or admitted. Wellington now found himself attacked along his whole line; nearly the entire Guard was launched



now began to come up. Pirch I. and Zieten came to Bülow's support and once more retook Planchenoit. N. sent two battalions of the Old Guard against it and they swept the place clear with the bayonet, but the Prussians continued to come up; they freed further cavalry on the Duke's left and the brigades of Vivian and

against his centre, but the attack was repulsed by Halkett's brigade, a Dutch-Belgian division, the guards, the 52nd, and the royal artillery. Zieten, about eight o'clock, succeeded in piercing the French right flank, and the line crumpled up. Wellington's line then advanced in consonance with his famous order, "The whole line will

advance," but three battalions of the Guards stood firm. They were, however, finally overpowered; but such was not the case with two battalions of the 1st grenadiers of the Guard, who would not be broken. These, however, were the exceptions; the remainder of the French Army was streaming away in a flying rabble. Lobau was now finally overpowered, but he had succeeded in preventing the Prussians from seizing N.'s line of retreat too soon. Blücher and Wellington met at a quarter past nine in the fading summer night at the farm of La Belle Alliance, arranged that the exhausted army of Wellington could not take up the pursuit and that this should be left in the hands of the Prussians. Following the fleeing French all night, they pursued them with a relentless vigour which destroyed all hope of their once more becoming a composite force. Terrible stories are still told of the brutalities committed by the Prussians *en route* and whilst in pursuit of their foe. The French had lost over 40,000 men, Wellington 15,000 and the Prussians 7,000.

Grouchy, commanding the right wing, had determined on the 18th to continue his march to Wavre in a single column. He further made up his mind to move up the right bank of the river Dyle. He was at breakfast when the reverberation of the guns at Waterloo reached his ears. Gérard urged him to advance towards the sound of the firing, and he was backed by others, but Grouchy would not listen to them and marched on to Wavre, where he encountered Thielemann's Prussian corps of 16,000 men holding the passages across the Dyle about four o'clock in the afternoon. A fierce fight ensued, in which the Prussians had at first the advantage. Grouchy received the Emperor's dispatch to the effect that Bülow was in sight, but he was then unable to move westwards. The action lasted till eleven o'clock p.m., and was renewed next morning after dawn, but Thielemann was at length beaten by weight of numbers and about eleven a.m. was forced to retire, each side having lost about 2,400 men. Grouchy

was attempting to puzzle out what course he should then adopt when he received news of the disaster at Waterloo. He at once made arrangements to retreat to France via Namur, and this retreat he carried out with considerable skill and rapidity, contriving to avoid Blücher and bring his force to Paris. But all was lost; the Allies advanced, France was conquered, and the Emperor once more forced to abdicate. His army had been much too weak for the great task it had undertaken. Had Ney contrived to hold Wellington on the 17th, and had Grouchy on that and on the following day acted with greater circumspection and address, the event might have been different. The spirit of co-operation between Wellington and Blücher, too, was of the most loyal description, and undoubtedly must count in any estimate of the forces which went to the gaining of one of the greatest victories in the history of the world.

**Wavre, Battle of (Waterloo Campaign).**—This action was fought on 18 June 1815. Grouchy, with the right wing of the French Army, determined to pursue the Prussians who were retiring on Wavre and prevent them from joining their Allies. This plan he did not carry out with sufficient rapidity, and on coming up with the enemy Grouchy found only one Prussian corps under Thielemann (16,000 men), which was holding the passages of the Dyle river. This he engaged, and heavy fighting commenced about 4 p.m., continuing until about 11, only to be resumed the following morning. The Prussians, being greatly outnumbered, were forced to retire towards Louvain, and both sides had lost about 2,400 men. This victory, however, was not only a waste of time, but proved to be barren owing to N.'s utter defeat at Waterloo. By some critics Grouchy is severely censured, and, indeed, blamed for his Emperor's disaster, for by his feeble manoeuvring and false strategy he failed to prevent the junction of Blücher and Wellington which led to the final rout from the field of Waterloo, and also deprived N. of the support of the entire right wing of the French Army.

**Wellesley, Sir Arthur.**—*See* WELLINGTON, DUKE OF.

**Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of (1769-1852).**—Fourth son of Garrett Wellesley, or Wesley, second Baron and first Earl of Mornington, a peer well known because of his musical tastes. His grandfather, Richard Colley, the first Baron Mornington, had taken the name of Wesley on succeeding to the estates of Garrett Wesley, who was related to the famous Methodist preacher. It was not until about 1790 that the name was changed to Wellesley. The 1st Duke was born in Ireland, educated at Eton, and afterwards took a military course at the college at Angers. It is strange to think that he was first attached as ensign to the 73rd Highlanders in 1787, passed through no less than five different regiments before he became major of the 33rd, the lieutenant-colonelcy of which he purchased in 1793, assisted in doing so by his eldest brother. All this time he was aide-de-camp to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, so gained little experience of regimental work. He entered the Irish parliament before his majority as member for the borough of Trim, and in these days might be regarded in every respect as the young Anglo-Irish aristocrat of his time. His first taste of campaigning was gained with the British force under the Duke of York in 1794-5, when that commander was driven out of Holland by Pichegru. The following year he accompanied his regiment to India with the rank of brevet-colonel. He began to pay great attention to the details of military life. No fact was too insignificant for him to master; the weight that each individual soldier was capable of carrying, the amount of food which he required, the distance that he could traverse on the march, were all carefully tested and experimented upon. He also penetrated deeply into the history of warfare and the science of strategy, giving up all amusements and devoting himself to study during certain fixed hours.

The Indian exploits of Wellington have been dealt with too frequently to necessitate their inclusion in such a work as this, when the essential is

to touch upon the course of those European campaigns in which he shattered the power of his great adversary.

Returning from India in 1805, Wellesley was immediately sent on an expedition to Hanover, from which nothing resulted. In the following year he entered the House of Commons as member for Rye, his object being to defend his brother, the governor-general of India. In 1807 he was created Irish secretary. He was then dispatched to Denmark in the expedition against Copenhagen, and defeated the enemy in the battle of Kjöge on 29 Oct. In 1808 the Peninsular War, which was to add such lustre to his name, commenced, and in April of that year he was placed in command of a division of the troops which were to operate against the French in Spain or Portugal with the rank of lieutenant-general. It is unnecessary here to follow him through the devious paths of these campaigns, as that has already been done in the article on the PENINSULAR WAR (q.v.). It need only be said that once N. had withdrawn from Spain, his lieutenants in that country found themselves unequal to coping with the shrewd and experienced Englishman. A good deal of discontent was, of course, shown in England with some of Wellesley's actions in the Peninsula, but later, when it was observed that these were necessary to his grand plan of campaign, public opinion was fully won over to his side and he was regarded in the light of a national hero. A peerage with the title of Viscount Wellington and Baron Douro was conferred upon him after the battle of Talavera, and he was made a Spanish captain-general, as well as marshal-general of the Portuguese forces. But there were still critics who pointed out that the battle of Talavera had been without definite results. The difficulty of his task in the Peninsula can scarcely be magnified; with vastly inferior forces, assisted by untrained and often insubordinate Allies, whose leaders frequently insisted upon carrying out movements of which he disapproved, his achievements in Spain and Por-

tugal are undoubtedly to be reckoned amongst the most brilliant feats of British arms. He did not make many friends amongst his subordinates, his criticisms of whom were trenchant in the extreme. Neither had he much good to say about the British troops under his command; their insubordination and misconduct, he said, were such as he had never witnessed elsewhere. By such strictures he alienated from himself the affections of his officers and men, who, although they regarded him as a trustworthy and brilliant leader, resented what they considered his injustice. Cold and unsympathetic, he had no friends, and did not seem to desire the intimacy of anyone. It is difficult to say whether this attitude sprang from aristocratic hauteur or personal pride, or was merely the result of pose, and it is probable that all three elements entered into it. After the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo Wellington was created an earl, and the Spanish Government raised him to the dukedom of Ciudad Rodrigo. After Salamanca he received a marquisate and a grant of £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. The Portuguese Government also made him Duque da Victoria, or Duke of Victory—not, as has often been thought, of "Victoria"—and before 1813 he had been decorated with the Garter and the Golden Fleece.

After the Treaty of Paris he was appointed British ambassador at the French capital, reporting to his government on the lack of Bourbon solidarity and the growing danger from the French Army. He did not, however, realize that the nation, like the army, were desirous of N.'s reinstatement. He sat at the Congress of Vienna in lieu of Lord Castlereagh, but by that time the great questions which had been before the congress had been dealt with. On N.'s escape from Elba he did not seem to realize the gravity of the situation, writing to England that N. would be destroyed "without difficulty and in a short time." Wellington's presence at Vienna enabled the Allies to decide at once upon their plans of campaign, and it was arranged that

Wellington and Blücher should invade France from the north, while the Russians and the Austrians entered from the east. His part in the campaign which followed is described in the article WATERLOO CAMPAIGN (q.v.). He received a grant of £200,000 from parliament, the title of Prince of Waterloo, and extensive estates from the King of Holland, and the order of St. Esprit from Louis XVIII.

His personal power at this period it would be difficult to overestimate. He negotiated with the commissioners of the provisional government, knowing well that if he delayed any decision regarding the circumstances of that government great danger might ensue, as neither the Emperor of Russia or Austria was by any means well disposed to the Bourbons. He told the commissioners in no uncertain manner that they must take back Louis, was shrewd enough to have Fouché appointed minister of police, and so disposed affairs that when the Emperor Alexander arrived in Paris there was no more to be said. France had reason to be grateful, for through his offices she escaped dismemberment, but it may be that he strove more for the restoration of the Bourbon line than for the good of France. His attitude towards Marshal Ney at this time has been abundantly criticized, and it is likely that he considered that one who had broken his loyalty to his adopted monarch might repeat the offence. He was placed in command of the international army by which France was to be occupied for five years, having full powers to act in case of emergency. It was the duty of the French Government to report the course of affairs to him; in short, it may be said that at this period he was practically dictator of France. His administrative duties in connexion with the army he commanded were most onerous. He reconstructed the military frontier of the Netherlands, conducted the financial negotiations by which the French Government was able to pay off its indemnities, and interested himself in numerous international affairs. When Russia was



desirous of lessening her forces in French territory Wellington set the proposal aside, preferring to wait till the army had shown by its acts how it would conduct itself. But the new Chambers proved their trustworthy quality, and the army of occupation was reduced by 30,000 men. Wellington now saw that the total evacuation of France had become essential to the maintenance of international peace, as the popular irritation had grown to such a height that if France were not evacuated he would have to concentrate his forces. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in the autumn of 1818 he supported a proposal for the immediate evacuation of France, and a last financial settlement between France and the Allies was made under his direction.

Although Wellington had been received with great enthusiasm when he entered Paris, he was not long in rendering himself thoroughly unpopular. Whether justly or unjustly, everything which tended towards the irritation of the populace was attributed to him. His coldness and contemptuous bearing intensely irritated those French officials with whom he had to labour. More than one attempt was made to assassinate him, and the Prince Regent commanded him to leave Paris and take up his headquarters at Cambrai, as he feared for his life, but the Duke insisted upon remaining at the capital. On 30 Oct. 1818 he took leave of the troops under his command, having accepted from Lord Liverpool the office of master-general of the ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet.

This is not the place in which to give an extended account of the life of the Duke, who is noticed here in virtue of his connexion with the downfall of N. It but remains to summarize his personal characteristics and to attempt an estimate of his qualities, great and otherwise.

At first sight the character of Wellington seems one of no great complexity, but if that original estimate be correct it cannot be allowed that the elements which went towards its making were few or of small dis-

tinction. He was essentially the aristocrat as the man of action. In order to read his life aright we must bear in mind that the English aristocrat of his time added to intense national and family pride a contemptuous attitude towards the peoples and rulers of other countries. Added to this national and inherited contemptuousness, Wellington possessed an almost unfathomable personal hauteur. The intense reserve with which he surrounded himself at almost all periods of his life makes it difficult for us to gauge the true terms of his individuality. It is difficult also to say whether this individual haughtiness was of assistance to him or otherwise during his career. In India it undoubtedly helped him in his relations with the Mahratta chiefs, who were probably greatly impressed by his personal dignity; but it irritated the French and to some extent the Spaniards with whom he came in contact, and rendered him much disliked by both the officers and men of his various commands. As a military leader his victories were chiefly due to the admirable thoroughness with which he carried out everything he undertook. Not that he made any great attempts to organize his forces prior to a campaign, but once that campaign had begun he threw into its conduct all the activity and force of which he was capable. No detail was too petty for his personal inspection, and he took care that even the smallest order he issued should be promptly and carefully carried out. He had also marvellous knowledge of the strategical value of ground, seeming to know intuitively what was "over the next hill." The dispositions of his men, too, were nearly always skilfully and well considered. As Tennyson said, he was, indeed, "rich in saving common sense," which was one of the keynotes of his character. It cannot be said that he was by any means generous to his enemies, especially to that greatest of them, whom by a combination of circumstances he succeeded in finally defeating. It has been laid to his charge that the ignoble treatment of N. by the British Government was in part due to the victor of Waterloo, and, when all is said, this seems

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extremely probable in view of the Duke's action in similar cases. He could not tolerate that anyone should receive a meed of praise in connexion with any of his campaigns, excepting himself. Personally he was courageous in the extreme and in innumerable instances risked his life like any common soldier. He will always stand out in history, however, as a man divorced from the softer and better influences of humanity—a cold and calculating commander and a statesman who had in him the makings of a despot, for it was merely the determined attitude of the British people towards his measures of repression which saved him from being that. It would be unjust, as well as ungenerous, to deny that he saved Britain and Europe from what might have been a dangerous supremacy, and if he was not destined to be equally fortunate in peace as in war he was indeed a great general, a great aristocrat and a great man.

**Wertingen, Battle of (Austerlitz Campaign).**—On 8 Oct. 1805 a division of Austrians numbering 8,000 men, under General Auffenberg, who were marching to join Mack with the main army, suddenly found themselves surrounded at Wertingen by an immense body of French cavalry under Murat. The Austrians formed square and heroically defended themselves, but the arrival on the scene of Oudinot's grenadiers made further resistance useless, and Auffenberg effected a retreat with the remnant of his forces, leaving 3,000 prisoners and all his artillery in the hands of the French.

**Westphalia.**—The most important of the states held by France in Germany during the Napoleonic period. At the Imperial Recess of 1803 it had been given to Prussia, but N., judging it wise to dominate that country—which was not included in the Rhenish Confederation—by territory subject to France, coveted the small state for strategical purposes. In 1806, during the war with Prussia, he took possession of Brunswick, Hesse, and all Prussian territory between the Rhine and the Elbe with a view to the formation of a kingdom of Westphalia, and this was actually accomplished in the following year,

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after the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit. The new kingdom comprised the electorates of Hesse-Cassel, the Westphalian provinces of Prussia, the duchy of Brunswick and the southern part of Hanover, and its population numbered about 2,000,000. N. gave the throne to his youngest brother, Jerome Bonaparte, a youth in no wise qualified to rule a kingdom so recently formed and composed of such diverse elements. He was, indeed, a luxurious and pleasure-loving monarch, utterly devoid of ambition for himself or his people, and the French Emperor was sadly disappointed in him.

The constitution laid down certain fundamental principles of government, and the crown was held by Jerome only on condition of his observing these. As a member of the Confederation of the Rhine Westphalia was required to maintain 25,000 men for French service. Conscription was enforced, and with ever-increasing severity. The king was to remain a French prince, and on the expiry of his lawful line the kingdom was to revert to the French Emperor. The civil list was fixed at 5,000,000 francs, while the *Code Napoléon* was to be the civil law of the country. Public procedure and trial by jury were instituted. French coinage, weights and measures were adopted. The Estates of the Realm comprised a hundred members nominated by the electoral colleges, but their powers were somewhat restricted. The country was subdivided into departments governed by prefects, districts at the head of which were sub-prefects, cantons with justices of the peace, and municipalities with their mayors. The German language was never proscribed, but was used in the codes and law courts, and taught, with French, in the schools. Germans were also permitted to hold high offices of state. The old feudal system was abolished, but those of the nobility who were thus deprived of ancient privileges were compensated by receiving positions at the court.

On the whole the condition of the country at the beginning of Jerome's reign was not unpromising, yet there

were many unsound elements in the state, and this was particularly the case with its financial condition. The first year saw a deficit of 40,000,000 francs, which steadily increased till in 1812 the government was forced to repudiate the greater part of its debt, to exact a forced loan of 5,000,000 francs, and to fix the land tax at 25 per cent. of the revenue. There is no doubt that the disastrous fate which overtook the country was due as much to N.'s financial policy as to Jerome's inefficiency and selfish indulgence. It is true that Jerome showed himself from the first quite unfitted for his position. What little revenue there was left when the rapacious French treasury was satisfied he spent on the upkeep of a profligate court. The pay of the soldiers was deferred and the army generally treated badly, a policy which resulted in 1809 in a serious mutiny. In military as well as in financial matters the king proved feeble and ineffectual, as appears from his inability to quell the insurrection of Frederick von Schill in 1809 and later that of the Duke of Brunswick-Oels. Yet he was not without good men in his ministry; the constitution itself was in many ways suited to the people and was a vast improvement on the modes of government they had hitherto experienced. Moreover, Prussians and Hanoverians, stern military Hessians and more cultured Brunswickers were all ready to work together for the common good. On the other hand, the iron heel of the Empire pressed heavily on Westphalia. The constant drain imposed by a strictly enforced conscription was more than she could bear. In addition to the maintenance of an army of 25,000 men N. made many demands on the exchequer of the little country; and, moreover, the rigours of the Continental System fell heavily upon it, impoverished as it was by French requisitions during 1806-7. Thus it will be seen that N. was as much to blame as his brother for the failure of the latter's rule in Westphalia.

On the fall of N. Westphalia was dealt with at the Congress of Vienna and assigned by the terms of the Final

Act to Prussia, after it had been reduced to the limits of the former duchy of Westphalia, given at Lunéville to the Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt.

**Will and Testament of Napoleon, The Last.**—This document, signed on 15 April 1821 at Longwood, St. Helena, has the following as its principal provisions:

## I

"1. I die in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born more than fifty years since.

"2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

"3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Marie Louise. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments. I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

"4. I recommend to my son never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe; he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto: '*Every thing for the French people.*'

"5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its. . . The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

"6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand and La Fayette. I forgive them—may the posterity of France forgive them like me!

"7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catarine, Eugène, for the interest which they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel which he published in 1820; it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

"8. I disavow the *Manuscript of St. Helena*, and other works, under the title of *Maxims, Sayings*, etc., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. These are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I would act in the same way.

## II.

"1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders and other articles, such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen, which I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father of whom the universe will discourse to him.

"2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

"3. I bequeath to Count Montholon two million of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction with the filial attentions which he has paid to me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses which his residence at St. Helena has occasioned.

"4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs.

"5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first *valet de chambre*, four hundred thousand francs. The services which he has rendered to me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister or daughter of an officer of my old guard.

"6. Item, to St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

"7. Item, to Novarraz, one hundred thousand francs.

"8. Item, to Piéron, one hundred thousand francs.

"9. Item, to Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

"10. Item, to Cursot, twenty-five thousand francs.

"11. Item, to Chandellier, twenty-five thousand francs.

"12. Item, to the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Nuovo di Rostino.

"13. Item, to Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

"14. Item, to Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

"15. Item, to Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one hundred thousand francs. He is the most virtuous man I have known.

"16. Item, to General Brayer, one hundred thousand francs.

"17. Item, to General Le Fevre Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

"18. Item, to General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

"19. Item, to General Cambronne, one hundred thousand francs.

"20. Item, to the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

"21. Item, to the children of the brave Labédoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

"22. Item, to the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

"23. Item, to the children of General Marchand, one hundred thousand francs.

"24. Item, to the children of the virtuous General Travot, one hundred thousand francs.

"25. Item, to General Lallemant the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

"26. Item, to Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

"27. Item, to Costa de Bastetica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

"28. Item, to General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

"29. Item, to Baron de Méneval, one hundred thousand francs.

"30. Item, to Arnault, the author of *Marius*, one hundred thousand francs.

"31. Item, to Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs. I engage him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

"32. Item, to Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs. I engage him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

"33. Item, to Poggi di Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

"34. Item, to surgeon Emmercy, one hundred thousand francs.

"35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815, and from the interest, at the rate of five per cent., since July 1815. The account will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon, Bertrand and Marchand.

"36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five million six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Brouot, Cambronne and the surgeon Larrey.

"37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children, and in default of such shall revert to the bulk of my property.

### III.

"1. My private domain being my property, of which no French law deprives me, that I am aware of, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof; it ought to amount to more than 200,000,000 of francs, namely: (1) The portfolio containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which amounted to more than 12,000,000 per annum, if my memory be good. (2) The produce of this portfolio. (3) The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with moneys accruing from the civil list. (4) The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts will be rendered by Prince Eugène, and the steward of the crown, Campagnoni.

"NAPOLEON.

"2. I bequeath my private domain, one-half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French Army who have fought since 1792 to 1815 for the glory and the independence of the nation. The distribution shall be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service. One-half to the towns and districts of Alsace, of Lorraine, of Franche Comté, of Burgundy, of the isle of France, of Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously deducted from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne and one million for that of Meri. I appoint Counts Montholon, Bertrand and Marchand the executors of my will.

"This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed, and sealed with my own arms.

"NAPOLEON."

Then follows a list marked "A," dated 15 April 1821, which disposes of the consecrated vessels in use in the chapel at Longwood, N.'s arms, the sword he wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobieski, N.'s dagger, broad sword, hanger, two pairs of Versailles pistols and his gold travelling-box to his son. Numerous other small objects are also left to his son.

There is also, marked "List B," an inventory of the effects which N. left in possession of the Count de Turenne.

*Codicils.*—I. and II. By these codicils the Emperor bequeathed to Bertrand, Montholon and Marchand his effects upon the island of St. Helena, and two million to his faithful servants, including many generals.

III.—By the terms of this his private crown jewels are devoted to the discharge of his legacies, and other remembrances are made to general officers.

IV.—Further remembrances, among them one to Cantillon (*q.v.*), and gives directions for the management of the trust.

V.—Still further legacies to numerous beneficiaries.

**Williams, Helen Maria.**—Was a popular English hostess in Paris

during the winter of 1802-3. She was on intimate terms with Mme. de Staël, and her five o'clock tea table, that truly English institution which has so often been admired and copied by other countries, was always surrounded by the society leaders of the Paris of her day. She translated Humboldt's *Vues des Cordillères* in 1814.

**Wynandael, Battle of.**—An action fought between a French and a smaller British force under General Webb on 28 Sept. 1808. The former attempted to cut off the British, who were carrying supplies to the army which was besieging Lille, but in spite of their superior numbers they were utterly defeated.

**Znaim, Battle of (Wagram Campaign).**—After their defeat at Wagram (6 July 1809) the Austrians under the Archduke Charles, being hard pressed in their retreat by Masséna, took up a strong position at Znaim. On the 11th Masséna attacked the position and drove the Austrians into the town, where the artillery had been so well arranged by the Archduke that the French were beaten back. N., being aware of Masséna's difficulties, ordered Marmont's corps to relieve the pressure, but during the fierce struggle which ensued an armistice was arranged which put an end to the fighting.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE AND TIMES OF NAPOLEON

		<i>Age</i>	
1768	Jan. 7		Birth of Joseph Buonaparte at Ajaccio, Corsica.
1769	June		Carlo Buonaparte, the father of N., swears fealty to Louis XV., and thus becomes a French subject.
1769	Aug. 15	—	Birth of N. at Ajaccio, Corsica.
			"The Corsican people when exhausted by producing martyrs to the cause of Liberty, produced Napoleon Bonaparte." <i>Jacobi.</i>
"	Nov. 30	—	Carlo Buonaparte receives the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Pisa.
			Flight of Paoli to England.
1770	April	—	Edict of Louis XV. whereby all Corsicans who can prove their possession of nobility for 200 years are admitted into the French nobility and the enjoyment of its privileges. The father of N. makes application.
1771	July 21	1	Baptism of N.
			"I was called Napoleon, that having been for centuries past the name given to the second sons in our family."
"	Sept. 13	—	Declaration issued stating that the Buonaparte nobility is established.
1772	May	—	Carlo Buonaparte becomes one of the Twelve Nobles of Corsica and Assessor to the Court of Ajaccio.
1774-5		5	N. is sent by his mother to a girls' school.
1774	May 10	—	Death of Louis XV.
1775	May	—	Famine riots at Versailles.
1776	Mar. 28	—	Louis XVI. offers free education to the children of poor but noble parents, Corsicans being included. Carlo Buonaparte makes application on behalf of his sons Joseph and Napoleon.
"	May	—	Turgot dismissed.
"	Nov.	—	Ministry of Necker.
1778		—	Louis XVI. assists America against Great Britain.
"	Sept. 2	—	Birth of Louis Buonaparte.
"	Dec. 12	—	Carlo Buonaparte leaves Corsica with his two sons, Joseph and Napoleon, on their way to Autun.
1779	Jan. 1	9	N. and Joseph enter the school at Autun.
"	Apl. 20	—	N. leaves Autun for the military college at Brienne.
"	Apl. 25	—	N. enters Royal Military College, Brienne.
1780			First Armed Neutrality.
1782	June	12	N. is visited at Brienne by his father and mother.
1783		13	N. abandons the navy for the army, choosing the artillery.
1784	June 15	14	N. writes to his uncle Fesch concerning Joseph's wish to change his profession. This is the earliest letter extant of N.'s.
"	June 21	—	N. is visited by his father who brings Lucien as <i>pensionnaire</i> at Brienne and Elisa to be a royal pupil at St. Cyr.
"	Sept. 15	15	Examination at Brienne. N. is selected with four others to go to the École Militaire at Paris.
"	Oct. 30	—	N. leaves Brienne for Paris.
"	Nov. 15	—	Jérôme Buonaparte born.
1785	Feb. 24	—	Death of N.'s father, aged 39, at Montpellier, through cancer of the stomach.
"	Sept.	16	N. obtains commission as Second Lieutenant of Artillery being the first Corsican to do so.
"	Nov.	—	N. with his friend Desmazis joins the regiment of La Fère in garrison at Valence.
1785		16	} N. is engaged chiefly in garrison duty.
to			
1795		26	} The famous diamond necklace incident.
1785		—	



# Chronological Table

		Age	
1786			During this year N. meets Caroline Colombier, his first love. "The cherry idyll." Also devotes much time to study and writing.
"	Apl. 26	16	N. writes: "To-day Paoli enters his sixty-first year. The Corsicans have already . . . shaken off the yoke of the Genoese, they can do the same to that of the French."
"	May 3	—	N. writes on "Suicide" and "Patriotism."
"	" 9	—	N. writes on "Rousseau" and "Religion."
"	Sept. 1	17	Having obtained furlough N. leaves Valence for Corsica, breaking his journey at Aix to see his uncle Fesch and Lucien.
"	" 15	—	N. arrives at Ajaccio after an absence of seven years and nine months. Spends his time roving the country, reading and writing.
"	" 20	—	Death of Marbeuf, friend and patron of the Buonaparte family.
1787	Feb. 22	—	Assembly of Notables meets.
"	Apl. 1	—	N. writes to Tissot thanking him for his tribute to Paoli
"	Aug.	—	All officers on leave recalled to their regiments in expectation of war with Prussia.
"	Sept. 12	18	N. leaves Corsica for France. At Marseilles receives cancel of the recall but proceeds to Paris. His application for extended leave in order to assist at the deliberations of the Estates of Corsica is granted.
"	Nov. 22	—	N. writes the <i>Rencontre au Palais Royal</i> .
"	Dec.	—	N. leaves Paris for Corsica.
1788	Jan. 1	—	N. arrives at Ajaccio.
"	Apl. 24	—	Joseph Buonaparte takes his degree at Pisa and returns to Ajaccio, spending some time with N.
"	June 1	—	N. leaves Corsica to rejoin his regiment at Auxonne.
"	Aug. 22	19	N. writes to his uncle Fesch describing his part in a commission nominated by the commander of the Artillery School at Auxonne as to the possibility of using cannon for the discharge of bombs.
"	Nov. 6	—	Second meeting of the Assembly of Notables.
1789	Apl. 2	—	N. proceeds to the town of Senne with a force to quell riots there, the mob having murdered two merchants suspected of hoarding grain. N. calls out to the crowd "Let honest men go to their homes, I only fire upon the mob."
"	May 5	—	Meeting of the States-General at Versailles, the session being opened by Louis XVI. 303 ecclesiastics, 285 nobles, and 621 deputies (the <i>tiers-état</i> ).
"	June 17	—	The Tiers-État constitutes itself the National Assembly.
"	" 20	—	The Tiers-État meets in the tennis court and establishes a new constitution.
"	July 14	—	Fall of the Bastille.
"	" 17	—	Louis XVI. wears the revolutionary cockade.
"	" 19	—	Riot at Auxonne, the mob sack the offices of the tax collectors and N.'s regiment takes the part of the rioters.
"	" 21	—	The officers restore discipline and disperse the mob.
"	Aug. 8	—	N. applies for winter leave to return to Corsica.
"	" 23	20	N. and his brother officers take the new oath.
"	Sept.	—	N. leaves Auxonne for Corsica after a stay of 15 months. Visits the Abbé Raynal, a champion of the Revolution at Marseilles. Arrives at Ajaccio at the end of the month. N. heads the revolutionary party in Ajaccio.
"	Oct.-Dec.	—	Emigration of the nobility from France.
"	Nov. 5	—	The municipal officers of Bastia (the capital of Corsica) insist on the formation of a town guard as in France.
"	" 30	—	Saliceti urges in the National Assembly that Corsica be incorporated with France. It is proclaimed part of French territory. Mirabeau proposes that the Corsican patriots in exile be permitted to return.
1790	Mar.	—	Joseph Buonaparte is elected municipal officer at Ajaccio.
"	Apl. 8	—	Paoli, on his way to Corsica stops at Paris and is received at court by Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.
"	" 9	—	The Comité Supérieur of Corsica send delegates to meet Paoli.
"	" 16	—	N. writes to his colonel asking for an extension of leave owing to the state of his health.
"	" 22	—	Paoli is invited to appear before the National Assembly. He is received with acclamations as the hero and martyr of liberty.
"	July 14	—	First anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. Confederation of Champ de Mars. France declared a limited monarchy. Louis XVI. swears to maintain the constitution.

# Chronological Table

		<i>Age</i>	
1790	July 17	20	Paoli lands at Bastia. N. and his brother Joseph are attacked in the streets and nearly murdered. A procession of monks attack them with cries of "Death to the Jacobins." They are rescued with difficulty.
"	Aug. to Oct.	—	Joseph is elected deputy for Ajaccio to the Congress at Orezza with Paoli as president. N. accompanies his brother. On the journey they meet Paoli and with him pass the fatal bridge at Ponte Nuovo. Some of N.'s criticisms aroused Paoli's displeasure.
"	Aug. 3	—	Peace of Varela (between Russia and Sweden).
"	Oct. 15	21	N.'s leave comes to an end. He embarks for France but the ship is twice beaten back by contrary winds. He stays on at Ajaccio.
1791	Jan. 6	—	N. is present at the opening of the Globo Patriottico, a revolutionary club at Ajaccio.
"	Jan. (end of)	—	N. leaves Ajaccio to join his regiment accompanied by his brother Louis, now 12 years of age.
"	Feb. 12	—	N. reaches Auxonne and is welcomed by his colonel.
"	Apl. 2	—	Death of Mirabeau.
"	June 16	—	N. is transferred to the 4th Regiment stationed at Valence. Arrives there with Louis.
"	" 21	—	The flight of the King and royal family, who are arrested at Varennes.
"	July 14	—	Second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille.
"	Aug.	—	N. applies for leave. Colonel Compagnon refuses. N. resolves to apply to Du Teil, and walks all the way to his chateau of Pommier in the department of the Isère. He remains on a visit of several days. His host remarks to his daughter. "That is a man of great ability; his name will be heard of." Leave being granted, N. starts for Corsica with Louis.
"	Aug. 4	—	Austro-Turkish treaty at Sistova.
"	Sept. 22	22	N. arrives in Corsica. Paoli who is master of the island is now cool towards the Buonapartes.
"	Oct. 15	—	Death of N.'s great-uncle, the archdeacon Lucciano Buonaparte.
"	" 19	—	Treaty of Drottningholm, a defensive treaty between Sweden and Russia against revolutionary France.
1792	Jan. 1	—	Review of the regiment of La Fère at Valence. "Bonaparte, First Lieutenant, whose leave has expired, is in Corsica."
"	" 14	—	N.'s appointment as adjutant of the Corsican Volunteers is sanctioned by the French Minister of War.
"	Feb.	—	N. proceeds to Corte.
"	" 6	—	N. is now regarded as an <i>émigré</i> by the French authorities. Against his name in a list of lieutenants appears the following note: "Has given up his profession and has been replaced on 6 Feb. 1792."
"	" 22	—	N. is appointed Adjutant-Major of the Corsican Volunteers.
"	" 25	—	The Directory issue an order for the suppression of the convents of Ajaccio, Bastia, Bonifacio, and Corte.
"	Apl. 1	—	N. is elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the Corsican Volunteers and forfeits his French commission by outstaying his leave.
"	Easter	—	N. fails in an attempt to seize Ajaccio.
"	Apl. 12	—	Commissioners arrive and demand that citizens and volunteers alike lay down their arms. N. proceeds to Corte and has an unpleasant interview with Paoli at Montecello.
"	May 13	—	N. acquaints Joseph with his intention to return to France.
"	" 28	—	N. arrives in Paris as a private person.
"	June 20	—	N. views the attack by the mob on the Tuileries.
"	"	—	First coalition against France. Beginning of the great French wars, 1792-1815.
"	July 10	—	N. is reinstated in his regiment and granted his arrears of pay, also promoted captain.
"	Aug. 10	—	N. witnesses the second attack on the Tuileries and the massacre of the Swiss Guards, 5,000 persons killed.
"	" 19	23	Revolutionary tribunal set up.
"	" 26	—	Decree of National Assembly against the priests, 40,000 exiled.
"	" 30	—	N. receives his brevet of captain.
"	Sept. 1	—	N. removes his sister Elisa from school of St. Cyr. They are in Paris during the September massacres.
"	" 2-5	—	Massacre in Paris, 1,200 killed, among the number being 100 priests.
"	" 9	—	N. and his sister Elisa leave Paris.
"	" 17	—	National Convention opened.
"	" 20	—	The Convention establishes a Republic.
"	" 22	—	The Republic proclaimed.

# Chronological Table

		Age	
1792	Oct. 10	23	N. and his sister embark at Toulon.
"	" 15	—	N. arrives at Ajaccio and is appointed commander of the National Guard.
"	" 27	—	N. has thoughts of taking service with the British in India, but a French plan to attack Sardinia engages his attention. The expedition is unsuccessful.
"	Dec.	—	The French fleet arrives at Ajaccio. Riots ensue between the French sailors and the Corsicans.
"		—	Russo-Turkish treaty of Jassy.
1793	Jan. 21	—	Execution of Louis XVI.
"	"	—	Committee of Public Safety established.
"	Feb. 1	—	France declares war against Great Britain and Holland.
"	" 22	—	N. takes part in an unsuccessful attack on Maddalena.
"	Mar. 3	—	N. returns to Ajaccio.
"	"	—	War in La Vendée.
"	Apl. 17	—	The Convention orders the arrest of Paoli. N. writes to that body an eloquent defence of Paoli.
"	Apl.-May	—	N. unsuccessfully attacks the citadel of Ajaccio.
"	May 3	—	N. leaves Ajaccio to join Joseph at Bastia, but is captured by the Paolists. He escapes and after some exciting adventures reaches Bastia.
"	" 11	—	At Bastia N. submits plans to the Commissioners for the capture of Ajaccio, and also to get his mother and family away in safety. His plan is adopted.
"	" 23	—	N.'s mother and the younger children are rescued from Ajaccio. The Paolists sack the Casa Buonaparte.
"	" 31	—	Reign of Terror begins in France.
"	June 11	—	N. flees with his family to France. He leaves the others at Toulon and rejoins his regiment at Nice, receiving commission as <i>capitaine commandant</i> .
"	July 29	—	Publication of N.'s pamphlet, <i>Le Souper de Beaucaire</i> , in favour of the Jacobin government.
"	"	—	N. aids attack on anti-revolutionists at Avignon.
"	Aug. 28	24	British and Spanish fleets welcomed at Toulon which is anti-revolutionary. N. assists General Carteaux to besiege the town.
"	Sept. 7	—	N., again in Paris, is appointed <i>Chef de Bataillon</i> in the 2nd regiment of artillery.
"	Oct. 9	—	Fall of Lyons. Investing force proceeds to Toulon.
"	" 16	—	Execution of Marie Antoinette.
"	Dec. 19	—	Fall of Toulon. Entry of the French. Terrible reprisals on the inhabitants; N. strongly disapproves, but is powerless.
"	" 21	—	N. for his distinguished services at Toulon is made general of brigade.
"	"	—	Convention between Great Britain and Russia.
1794	Feb. 6	—	N. is assigned to the Army of Italy.
"	Apl. 1	—	Hostilities are begun against Austria and Sardinia.
"	" 2	—	The Convention approves N.'s plan of campaign.
"	" 5	—	The advance under Masséna begins.
"	" 27	—	The Sardinians are driven back.
"	May	—	Divisions in the Convention regarding war policy.
"	June 17	—	Corsica acknowledges George III. of England as king.
"	" 20	—	Augustin Robespierre leaves Army of Italy for Paris, bringing N.'s plan of campaign for both the Army of the Alps and that of Italy.
"	July	—	N. is sent on a secret mission to Genoa.
"	" 19	—	N.'s plans are submitted to the Committee of Public Safety and approved. The advance into Piedmont is decided upon.
"	" 21	—	N. leaves Genoa, having succeeded in his mission.
"	" 23	—	Revolution of Thermidor.
"	" 27	—	N. returns to Nice.
"	" 28	—	Execution of Robespierre.
"	Aug. 9	—	N. is suspended, and placed under arrest.
"	" 13	—	Carnot sends orders to the armies to cease offensive operations.
"	" 14	—	N. writes his defence to the Representatives.
"	" 19	25	N. writes to Junot declining to be rescued, "My conscience is easy, therefore do nothing, you would only compromise me."
"	" 20	—	N. is released, and reinstated. Carnot's instructions are put aside, and the offensive resumed.
"	" 23	—	Carnot orders a general retirement in order to prepare an expedition against Corsica. N. writes: "Our next move is to deliver Corsica from the tyranny of the English."

# Chronological Table

	Age	
1794	Sept. to	
	Feb. 1795	25 N. proceeds to Toulon to prepare for Corsican expedition.
"	Dec. 15	— Abolition of revolutionary tribunal.
1795	Mar. 4	— The expedition for Corsica sets sail.
"	" 14	— The expedition is scattered by the British fleet, the <i>Ça Ira</i> and <i>Cephalus</i> being captured. N. is now without a post.
"	Mar.-Apl.	— N. is ordered to command the artillery of the Army of La Vendée. He does not desire the post, being anxious to rejoin the Army of Italy.
"	Apl. 5	— Peace with Prussia.
"	"	— In Paris the mob attempts to overthrow the Convention. The National Guard under Pichegru and Barras succeed in quelling the riots.
"	May 2	— N. sets out for Paris with his brother Louis, also Junot and Marmont.
"	" 7	— Fouquier-Tinville and fifteen others guillotined.
"	" 10	— N. arrives in Paris and lodges at the Hôtel Liberté.
"	" 18	— 1 Prairial.
"	" 20-21	— Insurrection of the Faubourgs.
"	June 12	— N. is summoned to command a brigade of infantry in the Army of the West.
"	Summer	— N. evades the command on plea of ill-health. Stays in Paris in hope of obtaining something better. Is engaged at the War Office. Meets Josephine.
"	Aug. 31	26 N.'s plan of campaign for Italy read by the Convention.
"	Sept. 15	— It is proposed to send N. to Constantinople to take service in the army of the Grand Turk.
"	Oct. 1	— N. is appointed second in command under Barras of the Army of the Interior.
"	" 3	— 2 Vendémiaire. "Paris is ablaze since morning, I must be careful and cautious having little enough influence," writes N.
"	" 4	— N. is summoned to a conference with Carnot, Barras, and others and the matter is placed in his hands.
"	" 5	— N. suppresses the insurrection of 13 Vendémiaire. The National Guard, the royalists, and the mob rise against the Convention. N. disperses them with the famous "whiff of grape-shot" in the Rue St. Honoré.
"	" 11	— N. is restored to army as general of division.
"	" 25	— N. is appointed to command Army of the Interior.
"	Oct. to	— N. spends winter in Paris. Applies for command of Army of Italy.
"	Feb. 1796	— Devotes much time to Josephine.
"	Nov. 1	— French Directory chosen.
"	"	— French Institute established.
"	"	— Sir Gilbert Elliott appointed viceroy of Corsica, and opens a parliament.
1796	Feb. 9	— N.'s banus of marriage with Josephine proclaimed.
"	" 23	— N. is appointed by Directory to command Army of Italy.
"	Mar. 9	— N. is married to Josephine. He signs the record as "Bonaparte" instead of "Buonaparte" and henceforward adheres to the French style of spelling his name.
"	" 12	— N. leaves Paris for Italy.
"	" 27	— N. finds the troops in a deplorable condition.
"	Apl. 4	— N. makes a stirring proclamation to the troops.
"	" 10	— The Italian Campaign opens.
"	" 12	— N. defeats the Austrians at Monte Notte.
"	" 14	— N. defeats the Austrians at Millesimo.
"	" 15	— N. defeats the Austrians at Dego.
"	" 22	— N. defeats the Sardinians (Piedmontese) at Ceva and Mondovì.
"	" 24	— N. writes an indignant letter to the Directory about the condition of the army.
"	" 28	— The King of Sardinia signs "Convention of Cherasco" yielding his fortresses to France.
"	May 7	— N. attacks Beaulieu and crosses the Po at Piacenza.
"	" 10	— N. forces the passage at the Bridge of Lodi. It was on this occasion that the soldiers first called N. "The Little Corporal."
"	" 12	— Babcul's conspiracy suppressed.
"	" 14	— N. writes to the Directory refusing to share his command with General Kellermann.
"	" 15	— N. enters Milan as a conqueror.
"	" 21	— Carnot writes to N. to tell him that the Directory have agreed to leave him the sole command.

# Chronological Table

1796	May 25	<sup>1st</sup> 20	Lombardy revolts. Pavia leads the revolt, whereupon N. orders it to be pillaged for 24 hours. He however cannot bear the sight, and stops it after three hours.
"	"	26	— The French occupy Brescia.
"	"	27	— N. leaves Milan in pursuit of Beaulieu.
"	"	30-31	— N. defeats Beaulieu and breaks through the Austrian centre at Borghetto, thus driving him into the Tyrol.
"	June	—	— The Corsican revolt suppressed.
"	June 10	—	— N. besieges Mantua.
"	June 18	—	— N. enters Modena.
"	"	19	— N. enters Bologna and expels the Papal authorities.
"	"	23	— N. concludes armistice of Foligno with the Pope.
"	"	24	— The French force the passage of the Rhine.
"	"	31	— Josephine arrives at Milan.
"	July 5	—	— Moreau defeats the Archduke Charles at Radstadt.
"	"	13	— N. meets Josephine at Milan.
"	"	14	— N. leaves Milan.
"	"	25-27	— N. at Brescia with Josephine.
"	"	29	— N. and Josephine are nearly captured by the Austrians.
"	"	30	— N. raises the siege of Mantua.
"	Aug. 5	—	— N. defeats Würmser at Castiglione, and drives him into the Tyrol. This completes the "Five Days Campaign."
"	"	8	— N. re-occupies Verona.
"	"	11	— N. at Brescia.
"	"	—	— N. invests Mantua again.
"	"	18	— France and Spain enter into an alliance.
"	Sept. 1	—	— N. leaves Verona for Trent in the Tyrol.
"	"	3	— Jourdan defeated by the Archduke Charles at Würtzburg.
"	"	4	— N. defeats the Austrians at Roveredo.
"	"	15	— Rout of Würmser at Bassano. He retires to Mantua.
"	Oct. 8	—	— Spain declares War against Britain.
"	"	10	— Peace with Naples signed.
"	"	22	— Corsica relinquished by Britain. The people declare for the French.
"	Nov. 1	—	— Advance of General Alvinzi.
"	"	13	— N. writes almost despairingly to the Directory regarding the non-arrival of reinforcements.
"	"	14	— N. prepares for battle.
"	"	15-17	— N. defeats Alvinzi at Arcola.
"	"	17	— Death of Empress Catherine II. of Russia. Accession of Paul I.
"	"	18	— N. victorious re-enters Verona.
"	"	23	— Würmser makes unsuccessful sortie from Mantua.
"	Dec.	—	— N. allows the formation of the Cispadane Republic.
1797	Jan. 10	—	— N. marches to meet the Austrian advance.
"	"	14	— N. defeats Austrians under Alvinzi at Rivoli.
"	"	26	— Masséna defeats Austrians at Carpenedolo.
"	Feb. 2	—	— Würmser surrenders Mantua.
"	"	19	— N. invades the Papal States and concludes the Treaty of Tolentino with the Pope.
"	Mar. 16	—	— N. defeats the Archduke Charles on the Tagliamento.
"	Apl. 13	—	— N. advances against the Archduke Charles in Carinthia, and reaches Leoben in Styria.
"	"	17-18	— Armistice signed at Leoben.
"	May 3	—	— N. declares war against Venice.
"	"	—	— Pichegri's conspiracy fails.
"	"	16	— French enter Venice.
"	June 28	—	— Corfu taken by the French.
"	July 9	—	— Festival at Milan. Inauguration of the Cisalpine Republic.
"	"	16	— Hoche is appointed Minister of War.
"	"	18	— Talleyrand becomes Minister for Foreign Affairs.
"	Aug. 10	—	— N. writes on Malta in relation to his schemes for the subjugation of Egypt.
"	Sept. 4	28	— Revolution of Fructidor.
"	"	13	— N. writes to the Directory suggesting seizure of Malta.
"	Oct. 17	—	— Treaty of Campo Formio, between France and Austria.
"	Nov. 26	—	— N. is Minister Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Rastadt.
"	Dec. 5	—	— N. returns to Paris. The name of the street in which he lives is changed to Rue de la Victoire.
"	"	—	— N.'s return is hailed with applause in Paris. He is elected member of the Institute.

# Chronological Table

1797	Dec. 27	28	Riots at Rome, Joseph Bonaparte insulted.
"	"	—	Treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Russia.
1798	Jan to Feb.	—	N surveys French coast opposite England.
"	Feb. 15	—	Berthier proclaims the Roman Republic.
"	Mar.	—	N. prepares for the Egyptian expedition.
"	April	—	N is appointed to command the Army of Egypt.
"	" 25	—	Sir Sidney Smith escapes from Paris.
"	May 2	—	N. leaves Paris. Nelson leaves Cadiz.
"	" 19	—	N. sails from Toulon. The French fleet weighs anchor at 7 a m. in the light of a magnificent sunrise, the convoy forming a semi-circle six leagues in extent.
"	June 12	—	N. occupies Malta.
"	"	—	Rebellion in Ireland.
"	" 26	—	Nelson's fleet is seen by the French, but a sea-fog screens the French expedition from the eyes of the British.
"	" 28	—	Nelson arrives at Alexandria but not finding the French he sails again.
"	" 30	—	N. reaches Alexandria.
"	July 2	—	The French troops disembark.
"	" 3	—	The French fleet anchors across the bay of Aboukir.
"	" 21	—	Battle of the Pyramids. N. defeats the Mamelukes under Murad Bey.
"	" 26	—	N. enters Cairo and proceeds to organize Egypt as a French Protectorate.
"	Aug. 1	—	Battle of the Nile. French fleet destroyed by Nelson in Aboukir Bay.
"	"	—	French force lands in Killala Bay (Ireland).
"	Sept. 12	29	Turkey declares war with France, and forms an alliance with Britain and Russia.
"	Sept.-Oct.	—	Insurrection and massacre of Moslems at Cairo.
"	Oct. 20	—	Turkish army concentrates at Damascus.
"	Nov.	—	Capitulation of Ancona.
1799	Jan. 28	—	N. determines to occupy Syria.
"	Feb. 5-17	—	N. invades Syria.
"	" 19	—	N. takes El-Arish.
"	" 25	—	N. takes Gaza.
"	Mar. 3	—	Corfu taken from the French by a Russo-Turkish force.
"	" 4	—	N. invests Jaffa.
"	" 7	—	N. takes Jaffa by storm. Twelve hundred prisoners, Turks and Arnauts, are shot for having violated their capitulation treaty made at El-Arish.
"	" 15	—	Sir Sidney Smith arrives at Acre with two men-of-war.
"	" 29	—	N. invests Acre.
"	April	—	European coalition against France.
"	May 20	—	N. raises the siege of Acre and begins retreat.
"	June 9	—	N. en route for Egypt.
"	" 14	—	N. re-enters Cairo.
"	" 22	—	Turkey, Portugal, and Naples join the coalition against France.
"	July 25	—	N. defeats a large Turkish force at Aboukir.
"	Aug. 22	30	N. secretly embarks for France.
"	Oct. 9	—	N. lands in the bay of Fréjus (France). He is rapturously greeted by the people.
"	" 15	—	N. arrives in Paris, his progress from the coast having been a triumphal procession.
"	Oct.-Nov.	—	N. concert measures with Talleyrand and others for the downfall of the Directory.
"	Nov. 9-10	—	Revolution of 18 and 19 Brumaire. N. abolishes the Directory and seizes the supreme power. Legislature dissolved by force.
"	Dec.	—	The Consulate established. N. created First Consul for ten years. Constitution of the year VIII.
"	" 26	—	N. writes "Letters of Peace" to George III., and the Emperor of Austria.
"	" 27	—	The <i>Moniteur</i> is appointed the sole official journal.
"	"	—	Conquest of the Ionian Islands by Russia and Turkey.
1800	Jan. 17	—	N. suppresses sixty out of the seventy-three political newspapers, and forbids the publication of any new ones.
"	Feb. 7	—	N. orders France into mourning for General Washington, and sends a wreath for his tomb.
"	" 13	—	Bank of France established.
"	" 19	—	N. takes up his residence at the Tuileries.
"	" 20	—	Louis XVIII. writes to N. inviting him to play the rôle of General Monk.

# Chronological Table

		<i>Age</i>	
1800	Mar.	30	Negotiations for peace between France and the U.S.A.
"	"	5	Interview between N. and Cadoudal.
"	Apl.	5	Three more journals suppressed. Theatre censorship established.
"	"	18	Masséna is besieged in Genoa.
"	May	6	N. sets out on his second Italian campaign.
"	"	9	N. arrives at Geneva and takes the field against Austria
"	"	15	The French army crosses the Alps into Italy by the Great St. Bernard Pass. The guns are taken over in hollowed tree trunks which are hauled by a hundred men, who at the difficult places are inspired by drums beating the charge.
"	"	20	N. follows his army. In the descent N. and his staff slide down the slippery tracks left by the passing of thousands of men.
"	June	2	N. enters Milan.
"	"	5	Masséna gives up Genoa but retires with all the honours of war.
"	"	9	Battle of Montebello. Lanues and Victor defeat the Austrians. N. leaves Milan.
"	"	14	N. defeats the Austrians under Melas at Marengo. After saving the situation for N. Desaix is shot during the battle. Kléber assassinated at Cairo.
"	"	15	Convention of Alessandria between N. and Melas. End of the "Campaign of Thirty Days."
"	"	16	N. writes to the Emperor of Austria for peace, offering to renew the Treaty of Campo Formio.
"	"	17	N. returns to Milan and is hailed as the "liberator of Italy."
"	"	19	Moreau defeats the Austrians at Hochstadt.
"	"	23	Genoa re-entered by the French.
"	"	25	N. starts for Paris.
"	"	29	N. at Lyons writes: "I shall arrive in Paris unexpectedly. I want no triumphal arches or any such <i>colifichets</i> . The only real triumph is the satisfaction of the people."
"	July	2	N. arrives in Paris at midnight.
"	July-Aug.	—	N. gives Malta to the Tsar Paul as a Grand Master of the Knights of St. John. He also sends home the Russian prisoners well clothed and armed.
"	Aug.	—	Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
"	Sept.	5	31 After two years' blockade Malta is surrendered to Britain. The British refuse to recognize the Tsar's claim upon it, and he thereupon revives the Armed Neutrality League against Britain.
"	"	15	— Armistice between France and Austria in Germany.
"	Oct.	3	— King George III., to facilitate peace, relinquishes his title of King of France.
"	"	7	— Secret Convention of St. Ildefonso between France and Spain.
"	Nov.	12	— Renewal of hostilities in Germany and Italy.
"	"	22	— Jerome Bonaparte enters the Navy.
"	Dec.	3	— Battle of Hohenlinden. Moreau defeats the Austrians who lose eighty guns and 19,000 men.
"	"	24	— Incident of Nivôse. Attempt to blow up N., while driving to the theatre, with an infernal machine.
"	"	—	— Second Armed Neutrality.
"	1800-1801	—	— Toussaint L'Ouverture holds San Domingo.
1801	Jan.	29	— Secret treaty of Madrid.
"	Feb.	—	— Resignation of William Pitt.
"	"	9	— Peace of Lunéville between France and Austria. Dissolution of the Second Coalition.
"	Mar.	8	— British land at Aboukir.
"	"	21	— Battle of Alexandria. Abercromby defeats Menou. Treaty of Aranjuez between France and Spain.
"	"	24	— Assassination of Tsar Paul I., and accession of Alexander I.
"	"	28	— Treaty of Florence between France and Naples.
"	Apl.	2	— Nelson bombards Copenhagen.
"	June	7	— French evacuate Cairo.
"	July	15	— N. makes Concordat with the Pope.
"	Aug.	4	— Nelson unsuccessfully attacks Boulogne.
"	"	15	32 Nelson again attacks Boulogne but is repulsed.
"	"	31	— Battle of Alexandria. Menou surrenders to Hutchinson. Cairo taken by the British.
"	Oct.	1	— Preliminaries of peace between France and England signed in London.
"	"	8	— Treaty between France and Russia.
"	"	9	— Treaty between France and Turkey.

# Chronological Table

		Age	
1801	Dec. 13	32	Expedition to San Domingo sails from Brest. It is commanded by General Leclerc, the husband of Pauline who accompanies him on the voyage.
"	"	—	N. forms his flotilla in the Channel.
1802	Sept. to Jan.	—	Organization of the Cisalpine Republic.
"	Jan. 4	—	Marriage of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense Beauharnais.
"	" 25	—	N. makes himself President of the Italian Republic.
"	Feb. 3	—	Expedition arrives at San Domingo.
"	Mar. 25-7	—	Peace of Amiens with England, Spain, and Holland.
"	April	—	Promulgation of Concordat. The <i>Articles Organiques</i> passed.
"	May 7	—	Toussaint L'Ouverture surrenders to France.
"	" 19	—	Institution of the Legion of Honour.
"	" 23	—	Treaty with Prussia.
"	" 24	—	Treaty with Bavaria.
"	June 10	—	Toussaint L'Ouverture treacherously seized and sent to France (dies, 27 April 1803).
"	" 22	—	N. is bitten by a wild boar while hunting at Marly.
"	" 29	—	New Government of Ligurian Republic established. Excommunication of Talleyrand withdrawn by the Pope.
"	Aug. 1	—	N. is proclaimed Consul for life. From this day N. uses his Christian name only.
"	"	—	Constitution of the year X. Elba annexed to France.
"	" 15	33	N.'s 33rd birthday. Anniversary of ratification of Concordat. Festival of the Assumption. Paris is illuminated.
"	Sept.	—	N. seizes Piedmont.
"	" 15	—	Merry, the English minister-plenipotentiary, presents Charles James Fox to N., who is very gracious to him.
"	" 30	—	N. interferes in Swiss affairs.
"	Oct. 9	—	Death of the Duke of Parma. Duchy of Parma annexed by France.
"	" 10	—	Birth of Napoleon Charles, eldest son of Louis Bonaparte.
"	" 11	—	Treaty with Russia.
"	Nov. 2	—	Death of Leclerc at San Domingo.
"	" 18	—	The Tsar refuses to agree to Amiens arrangements regarding Malta.
"	Dec. 12	—	Lord Whitworth, English ambassador, presented to N. who gives him a most flattering reception.
1803	Feb. 18	—	N. complains to Lord Whitworth of the British delay in evacuating Alexandria and Malta.
"	" 19	—	Act of Mediation. Settlement of Swiss affairs.
"	" 21	—	British troops evacuate Cape of Good Hope.
"	" 26	—	N. offers a pension of 2,000,000 francs a year to the Comte de Provence (Louis XVIII.), then living at Warsaw, if he will renounce for himself and his heirs all claims to the throne of France.
"	Mar. 8	—	George III. asks parliament for war supplies.
"	" 11	—	N. hears of George III.'s message to Parliament, and makes instant preparation for war.
"	" 13	—	N. insults Lord Whitworth in the Tuileries.
"	" 17	—	British forces leave Alexandria.
"	Apl. 30	—	France sells Louisiana to the U.S.A. for 60,000,000 francs.
"	May 1	—	Reception of diplomatic corps at the Tuileries. Lord Whitworth absents himself.
"	" 2	—	Lord Whitworth sends for his passports, but is asked to stay to receive the French reply to the British ultimatum.
"	" 12	—	Whitworth leaves Paris for Calais.
"	" 17	—	Whitworth crosses to England. The French ambassador leaves England.
"	" 18	—	Declaration of war by Great Britain.
"	" 22	—	France declares war. N. orders arrest of all British subjects—men between 18 and 60 years of age—in France. About 10,000 are arrested as prisoners of war.
"	June 1	—	N. seizes the Electorate of Hanover.
"	"	—	N. begins his preparations at Boulogne for the invasion of England.
"	" 23	—	St. Lucia captured by the British.
"	" 26	—	Tobago taken by the British.
"	July 8	—	Nelson blockades Toulon.
"	" 23	—	Emmett's rebellion in Ireland fails. Emmett and others executed on 20 Sept. 1803.
"	Aug. 23	34	Georges Cadoudal lands in France.
"	Sept. 27	—	Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo taken by the British. Press censorship established by N.



# Chronological Table

			<i>Age</i>	
1803	Oct.	1	34	N. gives instructions for the erection of the Vendôme column.
"	"	3	—	N. orders the expulsion from France of Madame de Stael.
"	Nov.	30	—	French evacuate San Domingo.
"	Dec.	5	—	Marriage of Jerome Bonaparte to Elizabeth Patterson at Baltimore.
1804-5			—	Preparations at Boulogne for the invasion of England.
1804	Jan.		—	Pichegru and others enter Paris and endeavour to win over Moreau to take part in the Royalist plot.
"	Feb.	14	—	Querelle, a prisoner under sentence of death, reveals the plot.
"	"	15	—	Arrest of Moreau.
"	"	28	—	Arrest of Pichegru.
"	Mar.	1	—	N. receives information implicating the Duc d'Enghien.
"	"	9	—	Arrest of Georges Cadoudal.
"	"	15	—	The Duc d'Enghien is arrested.
"	"	20	—	The Duc d'Enghien arrives at Vincennes at half-past five in the evening, and is shot at half past two next morning.
"	"	21	—	The Civil Code passed by the Corps Législatif.
"	April	6	—	Pichegru found strangled in his cell.
"	May	10	—	Pitt returns to office.
"	"	18	—	N. is created Emperor by decree of the Senate with the name of "Napoléon."
"	"		—	Franco-Dutch Treaty.
"	June	24	—	Execution of Cadoudal.
"	"	25	—	Moreau sails for America—his sentence of two years' imprisonment having been remitted on condition that he does so.
"	July	14	—	The Legion of Honour established.
"	Aug.	20	35	Death of Admiral Latouche Tréville at Toulon. N.'s plans again delayed.
"	"	28	—	Villeneuve is appointed to command the Toulon squadron.
"	Oct.	2	—	Sir Sidney Smith unsuccessfully attacks the Boulogne flotilla.
"	"	8	—	Dessalines crowned Emperor of San Domingo.
"	"	11	—	Birth of Napoleon Louis, second son of Louis Bonaparte.
"	Nov.	2	—	The Pope leaves Rome for Paris to be present at N.'s coronation.
"	"	6	—	Secret convention between Austria and Russia.
"	"	25	—	N. meets the Pope between Nemours and Montaincheleau.
"	"	28	—	N. and the Pope enter Paris.
"	Dec.	2	—	N. crowned at Notre Dame.
"	"	3	—	Treaty between Great Britain and Sweden.
"	"	12	—	Spain declares war against Great Britain.
1805	Mar.	13	—	N. is proclaimed King of Italy.
"	April		—	Treaty of St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia.
"	May	26	—	N. crowned King of Italy at Milan.
"	"	30	—	France annexes the Ligurian Republic.
"	June		—	Code Napoléon extended to Italy.
"	July		—	N. visits the camp at Boulogne.
"	"		—	Accession of Austria to treaty between Great Britain and Russia.
"	"	22	—	Battle of Cape Finisterre.
"	Aug.		—	Third coalition against France.
"	"		—	War with Austria and Russia.
"	Aug. to Sept.		—	Grand Army marches from Boulogne to Bavaria.
"	Sept.	27	36	N. joins army at Strasburg.
"	Oct.	17	—	N. forces the Austrian general Mack to surrender at Ulm.
"	"	21	—	Battle of Trafalgar at the close of which Nelson was mortally wounded.
"	Nov.	14	—	N. arrives at palace of Schönbrunn, Vienna.
"	"		—	Convention between Prussia and the Allies.
"	Dec.	2	—	N. defeats the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz.
"	"	26	—	Treaty of Schönbrunn with Austria.
"	"		—	France annexes Genoa.
1806	Jan.		—	Death of Pitt. Fox becomes Prime Minister.
"	Feb.		—	N. returns to Paris.
"	"		—	Treaty of Paris between France and Prussia.
"	Mar.		—	N. makes Joseph Bonaparte king of the two Sicilies.
"	"		—	Formation of the grand-duchy of Berg.
"	June		—	N. abolishes the Holy Roman Empire.
"	"	6	—	N. makes Louis Bonaparte king of Holland.
"	July		—	N. forms the Confederation of the Rhine.
"	"		—	N. creates kingdoms of Bavaria and Württemberg.
"	"	4	—	Battle of Maida.
"	Sept.	37	—	War with Prussia.

# Chronological Table

		<i>Age</i>	
1806	Sept. 13	37	Death of Fox. Ministry of all the Talents.
"	Oct. 14	—	N. defeats Prussians at Jena and Auerstadt.
"	" 27	—	N. enters Berlin as conqueror.
"	Nov. 21	—	N. issues "Berlin Decree" against British commerce.
"	Dec.	—	N. marches against the Russians.
"	" 28	—	Battle of Pultusk.
"	"	—	War between Russia and Turkey.
"	"	—	France absorbs Dalmatia and Ragusa.
"	"	—	Venice added to the kingdom of Italy.
1807	Feb. 8	—	N. defeats Russians and Prussians at Eylau.
"	"	—	British expedition to Turkey and Egypt.
"	Mar.	—	Portland ministry formed. Canning becomes Foreign Secretary.
"	Apl.	—	Convention of Bartenstein between Russia, Prussia, and Sweden.
"	May 26	—	Capitulation of Danzig.
"	June	—	Great Britain accedes to the Convention of Bartenstein.
"	" 11	—	N. defeats Russians and Prussians at Friedland.
"	" 25-26	—	N. has conference with Tsar Alexander on a raft on the river Niemen.
"	July 8	—	Peace of Tilsit between France, Russia, and Prussia.
"	"	—	Formation of the grand-duchy of Warsaw.
"	"	—	Extension of Confederation of the Rhine.
"	Aug.	—	N. returns to Paris.
"	" 19	38	N. suppresses the Tribunal.
"	"	—	N. makes his brother, Jerome, king of Westphalia.
"	Sept.	—	English seize Danish fleet at Copenhagen.
"	Oct.	—	Stein becomes minister of Home Affairs in Prussia; Prussian Edict of Emancipation, Scharnhorst's military reforms.
"	"	—	Franco-Spanish treaty signed at Fontainebleau.
"	Nov.	—	N. invades Portugal. French occupy Lisbon. Flight of Portuguese royal family.
"	"	—	Russia declares war on Great Britain.
"	Dec.	—	N. occupies Tuscany.
"	" 17	—	Milan Decree against British commerce.
"	"	—	Abolition of slavery in British dominions.
"	"	—	Simplon road connecting France and Italy completed.
1808	Jan.	—	N. returns to Paris.
"	" 27	—	Portuguese royal family reach Rio de Janeiro.
"	Feb. 2	—	Rome entered by French troops.
"	"	—	French invade Spain.
"	Mar. 19	—	Abdication of Charles IV. of Spain; his son proclaimed king as Ferdinand VII.
"	" 27	—	The Pope excommunicates N.
"	"	—	Russian invasion of Finland.
"	"	—	Constitution of the Imperial University of France.
"	"	—	Revolution of Aranjuez.
"	"	—	New nobility of France created.
"	May 2	—	Great insurrection (the <i>Dos Mayo</i> ) at Madrid.
"	" 6	—	Ferdinand VII. abdicates on compulsion at Bayonne.
"	June 6	—	N. makes his brother, Joseph, king of Spain.
"	"	—	Insurrection in Spain.
"	" 15	—	French squadron at Cadiz surrenders to Spaniards.
"	July 4	—	Peninsular War begins. England, Spain, and Portugal against France.
"	" 15	—	N. makes Murat king of Naples and Sicily.
"	" 19	—	Dupont capitulates at Baylen with over 20,000 men, a third of the French forces in Spain.
"	Aug.	—	Sir Arthur Wellesley arrives in Spain.
"	" 21	39	Battle of Vimiera.
"	" 30	—	Convention of Cintra.
"	Sept. 8	—	Convention of Paris between France and Prussia.
"	" 22	—	N. leaves St. Cloud for Erfurt.
"	Sept. 27 to Oct. 14	—	N. has conference with the Tsar, Alexander I., at Erfurt.
"	" 12	—	Treaty of Tilsit renewed.
"	" 26	—	N. leaves Paris for Spain.
"	Dec. 4	—	N. enters Madrid, receives capitulation, and abolishes the Inquisition.
"	"	—	N. directs movements to clear Spain of British troops.
"	" 22	—	N. leaves Madrid to operate against Sir John Moore.
1809	Jan. 16	—	Battle of Corunna. Death of Moore.
"	"	—	Treaty of the Dardanelles between Great Britain and Turkey.

# Chronological Table

		<i>Age</i>	
1809	Jan.	39	N. returns to Paris.
"	Mar. 9	—	N. prepares for war with Austria. He writes: "I am leaving my best troops with Joseph, and am starting alone for Vienna with my little conscripts, my name, and my long boots."
"	Apl. 12	—	N., at Paris, hears at 8 p.m. that Austria has declared war. He leaves for the front two hours later.
"	"	—	Great Britain unites with Austria against France.
"	" 15	—	N. crosses the Rhine at Strasburg.
"	" 20	—	N. defeats the Austrians at Abensberg.
"	" 21	—	N. defeats the Austrians at Landshut.
"	" 22	—	N. defeats the Austrians at Eckmühl.
"	" 23	—	Austrians driven from Ratisbon.
"	May 12	—	N. enters Vienna after bombarding it.
"	" 17	—	N. annexes States of the Church to France.
"	May 21	—	N., in attempting to cross the Danube in the face of the enemy, is defeated by the Archduke Charles at Aspern and Essling.
"	and 22	—	
"	June 10	—	N. is again excommunicated by the Pope.
"	July 6	—	Arrest of the Pope.
"	" 5-6	—	N. crosses the Danube during the night.
"	" 6	—	Battle of Wagram, the Archduke Charles is defeated.
"	"	—	Wellesley expels Soult from Portugal.
"	" 27-28	—	Battle of Talavera.
"	Oct. 12	40	Attempt on the life of N. by Staps, the son of a Lutheran pastor of Erfurt.
"	" 14	—	Treaty of Schönbrunn with Austria.
"	"	—	N. annexes Tuscany and the Papal States.
"	" 22	—	N. leaves Vienna for Paris.
"	" 26	—	N. arrives at Fontainebleau.
"	Dec. 16	—	N. divorces Josephine.
1810	Jan.	—	Treaty of Paris between France and Sweden.
"	"	—	French conquest of Andalusia.
"	Feb. 20	—	Hofer shot at Mantua.
"	"	—	Rome becomes the second city of the French Empire.
"	Mar. 11	—	N. marries the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria by proxy at Vienna.
"	Apl. 1	—	The marriage of N. with Marie Louise at St. Cloud.
"	July	—	France annexes Holland.
"	Aug.	—	France annexes Westphalia.
"	"	—	Masséna invades Portugal.
"	"	—	Trianon Tariff.
"	Sept. 6	41	N. writes to Charles XIII. of Sweden granting permission to Bernadotte to accept the position of Crown Prince of that country.
"	"	—	Lines of Torres Vedras formed.
"	" 27	—	Battle of Busaco.
"	Oct.	—	Fontainebleau Decrees.
"	"	—	Sweden declares war on Great Britain.
"	Dec.	—	France annexes N.W. coast of Germany.
"	" 5	—	Russians throw up earthworks on the Dwina and Dniester.
1811	Feb. 28	—	N. writes to the Tsar expostulating with him for his secret agreement with Great Britain.
"	Mar. 20	—	Birth of the King of Rome.
"	Mar. and April	—	Masséna retreats from Portugal into Spain.
"	June 2	—	Baptism of the King of Rome at Notre Dame.
"	Dec. 19	42	N. asks for the most detailed accounts to be had in French of the campaign of Charles XII. in Russia and Poland.
1812	April	—	N. declares war with Russia.
"	"	—	Secret alliance between Sweden and Russia.
"	May 10	—	N. arrives at Dresden.
"	" 28	—	Peace of Bucharest between Russia and Turkey.
"	June 24	—	N. crosses the Niemen.
"	" 28	—	N. occupies Vilna and sets up provisional government.
"	July	—	Peace between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden.
"	" 22	—	Battle of Salamanca.
"	"	—	Wellington enters Madrid.
"	Aug. 18	43	N. drives the Russians from Smolensk.
"	Sept. 7	—	N. defeats the Russians at Borodino.
"	" 14	—	N. enters Moscow.
"	" 15	—	Great fire of Moscow begins. Four hundred incendiaries shot by the French.

# Chronological Table

1812	Oct. 20	Age 43	N. leaves Moscow after blowing up the Kremlin. The retreat was a vast and sanguinary rout.
"	"	—	Malet's conspiracy in Paris.
"	Nov. 26-27	—	N. passes the Beresina.
"	Dec. 5	—	N. leaves his army and proceeds to Paris.
"	" 18	—	N. arrives in Paris.
"	"	—	War between Great Britain and America.
1813	Feb.	—	Uprising of Germany.
"	and	—	Alliance of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, against France.
"	Mar.	—	War of Liberation begins.
"	Apl. 15	—	N. marches from St. Cloud for Mayence to meet the wreck of his Grand Army.
"	" 17	—	N. arrives at Mayence, having covered the distance in 40 hours.
"	May 2	—	Battle of Lützen. N. with an army of conscripts defeats the veteran troops of the Russo-Prussian Army.
"	" 20-1	—	N. defeats the Allies at Bautzen.
"	June 4	—	N. makes armistice of Aug. 11.
"	"	—	Battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees.
"	Aug. 26	44	Battle of Dresden. The Allies now joined by Austria are defeated by N.
"	Oct. 7	—	British under Wellington enter France from Spain.
"	" 16-9	—	N., after practically defeating the Allies at Leipsic, has to retreat owing to shortage of ammunition.
"	Nov. 2	—	N. recrosses the Rhine at Mayence.
"	" 9	—	N. arrives in Paris.
"	Dec. to	—	—
1814	Jan.	—	France is invaded by the Allies.
"	" 18	—	N. exclaims: "If I had had 30,000 rounds at Leipsic . . . I should to-day be master of the world."
"	" 25	—	N. takes the field from Paris.
"	" 29-30	—	N. defeats the Prussians at Brienne.
"	Feb. 1	—	N. is defeated at La Rothière. Retreats on Paris.
"	" 10	—	N. defeats Blücher at Champaubert.
"	" 11	—	N. defeats Blücher at Montmirail.
"	" 12	—	N. defeats Blücher at Château Thierry.
"	" 13	—	N. defeats Blücher at Vauchamp.
"	Feb and	—	—
"	Mar.	—	Futile congress at Châtillon-sur-Seine.
"	Mar.	—	Indecisive battles at Laon and Craonne.
"	" 31	—	Allies enter Paris and establish a provisional government.
"	Apl. 11	—	N. deposed by Senate. He signs abdication at Fontainebleau.
"	May 4	—	N. lands in Elba.
"	"	—	First Peace of Paris.
"	"	—	Louis XVIII. arrives in Paris.
"	" 29	—	Death of Josephine at Malmaison.
"	Sept. 30	45	Congress of Vienna assembles.
"	Nov.	—	Election of Charles XIII. of Sweden to the throne of Norway.
1815	Jan.	—	Defensive triple alliance of Great Britain, Austria, and France. N. organizes balls and other festivities in Elba.
"	Feb. 26	—	N. sails from Elba.
"	Mar. 1	—	N. lands at a point near Cannes, in France.
"	Mar. 13 to	—	—
"	June 22	—	The Hundred Days.
"	Mar. 20	—	N. enters Paris without having fired a shot.
"	"	—	Flight of Louis XVIII.
"	"	—	Treaty signed by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia against N.
"	" 29	—	N. abolishes the slave trade.
"	June 1	—	The <i>Acte Additionnel</i> sworn to at Paris.
"	" 12	—	N. leaves Paris for Belgium.
"	" 15	—	N. crosses the Belgian frontier.
"	" 16	—	N. defeats Blücher at Ligny.
"	" 18	—	Battle of Waterloo.
"	" 21	—	N. reaches Paris.
"	" 22	—	N.'s second abdication.
"	" 29	—	N. leaves Malmaison for Rochefort intending to go to the United States.
"	July 3	—	N. arrives at Rochefort.
"	" 15	—	Louis XVIII. re-enters Paris.
"	" 15	—	N. surrenders to Captain Maitland on board H.M.S. <i>Bellerophon</i> .

## Chronological Table

		<i>Age</i>	
1815	July 24	45	N. at Torbay.
"	" 27	—	N. in Plymouth Sound.
"	Aug. 8	—	N. sails for St. Helena on board H.M.S. <i>Northumberland</i> , with Admiral Sir George Cockburn.
"	Oct. 15-16	46	N. arrives and lands at St. Helena, where he remained a prisoner for life.
"	Nov.	—	Second Peace of Paris.
"	Dec. 7	—	Execution of Marshal Ney.
"	" 9	—	N. begins his residence at Longwood.
"	"	—	Joseph Bonaparte resides in the U.S.A.
1816	Jan. 12	—	Family of N. excluded from France for ever by the law of amnesty.
"	Apl.	—	Sir Hudson Lowe assumes charge at St. Helena.
"	June	—	N. dictates his memoirs to his aides-de-camp Gourgaud and Montholon.
1818	July 25	48	Dr. O'Meara leaves St. Helena, the British government having signed an order for his removal.
"	Sept.	49	N.'s health declines.
1820	Oct. 25	51	"Perhaps Death will soon put a term to my sufferings," N. remarks.
"	Nov. 19	—	"What a pleasant thing is rest: my bed has become a place of happiness for me; I would not exchange it for all the thrones of the universe."
1821	Apl. 2	—	"A comet! It was the omen foretold the death of Caesar."
"	" 16	—	"I wish my ashes to rest by the banks of the Seine in the midst of the people of France whom I loved so dearly."
"	" 19	—	"I feel the end drawing near . . . I shall meet the brave in the Elysian Fields."
1821	May 5	—	Death of N. about 6 p.m.
1832			Joseph Bonaparte visits England.
1840	May 12		The Chambers decree the removal of N.'s remains from St. Helena to France.
"	Oct. 15		N.'s remains taken from the tomb at St. Helena by permission of the English government.
"	" 16		N.'s remains embarked on board the <i>Belle Poule</i> , French frigate under the command of the Prince de Joinville.
"	Nov. 30		The <i>Belle Poule</i> reaches Cherbourg.
"	Dec. 15		Remains deposited at the Hôtel des Invalides.
1841	Aug. 15		(N.'s birthday). Bronze statue of N. placed on column of <i>Grande Armée</i> at Boulogne.
"			Joseph Bonaparte settles in Italy.
1844	July 28		Joseph Bonaparte dies at Florence.
1846	" 15		Death of Louis Bonaparte.
1852	Feb. 17		N.'s birthday (Aug. 15) decreed to be the only national holiday.
1861			N.'s remains finally placed in the crypt of the Hôtel des Invalides.

## SELECT CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE present bibliography, the works included in which have been selected chiefly because of their utilitarian character, aims at providing what has hitherto been a desideratum not readily to the hand of the student of Napoleonic affairs. Its main design is to guide him to such works as present not only a general view of each of the phases of the Emperor's career and personality, but also to those which provide an expert and specialized opinion thereon.

It is hoped that no English work of importance has been omitted from the list, but the enormous growth of books dealing with Napoleana has, of late years, rendered the task of compiling its bibliography one of increasing difficulty, and it is hoped that, on this account, if on no others allowances will be made.

The scheme of the bibliography is as follows.—

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| I. <i>General Biography and History.</i> | (c) Marriages.                        |
| II. <i>Personal Biography.</i>           | (d) Children.                         |
| (a) Early Life.                          | IV. <i>Entourage.</i>                 |
| (b) Revolutionary Days.                  | (a) Marshals and Generals.            |
| (c) The Consulate and Empire.            | (b) Politics, Court, and Society.     |
| (d) Elba.                                | V. <i>Naval and Military Affairs.</i> |
| (e) St Helena.                           | (a) The Army.                         |
| (f) Private Life.                        | (b) Military Campaigns.               |
| III. <i>Ancestry and Family.</i>         | (c) The Navy and Naval Ac-<br>tions.  |
| (a) Genealogy.                           | VI. <i>Memoirs.</i>                   |
| (b) Brothers and Sisters.                |                                       |

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